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THE CORRESPONDENCE
OF
M. TULLIUS CICERO.

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BY R. Y. TYRRELL.

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TROADES of EURIPIDES. Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1889 (1st ed., 1881; 2nd ed., 1884).

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THE CORRESPONDENCE
OF
M. TULLIUS CICERO,

ARRANGED ACCORDING TO ITS CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER;

WITH

A REVISION OF THE TEXT, A COMMENTARY,

AND

INTRODUCTORY ESSAYS.

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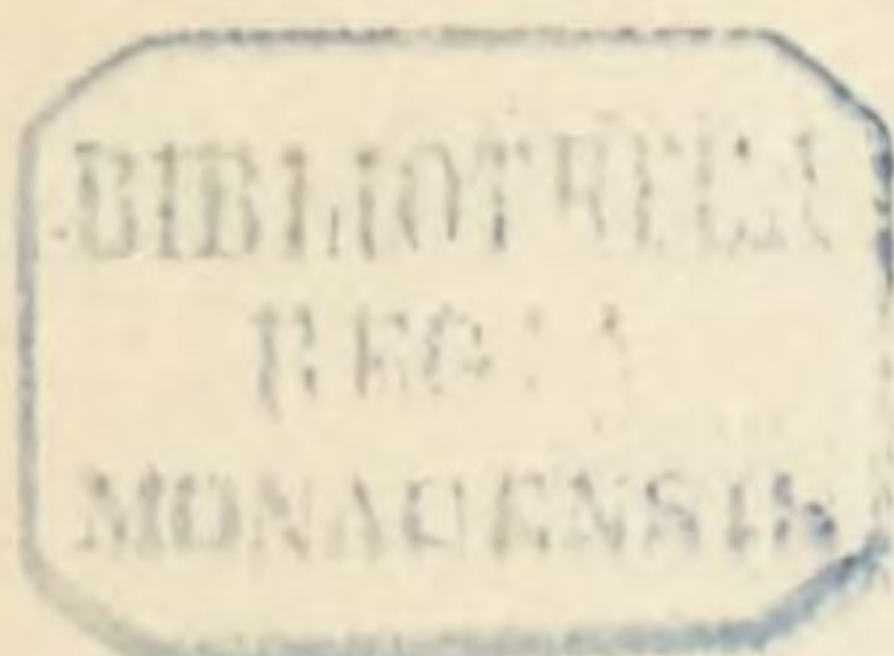
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PREFACE.

HAVING expressed in the Introduction our strong sense of the great value of the recent works of Schmidt and of Mendelssohn, and acknowledged heartily the great debt of gratitude which we owe to them (especially to Schmidt, for his invaluable aid in arranging the correspondence in its true chronological order), we have here little or nothing to add to what we have said in our Prefaces to the foregoing volumes.

We give, as we have hitherto done, a list of the most important of the new readings introduced now for the first time into the Text, or mentioned with approbation in the Notes.

With regard to this Table of new readings, we ask leave to repeat what we have said in the Preface to Volume III. We beg our readers to remember that it is a list of corrections which have not been received into the standard texts. Therefore, from the nature of the case, our own conjectures must preponderate in the list, as they are all proposed now for the first time in any edition of the Letters. Hundreds of the corrections of other editors, from the *Editio Princeps* to the present time, are embodied in the text, and referred to their authors in the *Adnotatio Critica*; but as they have already found general acceptance, they do not appear in this Table.

In it we describe ourselves as Edd. in the last column. In the penultimate column the conjecture is printed in Roman type if it is actually incorporated in the text. When it is commended in the Notes, but not actually introduced into the text, it is printed in italics.

When a ms reading is vindicated against a generally received conjecture, the ms reading is given in the first column, and repeated in small capitals in the penultimate.

Subjoined is the Table :—

Ep.	Ms reading.	Generally received reading.	Conjecture either accepted in the Text (Roman type), or recorded with approbation in the Notes (Italic type).	Editor to whom the reading is due
cccii. 9.	non scindi.	.. ..	<i>conscindi.</i>	Hirschfeld.
ccci. 2.	COCON.	<i>σολ.</i>	<i>τόσον.</i>	Edd.
ibid. 4.	nescis istic.	nescio istic.	nescio isticine.	Wes.
cccxi. 2.	quam magni.	magni <i>aut</i> perquam magni.	QUAM MAGNI.	Wes.
ccc. 1.	praesidiis.	.. ..	praedijs.	Bos.
ibid. 4.	sin autem etiam.	sin pax aut etiam.	sin otium aut etiam.	Edd.
cccxviii. 1.	quorum ego.	.. ..	quorum ergo.	Bos.
ibid.	itinarum.	Attianarum.	Appianarum.	Lips.
cccx. 4.	alcia (altia).	ac ita <i>aut</i> atque ita.	talia.	Edd.
cccxvi. 1.	certior.	.. ..	cerritior.	Bos.
ibid.	tum eum isse.	.. ..	timuisse.	Edd.
ibid.	cum dixisset.	eum dixisse.	cum dixisset.	Edd.
ibid.	sed in eam.	sed meam.	sed en meam.	Edd.
cccxvii. 3.	magnum nomen imperatoris fore magnum . . . terrorem.	.. ..	Magnum [nomen imperatoris] fore magnum . . . terrorem.	Edd.
cccx. 2.	unde se recipienti.	.. ..	de se recipienti.	Boot.

Ep.	Ms reading.	Generally received reading.	Conjecture either accepted in the Text (Roman type), or recorded with approbation in the Notes (Italic type).	Editor to whom the reading is due.
CCCXLII. 3.	manuunt.	metuunt.	<i>inanunt.</i>	Edd.
CCCLVI. 2.	<i>ασμενιστον.</i>	<i>ασμένιστον.</i>	<i>ασμενιστον.</i>	Edd.
CCCLIX. 3.	ea <i>aut</i> mea.	alia <i>aut</i> nova.	<i>νεα</i> (et simili modo in CCCXLV. 8).	Edd.
CCCLXII. 5.	ΟΠΑΟC.	<i>ό πολους.</i>	<i>ό παλος.</i>	Btr.
CCCLXIV. 1.	adsentio.	adsentior.	ADSENTIO.	Wes.
ibid.	plaboque.	tentaboque.	perlaboroque.	Edd.
CCCLXIX. 4.	se.	.. ..	sex.	Bos.
ibid.	alie <i>aut</i> ille.	ut ille.	Italiae.	Madv.
ibid. 7.	prospectaret.	perspecta re.	prospecta re.	Boot.
CCCLXXII. 2.	quis ulli.	qui nulli.	qui de suo illa.	Edd.
CCCLXXIII. 3.	sed tu omnia qui.	sed tu omnia quidem.	sed tu ubi omnia qui?	Edd.
CCCLXXVI. 2.	ero sceleri.	tero sceleri <i>aut</i> mera scelera.	<i>O feras, & ληροι.</i>	Edd.
ibid. 3.	malum.	.. ..	malim.	Boot.
CCCLXXVIII. 3.	<i>σκεμματα.</i>	<i>σκεμμάτων.</i>	<i>σκεμμα.</i>	Edd.
CCCLXXXII. 4.	qua illi.	.. ..	quacum illi.	Edd.
ibid. 5.	non tam quia.	non tam <quia filius quam> quia.	quia non tamen.	Edd.
ibid. 9.	quem exemplum.	quod exemplum.	QUEM EXEMPLUM.	Edd.
ibid. 12.	quoniam commoror.	quo iam commoror?	QUONIAM COMMOROR.	Lehm.

ccclxxxvi.	1.	et tamen recitet et.	tamen retice <i>aut</i> reticeto.	tamen res stat: <i>ιτέον</i> .	Edd.
cccxc.	2.	poterit.	poteris.	POTERIT.	Edd.
cccxci.	1.	magni esse trans.	magni esse. Te iturum trans.	magni esse. Te iturum esse trans.	Btr.
cccxcii.	5.	non simul . . . transieramus.	cur non simul . . . transierimus.	non si simul . . . transieramus.	Edd.
ibid.		condimus . . . possimus.	contendimus . . . possemus.	CONDIMUS . . . POSSIMUS.	Edd.
cccxciv.	1.	ridere Dolabella (-ae, -am).	ridere. De Dolabella.	ridere. De re Dolabellae.	Hirschfeld.
cccxcv.	1.	ΠΑΡΝΝΙΚΩΣΚ.	παροινικῶς.	παραινετικῶς.	Edd.
ibid.	5.	cytheridam.	Cytherida.	Cytherius Cytherida.	Edd.
cccxcvii.	2.	ΠΑΡΑΟΤΑΕΥΤΕΟΝ.	παπαλευ(σ)τέον.	πόρον κλεπτέον.	Edd.
cccxcviii.	5.	clam autem istis.	clam autem istis?	<i>clam autem! Di istos!</i>	Edd.
cccxcix.	1.	secum.	secum <securitatem>.	speculam.	Boot.
ccccii.	5.	cogitavi eadem.	.. ..	cogitavi equidem.	Boot.
ibid.	6.	novum.	nedum.	non modo novum.	Wes.
cccciii.	1.	epistola scripta.	ep. aperta.	ep. stricta.	Edd.
ibid.	3.	id.	.. ..	inde.	Reid.
cccciv.	1.	gaudeam.	gaudebam.	est quod gaudeam.	Edd.
ibid.		fuere infantia.	.. ..	fuerunt fatua.	Reid.
ccccv.	5.	fortiores.	fortiore.	FORTIORES.	Lehm.
ccccviii.	1.	arimini noctu.	Arimino noctu.	Arpino noctu.	Grotefrend.
ccccxiii.	1.	future.	futuri.	fruituri.	Lehm.
ccccxx.	1.	arbitratur est factum.	arbitratus es. Factum.	<i>arbitratus es. Facticeon.</i>	Edd.

PREFACE.

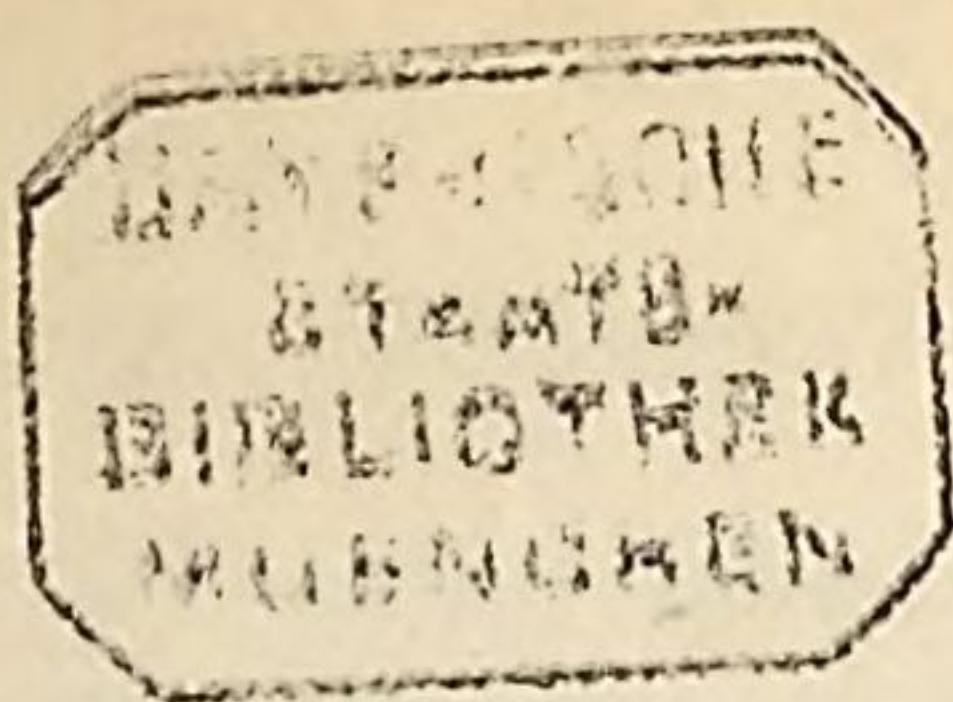
Ep.	Ms reading.	Generally received reading.	Conjecture either accepted in the Text (Roman type), or recorded with approbation in the Notes (Italic type).	Editor to whom the reading is due.
CCCCXXVII. 3.	erectioem.	erectiore.	ERECTIOREM.	Lehm.
CCCCXXVIII. 2.	spurcissime.	.. .. .	<i>parcissime.</i>	C. F. Hermann.
CCCCXXVI. 3.	apud epistolas velim ut possim adversas. loqueretur.	apud εὑπιστον illas velim, ut possint, advertas. loquere tu.	<i>apud ἐπισφαλήν vereor ut possit adservari.</i> loquitor ut.	Edd.
ibid.				Mal.
CCCCXXIX.	quiesces tamen.	.. .. .	quiesce: sed tamen.	Edd.
CCCCXLI. 4.	ut eo me magis.	aut eo me magis.	aut adeo me in malis.	Madv.
CCCCXLIV. 1.	ab aliisque.	ab aliis.	ab aliis Quintisque.	Lehm.
CCCCXLI. 5.	gravare.	gubernare.	<i>gnavare.</i>	Mendelss. Bill.
CCCLXVIII. 2.	clypo.	κτύπω.	atypo.	Popma.
CCCLXX. 6.	quae tua.	quae <te scire interesse> tua.	quae <e re> tua.	Edd.
CCCLXXII. 10.	sannonum aut sannionum.	sannionum.	sanniorum.	Edd.
CCCLXXIV. 2.	pluribus.	perinvitus.	per libraríos.	Orelli.
CCCLXXV. 2.	ex artis.	exquisite artis.	ἐξοχῆς.	Edd.
CCCLXCIX. 2.	φιλόδημον.	.. .. .	<i>φιλειδήμονα.</i>	Popma.
DXXI. 1.	magnum.	magnum <pondus habituras>.	<i>magni.</i>	Mendelss.
DXXIV. 2.	iudicare.		iudicasse.	Wes.
DXXXII. 4.	offendam.		reprendo <aliquem>.	Wes.

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INTRODUCTION.

I.—CICERO AND THE CIVIL WAR.

§ 1. CICERO, POMPEY, AND CAESAR.

CAESAR crossed the Rubicon about the 12th of January, and on the 13th occupied Ariminum. News of such a step flew fast, and we may well suppose that it traversed the 230 Roman miles of road to the capital in three days; so that early on the 16th (perhaps even on the 15th) the knowledge of Caesar's decisive step was known at Rome. A panic ensued, and the Senate at once decreed a *tumultus*. Caesar pushed on with his wonted rapidity,* occupied Pisaurum, Fanum, and Ancona with separate cohorts during the next few days, and sent Antonius, with five cohorts, across the mountains to seize Arretium,† and Curio with three to occupy Iguvium, so that, by possession of the coast-road and of the fortress of Arretium, the march on Rome might be rendered possible. When news either of the actual occupation of these towns, or of Caesar's advance on them, which meant their certain capitulation, was known at Rome on the 17th, a meeting of the Senate was held, at which Pompey declared that he was unable to hold the city, and called on the magistrates and

* *Caesariana celeritas*, Att. xvi. 10, 1.

† Caesar (B. C. i. 11, 4) represents these operations as having been effected *after* the failure of the negotiations between him and Pompey, which were conducted by L. Caesar. Cicero says expressly on the 27th of January (cp. 312, 2) that the senators left the city, *cum Caesar Ariminum Pisaurum Anconam Arretium occupavisset*. Caesar (i. 10, 3) appears to wish us to believe that for a considerable time Ariminum was the only one of the towns outside his province occupied by him.

senators to follow him to Lower Italy. On the same evening he left Rome, and proceeded, in the first instance, towards Teanum Sidicinum.

When the *senatus consultum ultimum* was passed, on the 9th, a division of the districts of Italy was made among the principal magistrates. Cicero was outside the walls, still holding the *imperium*, and in the division Capua was assigned to him.* It is not by any means certain what was the extent of the *regio* which was assigned to Cicero. We know that No. 1 of the 11 *regiones* into which Augustus divided Italy was called Campania, and stretched along the coast, from the Tiber to the Silarus.† It is just possible that this district was, even before the time of Augustus, in some sense an administrative division, and had Capua as its principal town; and if so, we may perhaps reasonably suppose that this was the district assigned to Cicero.‡ But it is more probable that Cicero was trusted with Capua and Campania Proper in the first instance, as important recruiting was to be set on foot at Capua, and Cicero was himself at this time holding a military position. But from the very first Cicero appears to have undertaken this duty unwillingly,§ and a few days' reflection showed him that he would be unfit for a duty requiring special military qualities, and for defending an important fortress, which was insufficiently garrisoned. He would probably fall into Caesar's hands; and, in any case, having once taken a prominent part in the war, he could not afterwards

* Fam. xvi. 11, 3 (301).

† Cp. Marquardt, St. V. i. p. 222.

‡ Schmidt (*Briefwechsel*, p. 117) shows that Att. vii. 11, 5 (304)—*Ego negotio praesum non turbulento. Vult enim me Pompeius esse quem tota haec Campana et maritima ora habeat ἐπισκοπον, ad quem dilectus et summa negotii deferatur*—was written on January 18th from somewhere near Rome, and certainly not in Campania Proper; and consequently, that some explanation must be given of this passage. He holds that *Campania* was, in ordinary language, applied in Cicero's time to the Campagna of Rome, and, accordingly, that Cicero speaks of *haec Campana* (or *Campana*); but Schmidt acknowledges that no other example of this application is forthcoming in Republican times, and he does not make any reference to the *regio* of Augustus, but to Porphyrio, the Scholiast on Horace, who says (on A. P. 65) that the Pomptine marshes are in '*Campania*.' But we need not press *haec* to mean more than '*Campania*, with which I am now entrusted, and with which my thoughts are now constantly occupied.'

§ Att. viii. 3, 4 (333), *Invite cepi Capuam*.

negotiate effectually for peace; and it was for this purpose that he rightly felt himself to be eminently fitted. Accordingly, he put his resignation of the chief command at Capua into the hands of the Senate just before they left the city.* The Senate appear to have accepted the resignation, but Pompey asked Cicero to exercise a general supervision over the whole district of Campania and the coast.† We think that Pompey made this request in consequence of his complete trust in the honesty of Cicero, who, he knew, would give him information in case there was any mismanagement of affairs in that region.

Before Pompey left Rome Cicero had a conversation with him, and requested to be allowed to be his companion;‡ but, as we have seen, Pompey wished him to stay on the west coast, and supervise generally the levies there. On the 18th Cicero left Rome, to fulfil this task, and proceeded southwards, perhaps to Antium. He informed Atticus that he was not likely to have any fixed address.§ About the 20th he arrived at his villa at Formiae. On the 21st he had an interview with the consul Lentulus and with Libo, and on the 22nd wrote Att. vii. 12 (305) to Atticus. In that letter he says:—

‘You want to know what Pompey is going to do. I do not think he knows himself; certainly none of us know. There is universal terror and bewilderment. Pompey (*ille*) is proceeding to the cohorts stationed at Larinum; but after that, whether he intends to leave Italy or not I do not know. Do advise me what course to adopt. Shall I throw myself completely into the cause (I do not mind the danger, but am most indignant at the utter want of judgment and neglect of my advice shown in the whole business); or shall I hesitate, and trim, and join the winning side? *Noblesse oblige*; if my duty as a citizen did not deter me from this latter course, my duty as a friend would; but then

* Att. viii. 11 B, 5 (343); viii. 12, 2 (345), *Nam certe neque tum peccavi, cum imparatam Capuam, non solum ignaviae delictum sed etiam perfidiae suspicionem fugiens accipere nolui, neque cum post condiciones pacis per L. Caesarem et Fabatum adlatas cavi ne animum eius offenderem cui Pompeius iam armatus armato consulatum triumphumque deferret.* The latter passage proves that we are in error in our note on Att. viii. 11 B, 3 (327). Cicero’s resignation of Capua was prior to the negotiations conducted by L. Caesar during the latter half of January, and therefore prior to February 15, on which day he wrote Att. viii. 11 B (327).

† Att. vii. 11, 5 (304).

‡ Cp. Att. viii. 11 B, 3 (327), *non dubito quin ad te statim veniam quo mihi nihil optatius est, idque tecum quo die ab urbe discessimus locutus sum.*

§ Att. vii. 11, 5 (304), *Itaque vagus esse cogitabam.*

pity for my children breaks down my resolution. Do write something. If Pompey leaves Italy, what am I to do? Lepidus and Torquatus draw the line there.' *

On the same day Cicero wrote Fam. xiv. 18 (306) to his family, urging them to leave Rome while they could, and join him in the district over which he had supervision.

Late on the 22nd Cicero arrived at Minturnae, and early on the 23rd wrote Att. vii. 13 *a* (307) from that place. We find with regret that Cicero enjoys the reflection that 'the defection of Labienus, if it has no other effect, will give Caesar pain.' Cicero entertains the most gloomy views of the state of anarchy and chaos which will ensue from the recklessness of a single desperado, and is alarmed at the inadequate forces on the Pompeian side; the untrustworthiness of the only two legions at Pompey's disposal, which Caesar had given for the Parthian war and which had been treacherously retained in Italy and almost alienated, as well as the reluctance of the inhabitants to enlist, prove, he says, that 'our captain has cleared the harbour with a storm brewing, but has forgotten to supply our vessel with a rudder.' On the same day he wrote Fam. xiv. 14 (309) to his family, again urging them to leave Rome while they could, and to come to him; or, at all events, to see what course the other Roman ladies were taking, and to talk the matter over with friends. Late on the 23rd he wrote Att. vii. 13 *b* (308), from Minturnae.† On the 24th he reached Cales, and wrote Att. vii. 14 (310), which he despatched early on the morning of the 25th.

* This passage is interesting, as showing that there was a general opinion from the very first, that it was quite as probable as not that Pompey would leave Italy: cp. Att. vii. 17, 1 (315); ix. 10, 6 (365). He, doubtless, intended to do so himself, in case there was not a satisfactory response to his call to arms in South Italy; and certainly, in the absence of adequate forces to meet Caesar, there is no doubt that the East, where Pompey's was a name to conjure by, and where the peoples and the client kings were all devoted to him, was the quarter wherein to organize a force capable of meeting the tried veterans of the Gallic wars.

† Schmidt (p. 120) supposes that 13 *a* ends with *numero Platonis obscurius*, and that 13 *b* begins with *Iam intellexi tamen*. This is quite possible, as there was such a short interval between the composition of the two letters, and we thus avoid the necessity of introducing *primo* before *plane*, or *ante* after it. If we had known this view we should have made the division of the letters where Schmidt suggests. But we cannot agree with his adoption of the Bosian *succones*.

On that evening he reached Capua. This was the point to which his journey was directed: here it was expected that he would, in concert with M. Considius, the *propraetor*, supervise the levy. When he arrived he found the vigorous Ampius Balbus pressing on the levy with all that characteristic energy which gained him the appellation of ‘the clarion of the Civil War,’* and Libo no less diligent in formally taking over the recruits from him, and duly organizing them. But there was a very lukewarm response to the levy. On the 25th Pompey left Teanum, and proceeded to Larinum; but there was the greatest uncertainty as to what was the object of his various movements.†

Cicero says, on January 26th,‡ that from the time he left the city he had not let a day pass without writing to Atticus. The letters despatched on the 20th, 21st, and 24th appear to have been lost.§ A letter of the 24th certainly made some reference to a false statement of Torquatus about the gladiators of Caesar at Capua. There were 600 gladiators of Caesar’s in a school there, and serious apprehension was entertained that they might cause trouble. Lentulus, the consul, tried, by promises of liberty, to induce them to be enrolled in his cavalry. This was just the sort of un-Roman thing that the inconsiderate Lentulus would do; but the project was so universally censured, that it was ultimately abandoned. The school was broken up, and two gladiators were given in custody to each of 300 householders.||

Meanwhile negotiations had been proceeding between Pompey and Caesar. After the news of the capture of Ariminum had reached Rome, Pompey had sent L. Caesar and Roscius Fabatus to Caesar. They reached his camp (which was perhaps at Fanum where the Flaminian road first touched the sea) about the 19th. They appear to have first officially informed Caesar of the decree which the Senate had passed ordaining a *tumultus*, and then, as

* *Tuba belli civilis*, Fam. vi. 12, 3 (490).

† Att. vii. 12, 2 (305), *Ille iter Larinum: ibi enim cohortes et Luceriae et Teani reliquaque in Apulia. Inde utrum consistere uspiam velit an mare transire nescitur.*

‡ Att. vii. 15, 1 (311).

§ Schmidt (p. 121) supposes that Att. vii. 12 (305) was written on the 21st, 13 *a* (307) on the 22nd, 13 *b* (308) on the 23rd, 14 (310) on the 25th; so that only the letters of the 20th and 24th are wanting. This is quite possible.

|| Caes. B. C. i. 14, 4; Att. vii. 14, 2 (310).

Caesar says, to have passed to commissions of a private nature from Pompey.* In effect, Pompey urged that all his measures against Caesar were prompted by regard to the State, and not by personal motives, and that Caesar should not visit on the State the wrongs done by his enemies. Caesar implies† that this was simply a statement that Pompey considered him to be in the wrong; still, as he thought that L. Caesar and Roscius were suitable men to carry on negotiations, he asked them to bring back his terms to Pompey. These terms were—that Pompey should go to Spain, the armies on both sides be dismissed, and the Italian levies discontinued: under those circumstances Caesar would give up the two Gauls to Domitius and Nonianus, and himself come to Rome and stand for the consulship according to regular constitutional procedure: ratification of these terms was to be effected, and all details arranged, at a personal conference.‡ This request for a conference was, as Schmidt justly says (p. 124), the point in which Caesar felt most interest. From of old, Caesar knew how to influence Pompey when they came face to face, and we shall see how that, to the very last, as long as Pompey was in Italy, Caesar was anxious for a personal interview.§ L. Caesar left Fanum early on the 20th, and on the 23rd was in Minturnae, where Cicero saw him, and heard of Caesar's terms. He characterizes these terms as 'most absurd,' and Caesar's choice of such a feather-brained nincompoop (*non hominem sed scopas solutas*) to carry on negotiations at such a crisis was a mere mockery;|| indeed, Cicero was not clear that L. Caesar had not caught up some statements made in the course of conversation, and interpreted them as formal terms of compact.¶ Caesar's conditions

* Caes. B. C. i. 8, 2, *habere se a Pompeio ad eum privati officii mandata demonstrat.*

† i. 9, 1, *Quae res etsi nihil ad levandas iniurias pertinere videbantur.*

‡ Caes. B. C. i. 9, 5, 6, *Haec quo facilius certisque condicionibus fiant et iure iurando sanciantur, aut ipse propius accedat aut se patiatur accedere: fore uti per colloquia omnes controversiae componantur*; cp. Cic. Fam. xvi. 12, 3 (312).

§ Cp. p. xxxix. about the mission of Caninius Rebilus.

|| Att. vii. 13 b, 1 (308).

¶ Caesar's conditions do not appear to have been written; *postulata deferre, postulata renuntiare*, are the words used by Caesar, i. 9, 1; 10, 1; and the fitness of L. Caesar and Roscius as negotiators would not have been dwelt on (Caes. i. 9, 1), if they were to be the mere carriers of a written document. Pompey sends back *scripta mandata* (Caes. i. 10, 2), which were written by Sestius, as Cicero says, in more choice Sestianese than usual (*nihil unquam legi scriptum σηστιωδέστερον*), Att. vii. 17, 2 (315).

were laid before Pompey and the consuls at Teanum on the 24th, and a written answer sent, that these conditions would be accepted, provided Caesar evacuated the towns which he had occupied on the Italian side of the Rubicon, and retired into his province. L. Caesar returned at once with this answer. About the 28th he arrived in Caesar's camp, probably at Ancona. Caesar considered it unreasonable to ask him to retire into his province, and give up his garrisons without definite agreements that Pompey would give up his recruiting, and without definite arrangements concerning the proposed conference. He accordingly rejected Pompey's terms, and turned to the prosecution of the war.

Though no actual conflicts occurred between the 20th and 28th of January, yet neither party remained quiet. A vigorous resistance was set on foot by the Optimates in Picenum. Certain senators were sent to the different towns of that district. Attius Varus held Auximum, ten miles from Ancona, and appears to have been planning an assault on that town and on the fortresses which Caesar had occupied on the Flaminian Road, viz. on Fanum, Pisaurum, and Ariminum. Lentulus Spinther was in Asculum, and further south, in Samnium, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus had taken up his position at Corfinium. Caesar had as yet only one legion, the 13th, with him, so that it was necessary that he should concentrate all his cohorts against this resistance in Picenum, in order to prevent the seizure of the Flaminian Road, and the consequent interception of the 12th legion, which was now on its way from Gaul. Accordingly, orders were sent about the 23rd to Antony at Arretium, and to Curio at Iguvium, to join Caesar at Ancona; and they succeeded in effecting this juncture by the end of January.

Thus reinforced Caesar, after finding it inexpedient to assent to Pompey's terms, opened the campaign in Picenum. He occupied Auximum on February 1, and Cingulum (founded and built by Labienus) within the next day or two; he also sent flying parties into the south of the Picentine district to reconnoitre. Meanwhile the 12th legion had arrived,* and Caesar at once directed his

* *Caes. i. 15, 3.* Caesar must have sent for the 12th and 8th legions early in December, so as to admit of their arriving in Picenum, from the territory of the Aedui, some 600 miles away (*cp. Bell. Gall. viii. 54, 4*) as early as February.

march for Asculum, the principal town of Picenum, which was held by Lentulus Spinther.* No sooner had the object of Caesar's march become known than that gallant senator fled from the town. As Caesar had now no immediate necessity to press on to Asculum at once, he occupied Firmum on the route,† and sent forward a portion of his troops to take possession of Asculum. This was on the 4th. On the 5th, at Firmum, he organized the soldiers who had deserted from the Pompeians, enrolled volunteers, and collected provisions; and on the 6th started by the coast road, through Castrum Truentinum, for Aternum, whence he struck south-westwards, through the territory of the Marrucini, for Corfinium, and arrived before that town on the 14th.

For there most of the forces of the Pompeians in North Italy had become concentrated. There were six cohorts at Alba Fucentia, under L. Manlius, and seven at Sulmo, under Q. Lucretius and Attius Pelignus; but the main post was at Corfinium. Thither Thermus had come from Iguvium, and Lentulus Spinther from Asculum. The forces which had followed Lentulus were taken over on the route by Vibullius Rufus, who had been sent by Pompey as commander of the troops in that region; and Lentulus and Thermus themselves arrived at Corfinium about February 5th, with news that Vibullius was following with considerable forces. When these arrived (as they probably did about the 10th) there were eighteen cohorts within the walls of Corfinium.‡

It was a serious matter for Domitius to decide what to do when Caesar was in full march against him. Was he to evacuate Corfinium while he still could, and join Pompey, who had taken

* Caes. i. 15, 3, *Asculum Picenum proficiscitur*. This only indicates the original object of Caesar's march.

† In Caes. i. 16, 1, Mr. Peskett rightly retains *Firmo*, comparing Att. viii. 12 b, 1 (325), and interprets *expulso Lentulo* as indicating the expulsion of Lentulus from the whole district in which the operations were being carried on, viz. from Picenum.

‡ Caesar (i. 15) says Vibullius and Hirrus had 13 cohorts, Domitius about 20. Pompey, in Att. viii. 12 A, 1 (331), speaks of 'my 19 and Domitius's 12.' Again, in viii. 11 A, 1 (332), he speaks of Domitius as having 11, Vibullius 14, Hirrus 5. As Schmidt (p. 132) justly says, Pompey was more likely than Caesar to know details about his own troops; he supposes that Caesar knew the approximate total of the enemy's troops, but wrongly included the 5 cohorts of Hirrus in the 13 of Vibullius; and accordingly, in order to make up the requisite sum, gave an undue number to Domitius.

up his quarters at Luceria; or was he to confront Caesar with his eighteen cohorts and the walls of Corfinium? In the latter case he might fairly expect that Pompey would march north to his support, and, thus assailed from two sides, Caesar might be crushed. At first Domitius seemed inclined to retreat,* but after the 10th he appears to have made up his mind to join Pompey if Caesar marched on Luceria, but if he marched on Corfinium to try resistance in Corfinium; and to this effect he wrote to Pompey apparently about the 12th or 13th.† About the 6th, and also about the 12th, Pompey wrote an urgent letter to Domitius to march out while he could.‡ The letters crossed, and when Domitius received the letter of Pompey it was too late to follow the advice it contained.§ On the 14th Domitius wrote that Caesar was before Corfinium, and urged Pompey to come to his aid with all speed. This was the last communication from Domitius before the siege began. Pompey did not march north to Corfinium; on the contrary, on the day on which he received this last letter of Domitius, viz. the 17th, he gave orders for all troops, except those required for the defence of Sicily, to retreat to Brundisium for transshipment to Greece.|| The siege of Corfinium began on the 14th, and the town capitulated on the 20th, Sulmo having previously surrendered on the 18th.¶ With a word of reproach for their ingratitude, Caesar dismissed all the senators who were found in Corfinium, and gave back to Domitius a large sum of money belonging to him, which the magistrates of the town had put into Caesar's hands. This was Caesar's new method of winning victory, by raising up, as he says himself, the strong bulwarks of mercy and generosity.**

But we must meanwhile return to South Italy, and follow the movements of Cicero since January 25th.

* Att. viii. 11 A (322).

† Att. viii. 12 c, 1 (329).

‡ Att. viii. 12 B (325).

§ We must remember that, in virtue of the *senatus consultum ultimum*, Domitius had a *par imperium* with Pompey; the latter was not his superior officer, so that he could only *advise* Domitius, he could not *command* him, to retreat.

|| Att. viii. 12 A, 2 (331).

¶ Caes. i. 18; Cic. Att. viii. 4, 3 (335).

** Att. ix. 7 c, 1 (347), *Haec nova sit ratio vincendi, ut misericordia et liberalitate nos muniamus.*

Cicero remained at Capua on the 26th and 27th, and wrote from thence Att. vii. 15 (311) and Fam. xvi. 12 (312) to Tiro. In the former of those letters he speaks of the general desire that Caesar may abide by the terms he has offered; even Cato was willing to accept them; none but the irreconcilable Favonius was opposed to acceptance of them, but he was not listened to. Cato was unwilling to go to Sicily; he wanted to be present in the senate when the discussion on Caesar's terms took place, and Cicero was afraid that he meant to obstruct. But most of the senators thought Caesar's offers too good to be true; they believed that he tendered them only with a view to gain time and to induce the Pompeians to discontinue making adequate preparations for war. The letter to Tiro contains a general narrative of events since Cicero last wrote on the 12th; and expression is given to the same doubt as to Caesar's sincerity in offering such favourable terms as he had offered. On the 28th Cicero set out on his return journey to Formiae, and reached Cales in the evening. From that place he wrote Att. vii. 16 (313)—

‘We have,’ he says, ‘two things to look forward to—the answer which Caesar will give to the message brought by L. Caesar, and the course of action which Pompey will adopt. Pompey says that in a few days he will have a strong army, and holds out hopes that if Caesar advances into Picenum we shall all soon return to Rome. Labienus has raised Pompey's courage, as he expresses no doubt that Caesar's forces are very weak.’

On the 29th Cicero reached Formiae. We have no letters written on January 29th or February 1st. On the 2nd Cicero's family, and his brother Quintus and his family, arrived at Formiae. Before their arrival Cicero wrote Att. vii. 17 (315). He is still in grave anxiety as to Caesar's reply. He considers that—

‘Caesar will be quite mad if he does not accede to the conditions on which his most shameless demands are accepted. But he is making most vigorous preparations. He has commissioned Trebatius* to ask me to be at Rome when he arrives. I have answered Trebatius, that I fear I cannot do so, as I am in the country, but in a private capacity. I am afraid war will rage all through Italy; but in a day or two we shall know Caesar's reply.’

* Cp. Plut. Cic. 37.

Early on February 3rd, before daybreak, Cicero wrote to Atticus, vii. 18 (316), in good spirits, to tell of the arrival of his family, and to express his satisfaction at the favourable reception which (as Atticus had said) the reply of Pompey to Caesar had met with in Rome. He continues:—

‘ If Caesar rejects these terms it will be his ruin ; if he accepts them—which, you ask, would I prefer ? I should tell you if I knew the extent of our forces. Caesar is a regular desperado to carry on operations so vigorously while negotiations for peace are proceeding. But a truce to angry spleen ; let us yield to circumstances, and go with Pompey to Spain. This is the least of evils, since we most unreasonably rejected Caesar’s candidature for a second consulship.’

Later in the day, before this letter was sent, Cicero received a packet of letters from Atticus, Philotimus, and Furnius. The latter enclosed a letter from Curio to himself, ridiculing the mission of L. Caesar. This was the first intimation Cicero received of Caesar’s refusal to accede to the demands of the Optimates. His spirits sank at once. ‘ We seem to be utterly crushed, and I do not know what to do. I don’t mind about myself ; my difficulty is to know what to do with the children. I am just leaving for Capua, to learn something about the course of action which Pompey is taking.’ *

Cicero had made an appointment to meet the consuls at Capua on the 5th, and he arrived in that town on the 4th. He there heard that Pompey had fixed on Luceria as his head-quarters. The consul Lentulus arrived in Capua on the 5th, and the other consul was expected shortly. Neither had any adequate force, and Caesar was dashing on—‘ not to fight, but to intercept flight.’ Again Cicero asks : ‘ Am I to remain behind if Pompey leaves Italy ? ’

‘ For remaining may be urged the winter, my liegions, our indolent and thoughtless generals ; for flight, my friendship with Pompey, and the disgrace of joining the tyrant—for tyrant he is, though it is not certain whether he is going to be another Phalaris or Pisistratus.’ †

This not wholly unfavourable view of Caesar was probably due to a courteous letter which Cicero had received from him a

* Att. vii. 19 (317).

† Att. vii. 20 (318).

day or two before, in which he had asked Cicero to use his influence to protect the gladiators at Capua (p. xvii).

Cicero returned to Formiae on the 8th, and though he attempted a journey to join Pompey on the 18th, in which he did not proceed further than Cales, he lived at Formiae until his interview with Caesar, on the 27th of March.

The general considerations which acted on Cicero in forecasting the part he should play in the Civil War have been set forth in the first volume (pp. 100 ff.), and need not be detailed here. They are very complex, and such as would increase the perplexity of anyone the more, in proportion as he was thoughtful and honest. The ups and downs of Cicero's spirits, according as good or bad news arrived, are most interesting in the correspondence of this period, in the course of which he writes to Atticus almost every day. But any attempt to reproduce it would simply resolve itself into a translation of all his letters. In reading his correspondence this expansiveness and impressionableness of Cicero must be fairly judged; Cicero, as M. Boissier says, must be defended against himself. It is certainly a fault for a man to wear his heart upon his sleeve for daws to peck at; but Cicero never expected that his letters would be published. "I write very differently," he says to Trebonius,* 'what I think my correspondent alone will read and what the public.' And when all is considered, the note of sincerity and of striving after the right (if only he could know what *was* the right) which breathes all through his letters of this period, in which he communes with Atticus as with his own soul,† amply suffices to save Cicero from really adverse judgment at the hands of all fair-minded critics, who are willing to take some little account of the weakness of our mortal nature.

On the 15th Cicero received a despatch‡ from Pompey, dated the 10th, stating that the forces from Samnium were marching down upon him, and urging Cicero to come to Luceria, as being the safest place. Cicero replied § that he welcomed the good

* Fam. xv. 21, 3 (450).

† Att. viii. 14, 2 (335), *Ego tecum tanquam mecum loquor; quis autem est, tanta quidem de re quin varie secum ipse disputet?*

‡ Att. viii. 11 A (322).

§ Att. viii. 10 B (327).

news, as he feared Pompey was going to retreat; but he thought it most advisable to retain the supervision of the Latin coast. 'Of course,' he proceeds, 'if there is a concentration of all the Optimate forces in Luceria I shall go to you, for to be with you is my dearest wish, as I told you when leaving the city.' The next day, the 16th, he wrote* in low spirits to Atticus about this correspondence with Pompey, and says that he will evidently be compelled to go to Luceria, to join in the flight.

On the 17th letters from Caesar and Balbus arrived. Cicero answered Caesar at once, urging reconciliation with the senatorial party. Cicero appears to feel that writing to Caesar at all required defence, and his defence to Atticus† is the scandalous mismanagement of the Optimate cause by Pompey. Cicero was evidently thinking of making serious efforts to negotiate for peace with Caesar—

'I would die,' he says, 'for Pompey; but I do not think that the safety of the State lies with him. You say I should leave Italy if Pompey leaves it.‡ No; I think that course neither good for the State nor for my children, nor right or honourable. I have special reasons for remaining which I would fain talk over with you. I am just leaving to join Pompey, a helper, if it is a question of peace; if of war—what?'

Cicero did set out, but only reached Cales, where he heard news which led him to believe that Pompey was marching to the assistance of Domitius. He accordingly returned to Formiae, and there waited for the development of events.

During the next few days he is all anxiety concerning what was happening at Corfinium, and on the 19th there reached Cicero an order from Pompey to the consuls, written about the 17th, directing that, whereas it was advisable to concentrate their

* Att. viii. 10 (328).

† Att. viii. 2 (332).

‡ It is interesting to compare this advice of Atticus with that quoted by Cicero in Att. ix. 10, 5 (365), from a letter of February 7th, *Ego quidem tibi non sim auctor, si Pompeius Italiam reliquit te quoque profugere. Summo enim periculo facies nec rei-publicae proderis, cui quidem posterius poteris prodesse si manseris*; and, indeed, all through that epistle Cicero quotes (with dates) passages in which Atticus advises Cicero to remain in Italy. We do not think Cicero's friend helped him much in his perplexity, and Atticus certainly did not like being even gently reminded of the inconsistency of his counsels: cp. Att. ix. 13, 3 (369), *συναγῶγῇ consiliorum tuorum non est a me collecta ad querellam sed magis ad consolationem meam*.

forces into one place, they should come to him with all speed.* Cicero had not the slightest doubt that the 'one place' was Corfinium. All was to be staked on that cast. 'How I shudder,' he writes to Atticus,† 'and am filled with anxiety as to the result I trust that Pompey the Great will cause great terror by his approach.'‡ On the same day, the 19th, Pompey turned his back on Domitius, and marched from Luceria to Canusium, on his way to Brundisium.§ Two days later the consuls joined Pompey, and they reached Brundisium on the 25th.

Definite news was slow in reaching Cicero. On the 22nd he heard of the capitulation of Sulmo, and by the 23rd all Cicero's certain belief that Pompey would march to the assistance of Domitius had vanished.|| His companions argued that, in the nature of things, Pompey *must* go to Corfinium; he *could* not desert so many nobles and men of importance, when he had thirty cohorts too—

'If I am not mistaken,' says Cicero, 'he *will* desert them. His timidity passes belief. I have a foe to fly from, but no leader to follow. I did say, Better to lose with Pompey than win with the Caesarians, and say it again, but with Pompey as he was in the old days, or as I thought he was, not with the man who flies before he knows his pursuer, or whither he is to fly.'

Later in the same day follows another letter¶ in the same strain of excited censure—

'He would not have peace, and did not prepare for war. He is deserting Domitius and all of us. Domitius has written to him an urgent

* Att. viii. 9, 2 (337), *Nunc, ut ego non scribam, tua sponte te intellegere scio, quanti reipublicae intersit omnes copias in unum locum primo quoque tempore convenire.*

† Att. viii. 6 (337).

‡ But notwithstanding his anxieties Cicero can still think about the little annoyances of his friends, and has something pleasant to say as regards Atticus' and Pilia's fevers, 'Now that you have got rid of your fever, tell Pilia that she is not a sympathetic wife if she keeps hers any longer' (*Piliae dic non esse aequum eam diutius habere nec id esse vestrae concordiae*).

§ This appears from the deplorable postscript to Att. viii. 4 (335), 'You know, I suppose, of the capitulation of Sulmo, that Pompey is marching for Brundisium, and that Domitius is deserted. It is all over.'

|| Att. viii. 7 (338).

¶ Att. viii. 8 (339).

appeal, and he has written to the consuls directing a concentration of forces. I thought the beauty of Nobility had shone before his eyes, and his true and better self had said, "Let my enemies intrigue and devise against me as they will, for the right is on my side." But he has bid farewell, a long farewell, to all his Honour, and he makes for Brundisium. They say that Domitius and his companions, on receipt of this news, surrendered. What a catastrophe! I am too afflicted to write more.'

The worst had come, and Cicero could once more be calm. But he never could feel the same towards Pompey again. The false god of the Optimates had deserted them in their hour of need. But the old spirit of devotion remained. 'I love him, as in duty bound, but I cannot praise his desertion of his friends . . . Perhaps he is at Brundisium by this time. But this monster is so dreadfully alert, rapid, and energetic, that he will probably intercept him. I don't know what will happen.'*

In a letter written a few days later† Cicero thinks that he sees the whole situation more clearly, and Pompey has begun to wear a more hateful aspect in his eyes:—

'Both are aiming at tyranny, not at constitutional government. Pompey did not leave Rome because he could not defend it, or Italy because he was driven from it. No; his design from the very outset was to set all seas and lands in motion, to rouse up barbarian kings and savage nations against Italy, and to mass together mighty armies. His aim is a kind of Sullan despotism, and many of his associates long for it. Do you suppose an arrangement between the two parties is out of the question? It could be effected this very day. The aim of neither is our happiness; each wishes to be monarch.'

And in confirmation reference is made to the savage threats uttered by the Optimates at Luceria‡—

'When you asked me to write you my view of the situation you perhaps expected that I could see therein something of the nature of consolation. No, I cannot. Nothing could be more miserable, desperate, or disgraceful. I remember Demetrius of Magnesia dedicated you his book on Concord. Please send it to me; you see my project.'

* Att. viii. 9, 4 (340), *Sed hoc τέρπας horribili vigilantia celeritate diligentia est. Plane quid futurum sit nescio.* Celerity is never more admired than by the negligent.

† Att. viii. 11 (342).

‡ If the reading in Att. viii. 16, 2 (352) is sound, it would appear that *Luceriae* was used at this time as a term to denote the violent threatenings of the Optimates.

On the same day, the 27th, Cicero replied to a letter from Pompey, dated the 20th, from Canusium, urging Cicero to join him at Brundisium with all speed. Cicero's letter is courteous and high in tone, but he was not at all careful to conceal his real opinions as to Pompey's conduct. It is a document with which Cicero had every reason to be satisfied, and is well worth reading, from many points of view. 'I have not joined you, partly because I might be readily captured by the enemy, and that would be injurious not only to me personally, but to the State.' Cicero expects that Pompey will feel the reproach that Cicero is remaining at his post, while Pompey is flying. 'I do not know your object in leaving Italy, but I suppose it is a wise one. I can only mourn the hard lot of my country. My opinion was that we should not leave Rome, and you never even hinted about leaving Italy. I acquiesced in your view, not because I thought it good for the State (for I had no hope for it), but from personal regard for yourself, and desire to be with you.' Then Cicero makes covert reference to his correspondence with Caesar, and defends himself by the reasonable plea that, when Pompey was making large and honourable concessions to Caesar,* he, Cicero, had reason to take thought for his own interests, especially as he knew that he was always a mark for democratic attacks, and had positive evidence of the fact in the present crisis. If such attacks could be avoided with honour, why not avoid them? In reference to those of the Optimates whose sentence was for open war and for no negotiations with the rebels, Cicero says: 'I was never on more friendly terms with Caesar than they were, and they are not more loyal to the State than I am. We differ on a question of policy: I was for peace, they for war. And now that this latter opinion has prevailed, you will not find me failing in my duty, either to the State as a citizen, or to yourself as a friend.' †

From the 27th of February to the 24th of March Cicero's letters are almost all occupied with the question whether he should

* Schmidt (p. 124) admirably points out that the loyal optimates must have felt some fear that a reconciliation might be effected between Caesar and Pompey to crush the senators. He compares Att. x. 8, 5 (392): *Fefellit ea me res quae fortasse non debuit sed fefellit: pacem putavi fore, quae si esset, iratum mihi Caesarem esse, cum idem amicus esset Pompeio, nolui; senseram enim quam iidem essent.*

† Att. viii. 11 D (343).

unite himself with Pompey or not, assuming it to be certain that Pompey will leave Italy. This consideration is mingled with anxiety about what will happen at Brundisium.

For thither the centre of interest had been transferred. Caesar, after the capture of Corfinium, started for Brundisium on February 21st, and after making regular marches of about fifteen Roman miles a-day, and resting about one day in seven, he reached Arpi on the 1st of March, and was before Brundisium on the 9th.* He at once set about negotiations with Pompey for a compromise. Fortune offered a negotiator. N. Magius, one of Pompey's head engineers, had been captured at Cremona, as he was making for Spain, and Caesar now sent him with certain proposals to Pompey. The latter sent Magius back with counter-proposals, which were probably extravagant, and only made in order to gain time. At all events, they seemed unsatisfactory to Caesar; so he made, as he says himself, 'a suitable reply' (*quae visa sunt respondere*), and sent that reply back to Pompey. Pompey did not make any further efforts to negotiate, and retained Magius with him.† Then Caesar made a further effort for peace by sending Caninius Rebilus to Pompey;‡ but the latter replied, that as the consuls were not in Italy no agreement could be made. These negotiations lasted from the 10th to the 13th. On that day Caesar blockaded Brundisium, and began to throw moles into the sea, in order to prevent, if possible, Pompey's flight; but Pompey succeeded in stealing away on the 15th, after burning all the ships which he was not using, and Caesar entered the empty town on the 16th.§

To return to Cicero at Formiae. He was, as we have seen, sorely perplexed as to whether to follow Pompey into Greece, or remain in Italy. At one time he appears to be inclined to adopt the prudent course, and follow the advice of Atticus, which was that he should remain;|| at another to be filled with remorse that

* Att. ix. 6, 2 (360); 13 A, 1 (370).

† Att. ix. 7 c, 2 (347); 13 A (370): Caes. i. 24-26; Schmidt, pp. 151-153.

‡ Caes. i. 26, 3, *imprimis ut ipse cum Pompeio colloqueretur postulat*; cp. above, p. xviii.

§ Caes. i. 27-29; Cic. Att. ix. 14, 3 (372).

|| Att. viii. 12, 2-4 (345), Feb. 28.

he is not sharing all Pompey's fortunes.* The energy and clemency of Caesar,† and the incapacity and violence of the Optimate party, and even of Pompey,‡ urge him in one direction; his regard for public opinion, and his feelings of gratitude and duty to Pompey, urge him in the other.§ Thus on March 3rd Cicero received a letter from Atticus, recommending caution. To this he replied: 'To remain is safer; to go is more honourable. I sometimes prefer that many people should consider my conduct imprudent than that a few should think it dishonourable.'||

To this letter a postscript is appended: 'I am sending you Balbus's letter, that you may sympathize with me at my being turned into ridicule.' This referred to an effusive letter from Balbus,¶ written a few days previously, urging Cicero to use all his exertions to reconcile Pompey and Caesar—

'Believe me,' says Balbus, 'Caesar will do whatever you tell him, and consider you have done him a great service if you devote yourself to this task. Caesar is much pleased at your attempting to dissuade the consul Lentulus from leaving Italy.** If he only follows your advice, trusts what I say about Caesar, and spends the rest of his year of office at Rome, I shall begin to hope that, by the advice of the senate, under your direction, and at his motion, a union may be effected between Pompey and Caesar.'

Balbus was probably sincere in the main purport of this letter: it would have been much to the advantage of Caesar if Cicero could have brought about some sort of further negotiations; but Balbus went too far when he laid such emphasis on the high opinion which (as he asserts) Caesar entertained of Cicero, so that there were good grounds for the latter's opinion, that he was being turned into ridicule.

* Att. viii. 14, 2 (349), March 2.

† Att. viii. 13, 1 (348), March 1.

‡ Att. viii. 15, 2 (350), March 3, *Iovi ipsi iniquum*.

§ Att. viii. 16, 1-2 (352), March 4.

|| Att. viii. 15, 2 (350), *Cautior certe est mansio, honestior existimatur traiectio: malo interdum multi me non caute quam pauci non honeste fecisse existiment*.

¶ Att. viii. 15 A (346).

** It is noticeable how Caesar apparently tried to come to terms with the Pompeians separately, as is shown in his efforts to gain over this very Lentulus, Att. viii. 9, 4 (340).

From about the 4th to the 12th of March Cicero appears to be quite decided to join Pompey, and the question is how to effect this purpose; but day succeeds day, and Cicero does nothing. On the 10th he is still troubled with remorse at having failed to unite his fortunes with Pompey, his friend, his benefactor, his political leader.* But presently a new project begins to appear. A letter from Atticus, received on the 11th, evidently first suggested to Cicero that he should have a meeting with Caesar on his return from Brundisium.† ‘If I am to meet him,’ says Cicero, ‘this Formiae is the best place. We can settle details later.’ After Cicero had written this letter, but had not closed it (§ 3), important news arrived from Brundisium, that on the 4th Pompey and the consuls had crossed to Greece with 30,000 men, after burning the ships they did not use. This report was afterwards found to have only a particle of truth in it,‡ but Cicero’s conscience stung him—

‘Your letters console me as I read them, but then comes the remorse, and mine iniquity riseth up before me. I shall try to induce Caesar to allow me to absent myself from the Senate when any motion is brought forward against Pompey, but I fear that I shall fail. On two points I was mistaken. I thought that there would be a compromise between the rivals, and I never thought that Pompey would undertake to set on foot a desperate war. It is better to die than to be with his allies. Do advise me: anything is better than this agonising uncertainty.’—(§§ 5-7).

On the same day, or the next, Cicero received a courteous letter from Caesar, asking him to come to Rome, ‘in order that I may have in all matters the advantage of your advice, influence, position, and resource.’§ So that in the letter of the 13th Cicero is quite decided to follow Atticus’s advice, and have an interview with Caesar at Formiae. He had heard from Balbus and Oppius, that Caesar would not expect him to take any part in the debates

* Att. ix. 5, 3 (359); *quid? si non ἐταίρῳ solum, sed etiam εὐεργέτῃ, adde, tali viro talem causam agenti.*

† Att. ix. 6, 1 (360).

‡ The consuls with a portion of the troops set sail on the 4th: cp. Caes. i. 25, 2: Cic. Att. ix. 9, 2 (364), and Schmidt, pp. 159-160.

§ Att. ix. 6 A (357). *Imprimis a te peto, quoniam confido me celeriter ad urbem venturum, ut te ibi videam, ut tuo consilio, gratia, dignitate, ope omnium rerum uti possim.*

against Pompey; but if Caesar should not grant him that indulgence, Cicero was prepared to speak in favour of peace, and take the risks. 'Pompey will of course gorgonize me with a grisly stare, for his aim is Sullan despotism.'*

The fluctuations in Cicero's mind still continue in the letters of the subsequent days. But on the 19th he was somewhat relieved by a visit from Matius, a calm and moderate man.† Writing to Atticus early on the 20th, Cicero says: 'I showed Matius Caesar's letter asking for my "influence and resource." He said Caesar meant my resource in negotiation for peace. Would that I could be of any use!' Cicero also said that he had seen Crassipes the day before, who had just returned from Brundisium, and that the threatenings of the Optimates were most violent and savage, 'nothing but proscriptions and Sullas' (*meras proscriptiones, meros Sullas*). The arguments in favour of remaining and meeting Caesar were obviously gaining greater force in Cicero's mind. But later in the same day news arrived from Lepta that Pompey was blockaded. Again Cicero is plunged in remorse. He even wishes for death.‡ 'My suffering is such that I long for the end of Mucianus.' But again, 'your advice to have a meeting with Caesar is both honourable and prudent.' Then, after a bitter outbreak of wrath against the ungrateful Dionysius, who had slighted him in his hour of anxiety, he exclaims:—

'The armies of the Roman people are blockading Pompey with rampart and ditch, and yet I live. Rome is standing, the praetors holding the courts, the aediles preparing the games, the nobles making their investments, and I myself—sitting idle. It is utter ruin. My only prayer is that some enemy will take pity upon me.'

Reports from Brundisium, which reached Cicero on the 24th, in a letter from Balbus at Rome, showed that the negotiations for peace were breaking down, and these reports were confirmed by a letter from Dolabella of the 15th, which breathed nothing but

* Att. ix. 7, 3 (362).

† Cp. Fam. xi. 27, 3. The letter of Matius, written in 710 (44), which is still preserved in Fam. xi. 28, is the manliest of all that are extant from Cicero's correspondents.

‡ Att. ix. 12 (368).

war.* On the evening of the same day a letter from Caesar to Pedius reached Cicero; it was sent on the 14th, and told of the blockade of Brundisium, and of Caesar's operations to hinder Pompey's departure. 'There is nothing else I can do,' said Caesar.† On the 25th Cicero related this to Atticus, and expressed utter despair of peace, and serious alarm at what the next step of Caesar might be—will it be a Sullan despotism, with all its attendant iniquities and horrors? A brief postscript adds, 'After writing the above before daybreak, I am in receipt of a letter from Lepta, from Capua, stating that Pompey embarked at Brundisium on the 15th, and that Caesar would be at Capua on the 26th.'‡

The inevitable had come. Later in the same day a more definite letter reached Cicero, stating that Caesar would pass through Formiae on the 27th,§ and would be at Curio's Alban villa on the 28th. 'After an interview with him,' says Cicero,|| 'I shall go to Arpinum. If he grants me the indulgence I seek I shall accept his terms; if not, I shall gain a request from myself,' which means—I shall be able to induce my judgment to allow me at last to do what I wish, and join Pompey. A postscript notifies that he has just received a letter (which he encloses) from Matius and Trebatius from Capua, telling of the events at Brundisium, and of Caesar's movements. He would be at Capua on the 26th, and at Sinuessa on the 27th.

On that day Cicero received a communication from Caesar, in reply to a letter written about the end of February, praising Caesar for his clemency at Corfinium:—

'I am triumphing with joy,' writes Caesar,¶ 'that you approve of my course of action. I hope that you will attend at Rome, so that, as usual, I may enjoy your advice and resources in everything. Your son-in-law Dolabella is charming: I shall owe him yet further gratitude for this obligation.'

* Att. ix. 13, 8 (371).

† Att. ix. 14, 1 (372), *sed tamen nihil est quod potius faciamus*: cp. Caes. i. 26 fin.

‡ Att. ix. 14, 3 (372).

§ Schmidt (p. 158) ingeniously suggests that we should read *eum hic vi k* for *et hoc mihi*: but though this suits the chronology excellently it is too far from the mss to be accepted.

|| Att. ix. 15, 1 (373).

¶ Att. ix. 16, 2 (374).

On the 27th Cicero was naturally full of anxiety as to his interview with Caesar. It was to take place next day. Caesar had given orders that public notices should be posted at Formiae, that he wished that there should be a full attendance of the senate on the 1st. 'Well, then, am I to refuse him?' Cicero seems to think that he must refuse him. 'According to what Caesar says, I shall make up my mind whether to go to Arpinum or elsewhere. I think Arpinum is the best place to give my son his robe of manhood. Do think for me about the next step; my troubles have made me dull.'*

On the 28th of March, 705 (49), the meeting between Caesar and Cicero took place. It is with keen insight and deep emotion that Schmidt (pp. 22, 23, 161 ff.) asks us to pause and reflect on this crisis in Cicero's life. The victorious imperator was returning to Rome to hold a meeting of the senate, and all he asked was that Cicero should appear and lend his aid in the interests of peace. Many of the so-called Optimates were in Rome, only too ready to attend and vote anything the conqueror wished. To influence Cicero further, there was the charm of Caesar's manner, and the delicate way in which he could, if Cicero showed any signs of acquiescence, lay emphasis on the influential position which Cicero would hold in the discussion and in the subsequent events. Certainly the temptation was great. Anyone who resisted it was no ordinary man, and Cicero, to his honour, *did* resist it. Writing to Atticus on the 29th, he says:—

'I followed your advice in both respects: the tone of my remarks was such as to gain his respect rather than to earn his gratitude; and I persevered in my resolution not to go to Rome. We were mistaken in supposing him to be easy to deal with. I never knew anyone less so. He said my resolution was a condemnation of himself, and that the rest of the senators would be less likely to attend if I did not come. I said their case was different. After much discussion he said, "Come then and advocate peace." "At my own discretion?" I ask. "Would I," said he, "dictate to you?" "Well, then," I replied, "my motion shall be to the effect that the Senate disapproves of a march into Spain, and of the throwing of an army into Greece, and I shall make a speech expressing great sympathy with Pompey." "I do not," said he, "desire a speech of that nature." "So I thought," was my reply; "but that was just the

* Att. ix. 17, 1, 2 (375).

reason why I do not wish to attend, because I must either speak in this strain, and say much that I could not possibly suppress if I did attend, or else I cannot appear at all." The upshot of the whole matter was that he, with a view apparently to ending the interview, asked me to think it over. I could not refuse that; so we parted. I do not think he is charmed with me, but I am charmed with myself, and it is a long time since I have had that experience.' *

It was a great day in Cicero's life, and is justly ranked by Schmidt with the 2nd of September, 710 (44), on which day he delivered the First Philippic; but greater in the same measure in which Caesar was greater than Antony. It is these two days, and not the 5th of December, 691 (63), nor the 4th of September, 697 (57), which will seem to those who feel a true admiration for Cicero to be the really glorious days of his life. When a great crisis came the mists of perplexity cleared away, the eye sank inward and the heart saw plain, and he boldly faced his duty. It is the fashion now-a-days to call Cicero a coward: he was called a coward by his own contemporaries, and he replied to those who made this superficial criticism. But deeper thinkers judged otherwise:—

'I do not see,' says Quintilian (xii. 1, 16), 'that in Marcus Tullius there was in any direction failure in the duty of a good citizen. Evidence of this is his highly honourable consulship, his extremely upright provincial administration, his rejection of the vigintivirate, and during the civil wars, which fell with crushing weight on his advanced years, the fact that neither hope nor fear diverted his resolution from attaching himself to the Optimate party, that is, to the free State. Some people think him deficient in courage, but to them he has given himself an admirable reply:—"I am not timid," he said, "in facing dangers, but in attempting to guard against them,"† and he proved this by his own death, which he met with the most supreme fortitude.'

Caesar went to Rome and held a meeting of the senate. He gives the substance of the justificatory speech‡ which he delivered

* Att. ix. 18, 1 (376).

† *non se timidum in suscipiendis sed in providendis periculis*. These actual words do not occur in any of Cicero's extant writings: but something like them is found, as Spalding points out, in Fam. vi. 21, 1; *Itaque ego, quem tum fortes illi viri et sapientes, Domitii et Laelii, timidum esse dicebant—eram plane: timebam enim, ne evenirent ea, quae acciderunt—, idem nunc nihil timeo et ad omnem eventum paratus sum*.

‡ Caes. i. 32.

on that occasion. He asked the Senate to co-operate with him in the government, and to send an embassy to Pompey, notwithstanding the weak-minded assertion of the latter, that whoever sent ambassadors *ipso facto* declared that he was in the wrong. But there was considerable opposition to Caesar in the Senate; so that he was driven to declare that, if the senators did not choose to co-operate with him, he would administer the State without them. He tried fruitlessly to obtain possession of the Treasury by constitutional means, but was finally compelled to remove the tribune Metellus by force, when the latter stood in the doors of the Treasury.* After wasting some days, as he says himself, Caesar set out to Further Gaul on April 6th. There is no doubt that Caesar was intensely disappointed and annoyed at the obstruction he had met with, and evidently made in private some strong assertions as to the violent measures he would take if that obstruction continued.

Meanwhile Cicero had gone to Arpinum, and in the cradle of his race given the toga of manhood to his son. His mind was fixed now. He was determined to go to Pompey, 'not for the sake of the free State—it has gone to ruin—but lest I should seem ungrateful to him who lifted from my shoulders the burden which he had placed upon them.'† The only question is how he can leave with most dignity and facility, and with least distress to his family. On April 3rd he was in the Laterium of his brother Quintus, and from the 6th to the 12th in Arcanum.‡ On the 7th he received a letter from Caesar, excusing him for not attending the Senate, and declaring that no offence had been taken.§ Whatever Caesar's motive was in writing this letter, whether magnanimity or policy, it redounds to Cicero's credit, that it did not influence him so far as to make him forget what he considered was his duty. 'I am supported,' he says,|| 'by a good conscience, and with that as my companion I am going forth upon my journey.'

* Caes. i. 33 : cp. Lucan iii. 114. We must remember that Pompey and Varro also took money from temples : cp. Caes. ii. 18, 21.

† Att. ix. 19, 2 (377).

‡ The Arcanum and Laterium were two villas, the property of Quintus, near Arpinum.

§ Att. x. 3 A, 2 (381), *Caesar mihi ignoscit per litteras quod non venerim, seseque in optimam partem id accipere dicit.*

|| Att. x. 4, 5 (382).

But young Quintus was not troubled with a conscience. This worthless young man seems to have been utterly destitute of principle, and to have looked on artfulness and duplicity as the real means of getting on in the world.* He made friends with one of Caesar's followers, Hirtius, and actually left Rome in Caesar's train, and accompanied him some days' journey up the Etrurian coast. But Caesar sent him back to Rome, and Atticus laid it as a duty upon Cicero to keep the young man in order. It was a hard task, as Cicero acknowledged,† but he undertook it, as he always undertook his duty, and gave the would-be Caesarian a warm reception when the latter arrived at Arcanum.‡ Cicero says he thinks the prime motive of young Quintus was his constitutional greed for money and the hope of a large share in the plunder, and trusts that it is not downright treachery to his family. Cicero had to be thankful for very small mercies in those distressing days.

On the 12th Cicero went to Cumae, and on the 13th Curio, who had been delivering a speech at Puteoli, called on him. This vigorous and able lieutenant of Caesar professed absolute certainty as to the whole course of succeeding events. He believed that Caesar was already almost in possession of Spain, that he would at once pursue Pompey, and by the latter's death all the bad business would be brought to an end. He further said that Caesar's clemency was dictated merely by policy, that if this opposition to him was persisted in he would put it down ruthlessly, and that he had left Rome in a very indignant frame of mind. Curio apparently wanted to frighten Cicero, and thus deter him from taking any active part in the war; and, accordingly, praised his intention of repairing to a retired place, and remaining neutral until this tyranny was overpast.

That the Caesarians were earnestly desirous that Cicero should not openly take part with their adversaries is patent also by letters written to him by Caelius and Caesar from Intimelum, in the middle of April,§ which express these views. The letter of

* Att. x. 6, 2 (386), *mirabilia multa, nihil simplex, nihil sincerum*.

† Att. x. 5, 2 (384), *De Quinto regendo* 'Αρκαδία, where see note.

‡ Att. x. 7, 3 (388).

§ Caelius had been sent to Intimelum on the Ligurian coast to subdue an outbreak which had occurred there: cp. Fam. viii. 15, 2 (344). When Caesar on his march

Caelius is, for the most part, of the same tenor as Curio's talk. Caesar* expresses his point of view courteously, but his meaning is quite unmistakable:—

‘If you join Pompey you will seriously impair our friendship, and act imprudently for yourself. In that case you cannot be regarded as joining the winning side (for *we* are the winning side), nor the right side (for if so, you ought to have joined Pompey long ago); but you must be regarded as disapproving of some action of mine, and I could not receive from you a severer blow than that. By our friendship, I beg of you not to do this. The safer and more honourable course for an upright man of peace like you is to remain neutral.’

Letters of this kind are so many panegyrics on Cicero's character, and show the force of uprightness even in those troublous and bad times. Cicero replied, certainly to Caelius, probably to Caesar, virtually to the effect that he intended to retire to a lonely place, and take no part in the war. His letter to Caelius is written in a strain of dignified melancholy, and is one of the most touching in the whole correspondence:—‘If there is ever a free State again, there will certainly be a place for me in it; but if not, even you yourself, I think, will come and join me in the desert.’ †

Cicero received these letters about the beginning of May. He had been seriously thinking of remaining neutral, of going perhaps to Athens or to Malta,‡ in case Pompey carried out what report said he proposed, and marched up through Illyricum and Germany into Gaul.§ Cicero was the more inclined to adopt this course, as his family begged him to take no rash step until the result in Spain was known.|| But this intention was not permanent. His real purpose was to go and join Pompey, and not even to await the issue of the Spanish campaign. For he argued—

‘Caesar must be defeated, or be victorious, or the war be protracted. In the latter case what am I to wait for? and how long am I to wait? In

along the Aurelian road arrived at this town, Caelius had an interview with him and urged him to write to Cicero.

* Att. x. 8 B, 1 (385).

† Fam. ii. 16, 6 (394).

‡ Att. x. 1, 2 (378); 7, 1 (388). Malta would appear to have been a customary resort for exiles: cp. Att. iii. 4 (58).

§ Att. x. 6, 3 (386).

|| Att. x. 8, 1 (392): 9, 1, 3 (393).

the event of Caesar's being conquered, how pleasing to Pompey will be my arrival, how honourable! Why, even Curio will join him then. If Caesar is victorious it will be more honourable to have left him when nearly assured of victory rather than when vanquished.*

But how to get away? 'I sit here whistling for the wind.'† But it was not principally the weather that detained him. About the beginning of May Antony came down to Campania in the official position of general governor of that district. During his journey he wrote to Cicero what the latter calls‡ 'an annoying note,' stating that he had heard that Cicero meditated leaving Italy; that the report was of course untrue, but, such was his attachment to Cicero, he was distressed that these false rumours got abroad. Antony goes on to point out his own and Caesar's regard for Cicero, and begs him to take no decided step. The compliments are a little too exaggerated, but the letter was meant to inform Cicero courteously that he will not be allowed to leave Italy. Writing to Atticus, Cicero says he must lead Antony to believe that he is going into retirement at Malta.§ He did reply, as he had done before, that he intended to be neutral, and that he could have gone to Pompey if he had chosen, to which Antony answered, in an admonitory tone (*παρανειτικῶς*), that the neutral man stays in his country—

'I do not presume to judge whether going is right or wrong. Caesar has told me to allow no one to leave Italy. You had better send to Caesar and ask his permission. I have no doubt you will obtain that permission, especially if you put forward, as you promise, the plea of our friendship.'

In a further communication Antony said that Cicero had been specified by name as one of those whom he was not to allow to leave Italy.||

There was no mistaking this. If Cicero was now to leave

* Att. x. 8, 2 (392). We think that in this difficult passage Cicero means—It is more honourable to leave Caesar when victor than when vanquished; but not when complete victor;—that would be foolish—rather when the outlook points probably, but not decisively, to his victory. We might also alter *et* to *at*.

† Att. x. 8, 9 (392), *sedeo enim πλουδοκῶν*.

‡ Att. x. 8-10 (392), *odiosas litteras*, i.e. Ep. 391.

§ Att. x. 8, 10 (392).

|| Att. x. 10, 1-2 (395); 12, 1 (397).

Italy at all he must escape in some way, if even in a 'punt' (*lintriculo*); and 'stealing a passage' was the plan which he regarded with most favour.* But at the same time we frequently read that he contemplated more decided measures, which he generally speaks of in some such phrase as *Caelianum aliquid*.† Cicero actually meditated an appeal to force, probably in Sicily; and, though his language in his letters was most guarded, his design appears to have been somehow, and in some degree, known in the neighbourhood. Cicero was making vigorous preparations for departure, and, to avert suspicion, paid a flying visit to Pompeii on the 12th. No sooner had he arrived than a certain Ninnius came to him, and said that the centurions of three cohorts intended next day to offer to put Pompeii into his hands. Cicero fled next

* Att. x. 10, 5 (395): 12, 2 (397), *π ό ρ ο ν κ λ ε π τ έ ο ν igitur et occulte in aliquam onerariam corrependum*.

† Att. x. 12, 5, 6 (398): 15, 2 (401). We adhere to the interpretation of *Caelianum illud* given in the note to Att. x. 12, 6 (398), and still think that the reference is to the Caelius mentioned by Plutarch Pomp. 7 (where he is wrongly called Κλοίλιος). This Caelius resisted Pompey when the latter was henchman of the tyrant Sulla; and so now Cicero meditated similar armed resistance to Antony, the henchman of the tyrant Caesar; but for fear of untrustworthy letter-carriers he veiled his intentions under obscure language. Ziehen, however, in a singularly candid and able discussion (*Ephemerides Tullianae*, 24-33), argues that the reference is to the course of action which M. Caelius Rufus in his letter to Cicero of April 16th (Att. x. 9 A, 2 (383) = Fam. viii. 16) stigmatized as the height of folly, *ad eos fugatos accedere, quos resistentes sequi nolueris, summae stultitiae est*. But Caelius, in this letter, says nothing about armed escape or armed resistance; and Ziehen allows (p. 28) that the essence of Cicero's *Caelianum* was an appeal of some sort to arms. Nor can we think that Att. x. 12, 6 (398), *quo magis efficiendum aliquid est fortuna velim meliore, animo Caeliano* can possibly mean 'in the sense that Caelius suggests but with better fortune than he prophesies.' Cicero would surely have used *consilio* for *animo*. That sentence rather points to some brave and spirited action on the part of Caelius which turned out unsuccessfully.

But Ziehen has, to our mind, established beyond yea or nay that Cicero was really meditating some *coup de main* at this time. Fortune seemed to be smiling on the Pompeians. News had just arrived that the inhabitants of Massilia intended to close their gates against Caesar: cp. Att. x. 12, 6 (398); it was stated also that Pompey was meditating a dash up through Illyricum and Germany to attack Caesar in Gaul: cp. Att. x. 6, 3 (386); 9, 1 (393). The Sicilians had urged Cato to make vigorous resistance to the Caesarians, and had promised him every aid; and it was announced that Cato had begun to set on foot a levy: cp. Att. x. 12, 2 (397). The time and place had thus presented itself, and we think that Cicero's designs had reference to Sicily: 'If we once get to Sicily we shall essay some greater deed': (Att. x. 12, 2 (397), *Sicilia petenda quam si erimus nacti maiora quaedam consequemur*). Pompey had

morning before daybreak from Pompeii back to Cumae, suspecting a trap.* We think his suspicions were unfounded; but also we think that he was right to refuse to compromise himself for the sake of three cohorts. Meanwhile young Hortensius came down to the coast with some official command, and was very 'gushing' to Cicero;† but he too, as well as Antony, turned out to be a false friend. Tullia was confined, apparently at Cumae, on the 19th of May, and Cicero probably remained with her until she was well. He soon went back to Formiae, determined to embark from there if possible. Antony was not interested any longer in keeping Cicero in Italy. The projected movement in Sicily had been dangerous; but now that Sicily was in the hands of Curio, Cicero was powerless, and he might, for all Antony or Caesar cared, go off to

intended to try and defend that island if Domitius should succeed in bringing his troops away from Corfinium, but abandoned the idea when the siege began and the forces of Domitius were no longer available: cp. Att. viii. 3, 7 (333), with viii. 12 A, 2 (331), and especially Schmidt, pp. 137-139. What if Cicero should now make Sicily another centre of Pompeian resistance? 'We are inclined to think that the 'more important rôle' which, as Cicero states in another passage, he may have to assume refers to this projected movement in Sicily: cp. Att. x. 15, 3 (401). There was much to encourage him. Caesar had met with considerable opposition at Rome: cp. Att. x. 4, 8 (382): even Curio at times was not very confident: cp. x. 7, 34 (388); an anti-Caesarian demonstration appears to have taken place recently at the Floralia: cp. x. 12, 6 (398); the feelings of the municipalities in south Italy were not very warm to Caesar: cp. ix. 19, 1 (377); x. 13, 1 (399); but, above all, the soldiers were wavering, cp. x. 15, 1 (401), *litterae tuae nobis magnam spem attulerunt meliorum rerum de octo cohortibus: etenim eae quoque quae in his locis sunt labare dicuntur*. These were most important considerations: and it was probably for these reasons that Antony had been recently sent with some kind of military command into Campania, and Curio had come down to make speeches: cp. x. 4, 8 (382); 8, 10 (392). This disaffection in Campania leads us to doubt whether the proposal of the three cohorts to surrender Pompeii was a crafty device to induce Cicero to take some decided step hostile to Caesar. We rather think that the offer was made in all good faith; but, even if it were so, Cicero was not a coward but quite prudent to have nothing to say to it. What, he justly asks, are three cohorts, or even more?

But the 'Caelian exploit' collapsed: and Ziehen (p. 33) has given a perfectly satisfactory explanation why it did collapse. Cato evacuated Sicily without a blow on the approach of Curio; he could easily have held it, and if this position had been held by him, says Cicero, all the optimates would have flocked to him: cp. x. 16, 3 (402). The field whereon the Caelian standard of opposition to the tyrant was to be unfurled was already in the power of the tyrant's lieutenant.

* Att. x. 16, 4 (402).

† Att. x. 17, 1 (403), *Quam in me incredibilem ἐκτένειαυ*.

Pompey as soon as he pleased. So finally, after many delays, Cicero set sail with his brother, son, and nephew from the harbour of Caieta, near Formiae, on the 7th of June, after writing a farewell letter to Terentia from the ship just before starting.*

§ 2. THE YEAR OF ANXIETY.

After leaving Italy Cicero probably remained some time in Atticus's estate in Epirus,† and seems to have joined Pompey in the autumn or early winter. He was not at all favourably received, and he gave considerable offence by his epigrammatic criticism of the plans of action (or inaction) which the Optimates were adopting; so much so, that Pompey expressed a wish that Cicero would go over to the enemy.‡ But it was sympathy for Pompey and gratitude to him personally that brought Cicero into his camp, so that he was quite prepared to put a large portion of the 2,200,000 sesterces which remained in his hands after his Cilician governorship at the disposal of Pompey, who was sorely in need of it—the money to be regarded as a loan, to be repaid when better times came.§

From February 5th to June 13th we have no letter from

* Fam. xiv. 7 (405): cp. viii. 17, 1 (408).

† Cp. Att. x. 6, 16 (386).

‡ For Cicero's witticisms in the camp of Epirus cp. Plut. Cic. 38; Macrobius ii. 3, 7. Plutarch says that they gave great offence (Cic. 28). In Att. xi. 4, 1 (413) Cicero expresses his disapproval of all that has been done after Caesar's defeat at Dyrrhachium, *quippe cui nec quae accidunt nec quae aguntur ullo modo probentur*; and again Fam. vii. 3, 2 (464), he declares that there was nothing 'good' there except the cause, and censures the over-confidence with which Pompey was possessed after the defeat of Caesar.

§ Att. xi. 3, 3 (411). Shortly before the outbreak of the Civil War Pompey had asked Cicero to allow him to regard that money as at his disposal if need arose; and, on obtaining Cicero's consent, had ordered it to be lodged in a temple. These would appear to be the real facts of the case, though Cicero, in apologizing to his quaestor, who complained of the scanty remuneration he had received, states that Pompey 'took away' (*abstulisse*) the money from him: cp. Fam. v. 20, 9, cp. § 5 (302). But the money was still Cicero's, as is plain from Att. xi. 1, 2 (406), for he intended to draw on it in order to repair his credit; and so embarrassed were Cicero's circumstances at this time, that he would not have been able to lend the money to Pompey were it not that in February 706 (48) he heard that a legacy had been left him: cp. Att. xi. 2, 1 (407).

Cicero to Atticus. During these months Caesar and Pompey had been for a long time posted opposite to one another on the Apsus, until Antony arrived with reinforcements in April. By the middle of that month Pompey's camp at Dyrrhachium was blockaded, but by the middle of June he had defeated Caesar, and forced him to raise the blockade.* On August 9th the decisive battle was fought at Pharsalia. Cicero was not present at that battle, owing to illness, which detained him at Dyrrhachium, where Cato was in command with fifteen cohorts.†

About the 14th Labienus arrived at Dyrrhachium with news of the defeat. The corn in the granaries was destroyed, the merchant vessels set on fire, and by the light of that conflagration the Pompeian soldiers sailed away for Corcyra.‡ There a general council of war was held, and Cicero, in hopes of peace,§ urged surrender; but was very nearly killed by that Hotspur, young Pompey, for giving such pusillanimous advice, and was only saved by the intervention of Cato.||

Cicero and his brother separated themselves from the rest of the Pompeians, and repaired to Patrae. Here Marcus was entertained for more than a month by M'. Curius.¶ He would have remained there longer but for two reasons—first, the arrival of the Pompeian fleet; and second, a quarrel with his brother. This quarrel may have been due to a number of causes, when we consider the excessively quick temper which was the chief failing of Quintus; but there is good evidence that one cause was that Quintus considered that Marcus had not given him his share of the money he had made in Cilicia.** The quarrel came to a crisis in Patrae, and

* The fixing of these dates by Schmidt, p. 190, is a most masterly discussion.

† Plutarch, Cic. 39; Cat. min. 55.

‡ Cp. De Div. i. 68, 69, *Paucis sane post diebus ex Pharsalica fuga venisse Labienum: qui cum interitum exercitus nuntiavisset, reliqua vaticinationis brevi esse confecta. Nam et ex horreis direptum effusumque frumentum vias omnes angiportusque constraverat, et naves subito perterriti metu conscendistis, et noctu ad oppidum respicientes flagrantes onerarias, quas incenderant milites, quia sequi noluerant, videbatis.*

§ Cp. Att. xi. 16, 1 (431), *de pace, cuius ego spe in hanc fraudem incidi.*

|| Plut. Cic. 39; Cat. min. 55.

¶ Att. xi. 5, 4 (416); Fam. xiii. 17, 1 (512).

** Att. xi. 13, 4 (428), *Si quas habuimus facultates, eas Pompeio tum, cum id videbamus sapienter facere, detulimus: itaque tum et a tuo vilico sumpsimus et aliunde mutuati sumus, cum Quintus queritur per literas sibi nos nihil dedisse, qui neque ab illo rogati sumus neque ipsi eam pecuniam adspeximus.*

Cicero felt that he could not remain there any longer. He left that town about October 7th, and arrived about the middle of October in Brundisium. Quintus went to Egypt with the fleet of the Pompeians.* News of Pompey's murder reached them in the Cyrenaica. Thereupon a split ensued. One party laid down their arms, and proceeded to seek pardon from Caesar, some proceeding to Greece, to await Caesar's return thither,† some to Asia, among these Quintus and his son; the other party, under Cato, went to Africa, to continue the war.

In Brundisium Cicero remained for eleven miserable months. One of his earliest acts was to write to Caesar, entirely exculpating his brother from all responsibility for their departure from Italy the previous June.‡ This was a generous act on the part of Marcus, who had just parted in anger from Quintus. But his own troubles were many. His lictors and retinue as imperator must have given rise to many a scoff, though Cicero says that his old enemy Vatinius, who was now governor of Brundisium, was kind to him.§ Early in December Antony was appointed Master of the Horse to Caesar, who was now Dictator.|| Antony wrote politely to Cicero, saying that he was very sorry, but express orders from Caesar forbade any Pompeian to remain in Italy. Cicero sent Lamia to Antony, to point out that Caesar had told Dolabella to recommend him to come to Italy. Then Antony issued Caesar's orders, specially excepting Cicero and Laelius by name, so that Cicero now could not leave Italy, even if he wished to do so, without incurring suspicion of having Pompeian sympathies. He blames Atticus for having used his influence to have these exceptions made.¶ Late in the same month a law appears

* Att. xi. 5, 4 (416).

† These are the *Achaici deprecatores*, Att. xi. 14, 1 (429); 15, 1 (430); 16, 2, 4 (431).

‡ Att. xi. 12, 2 (427).

§ Att. xi. 5, 4 (416).

|| On the arrival of the definite news that Pompey had fled to Egypt, about the middle of September, the Senate appointed Caesar Dictator. The news of this appointment reached Caesar in Egypt about the end of October, and his official appointment of Antony as Master of the Horse arrived in Rome about the beginning of December.

¶ In Att. xi. 9, 1 (423), *quippe qui exceptionibus edictorum retinear quae si non essent sedulitate effectae et benevolentia tua liceret mihi abire in solitudines aliquas*. M has *ua* for *tua*, which has induced Sternkopf to suggest *Vatinius*, who was at this time

to have been passed by the new tribunes, giving Caesar unlimited power over those who had espoused the Pompeian side.* This could make the exceptions in Antony's edicts nugatory, and thus render Cicero liable to annoyance from Antony, and put him at the mercy of Caesar.

This was bad enough ; but troubles came on Cicero during the following months, not as single spies, but in battalions. The Pompeians began to reorganize their forces in Africa,† while Caesar was in far from prosperous circumstances at Alexandria. There was bad news from Spain, and in Rome and Italy disorder and confusion reigned. Cicero would find it hard to justify his conduct to the Pompeians if they should in the end prove victorious. But even in his domestic life Cicero was sorely afflicted. He had quarrelled with his brother, and that brother and his son were writing most cruel letters about him, and spreading abroad all sorts of charges against him. 'This,' says Cicero, 'is the bitterest blow of all.'‡ They had gone to Caesar, and their pardon was secure ; but Cicero did not expect that they would use their influence in *his* favour.§ Young Quintus, who had a supporter in Hirtius, gained pardon for his father ; but neither father nor son had any feeling but hostility towards Marcus. Atticus expected that Quintus would plead for his brother, but Quintus does not appear to have made any effort in that direction. Caesar at once granted everything that Quintus asked, but made no mention of Marcus.|| Terentia, too, was found to be acting with treachery towards her husband. In April Cicero heard that she had made a will of such a kind that he was compelled to ask Atticus to expostulate with her.¶ He could hardly credit Terentia's conduct ; but some

well disposed to Cicero. But would not Cicero have at once leaped to the conclusion that it was treachery on the part of Vatinius if he had been instrumental in procuring those special exceptions ?

* Att. xi. 9, 1 (423) ; cp. Dio Cass. xlii. 20, τοὺς τε γὰρ τὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου φρονήσαντας ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτῷ πᾶν ὅτι ποτ' ἂν ἐθελήσῃ δρᾶσαι, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς παρ' ἑαυτοῦ οὐ τοῦτ' ἤδη λαβὼν εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ ἐν νόμῳ δῇ τινι αὐτὸ ποιεῖν δόξῃ.

† Att. xi. 10, 2 (425) ; 16, 1 (431).

‡ Att. xi. 8, 2 (422), *nihil in his malis tam acerbum* ; 9, 2 (423) ; 10, 1 (425) ; 11, 2 (426) ; 15, 2 (430).

§ Att. xi. 7, 7 (420).

|| Att. xi. 21, 3 (445).

¶ Att. xi. 16, 5 (431).

months later he found that she had defrauded him out of a paltry sum of a few hundred sesterces.* Conduct of this sort naturally alienated Cicero from her, and finally led to a divorce at the beginning of the next year.

But the much-loved Tullia was faithful. She came to him in June, and did all that an affectionate daughter could do to console her father. But the warmer her devotion so much the deeper was Cicero's grief at the untoward fortunes which she herself had to bear. Writing to Atticus, he says:†

‘I do not derive that pleasure from her excellent, tender, and affectionate disposition which I ought to derive from such a peerless child, but I am filled with sorrow which passes belief that such a noble nature should be plunged in this deep misery—and the fault is not hers; all the blame is mine.’

And then there was Tullia's husband Dolabella, to whom she clung with all the infatuation of her passionate nature.‡ He had been this year playing the extreme radical, and had proposed all kinds of absurd and revolutionary laws. He was further making himself notorious by the profligacy of his life and his intrigues with the infamous Metella. It seemed absolutely necessary, in point of honour, that he should be divorced from Tullia.§ Both in public and in private affairs Cicero was overwhelmed with calamities.||

But the principal cause of Cicero's distress during all these months was his constant anxiety as to the manner in which Caesar would finally deal with him. Cicero made every legitimate effort to obtain indulgent treatment at the hands of the victorious emperor. Atticus was more than once asked to urge Balbus and Oppius to write to Caesar on Cicero's behalf,¶ and

* Att. xi. 24, 3 (441). † xi. 17, 1 (432). ‡ Att. xi. 25, 3 (436).

§ Att. xi. 23, 3 (437). But Tullia's love seems to have surmounted all the wrongs of her husband, and he and she appear to have lived together again in the following summer. They were not finally divorced until the late autumn of 708 (46), about three months before Tullia's death: cp. Att. xii. 8 (501).

|| Yet some friends stood by him. Matius, Lepta, and Trebatius came to see him at Brundisium: Fam. xi. 27, 1; Att. xi. 8, 1 (422). Vatinius and Ligurius joined with him in indignation at the conduct of Quintus: cp. Att. xi. 9, 2 (423).

¶ Att. xi. 7, 5 (416); 8, 1 (422).

Cicero also himself wrote to Caesar. He mentions with gratitude that M. Terentius Varro, Gibba, afterwards quaestor of M. Brutus in Cisalpine Gaul,* brought letters and communications for him from Brundisium to Caesar. In April, 707 (47),† Philotimus carried another letter from Cicero to Alexandria, and brought back a note from Caesar which Cicero described as 'fairly generous.'‡ It bade Cicero be of good cheer, and assured him that his position in the State should be in no way impaired.§ As it is quite incredible that Cicero did not inform Atticus of the receipt of this communication from Caesar, we must suppose, with Sternkopf and Schmidt (p. 229), that a letter to Atticus of August 12th has been lost.|| In August Cicero was disquieted because he heard that Caesar, in graciously pardoning Quintus at Antioch, had made no mention of him at all;¶ and further, because Caesar had sent to Balbus letters of Quintus which were bitterly hostile to Marcus, and, in the judgment of the latter, the only reason why Caesar could have done so was to publish his misery to the world.** In July Caesar sent a message by M. Vibius Pansa, which reached Cicero about the beginning of September, permitting him to retain the title of imperator and his lictors as long as he pleased.†† So that Caesar's feelings towards Cicero were, on the whole, favourable.‡‡ After the defeat of

* Fam. xiii. 10, 3 (451).

† Schmidt (p. 227) points out that, as Philotimus was at Rhodes on his return journey on May 28th (cp. Att. xi. 23, 2 (437)), he must have started from Alexandria not later than May 20th, and therefore must have left Brundisium in April. He delayed a long time on his return: cp. xi. 24, 4 (441).

‡ Fam. xiv. 23 (442), *satis liberales*.

§ Cp. Ligar. 7, *qui ad me ex Aegypto litteras misit ut essem idem qui fuisset*: Deiot. 38, *meque tuis litteris bene sperare non frustra esse iussum*.

|| Sternkopf notices that Att. xi. 20 (440), *tuas litteras ad eas quibus a te proxime consilium petivi vehementer exspecto* does not suit the tenor of xi. 24 (441).

¶ Att. xi. 21, 3 (445),

** Att. xi. 22, 1 (446).

†† Ligar. 7, *qui cum ipse imperator in toto imperio populi Romani unus esset, esse me alterum passus est*.

‡‡ Schmidt argues (in his Programme on M. Brutus, p. 172) that after the battle of Zela Caesar commissioned Brutus (whom Schmidt regards as a nominal republican, but really working in concert with the tyrant) to write a reassuring letter to Cicero, in which consolation for his troubles and admonitions to co-operate with the Caesarian party were judiciously intermingled. As proof of this he adduces Brut. 11, *Tum ille* (sc. Atticus) *Legi, inquit, perlibenter epistolam quam ad te Brutus misit ex Asia, qua mihi visus est et monere te prudenter, et consolari amicissime*: ibid. 330, *ea consolatione*

Pharnaces at Zela, on August 2nd, Caesar hastened home, passed through Galatia and Bithynia, was at Athens on September 1st, and arrived at Tarentum about September 24th. On the 25th he had a cordial interview with Cicero, of which Plutarch (Cic. 39) gives an interesting account—

‘But when it was announced that he had disembarked at Tarentum, and was proceeding by land thence to Brundisium, Cicero advanced to meet him, not being altogether without hope, but feeling shame in the presence of many persons at having to make trial of a man who was an enemy and victorious. But there was no necessity for him to do or to say anything unworthy; for when Caesar saw Cicero coming to meet him far before all the rest, he got down from his carriage and embraced him, and walked several stadia in private conversation with him.’

After this interview Cicero proceeded at once towards Rome. He was at Venusia on October 1st.* He was at Tusculum probably on the 7th or 8th, and soon afterwards re-entered the city.

sustentor, quam tu mihi, Brute, adhibuisti tuis suavissimis litteris, quibus me forti animo esse oportere censebas, quod ea gessissem, quae de me etiam me tacente ipsa loquerentur mortuoque viverent; quae si recte esset, salute reipublicae, sin secus, interitu ipso testimonium meorum de republica consiliorum darent. But the effusive language of this passage does not prove that the letter of Brutus was anything more than an ordinary letter of consolation, which was probably a little less cold than the usual compositions of that reserved aristocrat, and which perhaps stated, though not quite definitely, that Caesar was well-disposed to Cicero. We know that Cicero was a little afraid of Brutus, and we may be sure that in a work dedicated to him, and called by his name, he would lay undue emphasis on any trifling act of kindness which that austere and selfish noble had been gracious enough to perform. And lastly, we must not take Cicero's rhetoric too literally, as he uses nearly equally effusive language about the consolation afforded him by the *Annals* of Atticus, § 14.

* Fam. xiv. 20 (449). This letter is the last extant one to Terentia. ‘A gentleman,’ says Mr. Long, ‘would write a more civil letter to his housekeeper.’ Cicero appears to have divorced Terentia shortly after his return to Rome. Plutarch (Cic. 41) professes to give ‘the most decent reasons’ (εὐπρεπέσταται προφάσεις) for this divorce, and they are as follows:—(1) He was neglected by her during the war, so that he set out without even the necessary supplies for his journey, and when he returned again to Italy he did not find her well-disposed to him; (2) For she did not come to him when he was staying for a long time at Brundisium. (3) And when his daughter, who was a young girl, went to him, she did not give her suitable escort or supplies. (4) Further, she despoiled and emptied Cicero's house, (5) in addition to incurring many large debts.’ The first charge is contradicted by the tone of Fam. xiv. 7 (405). As regards (2), Terentia appears to have been willing to come to her husband, but he expressly forbade her to do so: cp. Fam. xiv. 12 (415). There is nothing about (3) in Att. xi. 17 (432) which tells of Tullia's visit; but there was no doubt something in the vague charges (4) and (5): cp. pp. xlv., xlvi.

§ 3. *CICERO AND CAESAR.*

On his return to Rome Cicero's correspondence ceases for a time. Both his family and Atticus were there, and there were hardly any other persons with whom he cared at that time to keep up intercourse by letter. He renewed his friendship, as he says himself, with his old friends his books,* and spent some months in their pleasant company, with a heart at ease perhaps, but hardly happy. He could not, of course, be idle, and during this period composed, at the instigation of M. Brutus, his celebrated history of Roman eloquence, which he called by the name of that distinguished nobleman, and dedicated to him.†

But the clash of arms still continued. Caesar hardly remained two months in the city. In December, 707 (47), he started for Africa, where the Republicans had been gaining strength since the death of Curio in September, 705 (49), landed there on January 1st, 708 (46), fought an indecisive battle at Ruspina with the Pompeians on January 4th, but did not succeed in effecting their final defeat until April 6th, on the field of Thapsus. News of that victory reached Rome about the 20th, and for the next three weeks gloomy messages were constantly arriving with such tidings as the suicide of Cato, the deaths of Petreius and Juba, the executions of Afranius and Sulla, and the murder of young Lucius Caesar. The state of exultation on the one side, and the increasing despair on the other, may be seen in the letters of Cicero to Varro (Fam. ix. 2-7), which belong to this period. Caesar did not leave Africa until June 13th, when he sailed for Sardinia, where he remained about twelve days. On June 27th he left

* Fam. ix. 1, 2 (456).

† It is not possible here to discuss the very original view of Schmidt, that Brutus, in suggesting this work to Cicero, was acting under orders from Caesar, who wished the great orator to write an important work in defence of Caesarianism. But whatever may have been the motive of Brutus in making the suggestion, it is quite certain, as Schmidt has pointed out, that Cicero's *Brutus* has no Caesarian tendency at all. To take one example—Brutus himself is represented (§ 250) as delivering a panegyric on M. Marcellus, who, 'in this disaster sent by fate, in which we are all plunged, finds consolation during his exile in the consciousness of having done right, and in the renewal of his philosophical studies.' The work was written with thoroughly republican sentiments, and fully in accordance with Cicero's real feelings.

Sardinia, and, after a coast-voyage, which was much delayed by storms, he reached Rome on July 25th.*

In the beginning of June Cicero went to Tusculum for a short time. During this visit he made the first sketch of his *Cato*. This work was suggested by Brutus. In the *Orator* Cicero says (§ 35):—

‘I never would have undertaken the *Cato*, fearing, as I did, the spirit of the times, which was hostile to true greatness, were it not that I thought it a sin to refuse you when you urged me to the task, and recalled to me the loved memory of the man himself; but I call you to witness that I only ventured on the work reluctantly, and at your special request.’ †

Writing to Atticus, Cicero said‡ that it was a πρόβλημα Ἀρχιμήδειον to write adequately on such a theme without giving offence to the dominant party. ‘The only proper panegyric of that great man will be an eloquent exposition of his perception that the present state of things would come to pass, of his struggles against its being brought to pass, and of his death, so that he might not see it when it had been finally consummated.’ On these lines the *Cato* was written in the summer, but was not published when written, for at that time Cicero was anxious to keep on good terms with the Caesarians. ‘The work that remains for me,’ he says to Paetus, ‘is not to foolishly say any rash word, or do any rash deed against the dominant party.’ §

Cicero returned to Rome on the 16th, but at the beginning of July went back again to Tusculum, where he completed his *Cato*.

* Bell. Afric. 98.

† With rare learning Schmidt (p. 244) quotes a fragment of a letter from Cicero to Brutus which is found in Quintilian (v. 10, 9), in which Cicero says: ‘you are afraid lest I should transfer from that work (probably the *Brutus*) into my *Cato* some injudicious remarks, though the subject was not similar’ (*veritus fortasse ne nos in Catonem nostrum transferremus illim mali quid etsi argumentum simile non erat*).

‡ Att. xii. 4, 2 (469).

§ Fam. ix. 16, 5 (472). The *Cato* was published late in the year, when Caesar had already departed for Spain. Schmidt (p. 243) holds that the *Cato* was a ‘second chance’ which Caesar and Brutus gave Cicero of writing a Caesarian pamphlet. If so, we can hardly imagine that, after their previous failure in the *Brutus*, Brutus himself would not have asked to see the work before publication, and, when he saw the lines on which it was written, would not have used his influence to ensure that it should never see the light.

Dolabella and Hirtius (who had recently returned from Africa) appear to have stayed at Tusculum from about the 7th to the 24th of July. They used to spend their mornings in rhetorical exercises, under the direction of Cicero, ‘turned schoolmaster now, like Dionysius of Syracuse’ (as he says himself), and their evenings in feasting, when Cicero became the pupil, and was instructed by Hirtius in the Institutes of the Art of giving a good dinner.* Cicero writes pleasant letters to Paetus and Volumnius about his mode of life at this time, and excuses himself for his gaiety with the reflection that he had done all that a good citizen could be expected to do.† During July, while he was giving rhetorical lessons to Dolabella and Hirtius, Cicero wrote his *Orator*, which was composed immediately after the *Cato*, but was not published until the close of the year.‡ When Caesar’s arrival was imminent, about July 24th, Cicero sent Dolabella and Hirtius to meet him,§ and returned himself to Rome. He remained in the city until Caesar started for Spain in the early winter.

During the two months which followed his return to Rome Cicero was on friendly and intimate terms with the leading Caesarians, but he had not the *entrée* to Caesar’s—shall we call it court? || He used to attend the Senate, but never spoke at its meetings. In a letter to Paetus he gives an interesting account of his mode of life at this time:—

‘In the morning I receive visitors at my house—many republicans, but they are depressed; and these exultant victors, who, however, show *me*, at all events, the most courteous and affectionate respect. When the stream of visitors has passed I plunge into literary work, and write or read. Some people, too, call on me to listen to discourses which I give, thinking me a learned man, because I am a little more learned than they are.’

At the same time Cicero used the considerable influence he had

* Fam. ix. 16, 7 (472); 18, 3 (473).

† Fam. ix. 16, 5 (472), *ergo in officio boni civis certe non sum reprehendendus*.

‡ Cp. Fam. vi. 7, 4 (532); 18, 4 (534).

§ Fam. ix. 18, 1 (473).

|| Cp. Fam. iv. 7, 6 (486), *nos cura et dolore proximi sumus, precibus tardiores, quod ius adeundi, cum ipsi deprecatione equerimus, non habemus*; also vi. 10, 2 (492); 13, 3 (489).

with the Caesarians to try and effect the restoration of several of the exiled Pompeians; and he wrote many letters of consolation and encouragement to such of them as were his friends—to Nigidius Figulus, Ligarius, Marcellus, and others.* Letters of condolence are proverbially trite—‘common is the common-place,’ and certainly Cicero’s letters of condolence are common-place in ideas; the wretchedness of things at Rome, the satisfaction of a good conscience, the probability of a speedy return, and so forth.† But the richness and variety of language with which Cicero dilates on such constantly recurring themes is perfectly marvellous; and if it is anywhere surpassed, it is only by Cicero himself, in the commendatory letters of which we possess such numbers in the thirteenth book.

So passed August and a considerable portion of September. About the middle of that month an important event took place. In the Senate L. Piso made the proposal that M. Marcellus be restored; and when his brother C. Marcellus fell on his knees before Caesar, and all the senators rose in their places and seconded the request, Caesar pointed out the bitter hostility which M. Marcellus had always exhibited towards him, but left it to the Senate to pass what decree it pleased on the subject. The question was put to the senators one by one, and all, in voting ay, thanked Caesar for his restoration of Marcellus. Cicero, with his impressionable and impulsive nature, was carried away with an enthusiastic hope that this was the first sign of an intention on the part of Caesar to restore its authority to the Senate, and to govern henceforth constitutionally as its *princeps*. Cicero had intended never to speak in Caesar’s Senate; but the generosity shown on

* Fam. iv. 13 (483); vi. 13 (489); iv. 8 (485).

† Mr. Mahaffy (*Greek World*, p. 124) notices that Cicero does not suggest to any of his correspondents any definite line of work or investigation (e.g. the study of Greek art or Greek history) whereby they might usefully spend their time, and profit by their enforced residence in foreign lands. Perhaps Cicero felt that his friends would be as little able to apply themselves to literary or scientific study as he himself was during his exile, or during the year of anxiety at Brundisium. Certain of the exiles *did* devote themselves to philosophy, e.g. Marcellus and Servius Sulpicius (Brut. 250, 156). And however ready the average Roman aristocrat was to steal Greek statues and pictures, he would probably have considered a study of Greek art unworthy of the dignity of a Roman noble.

this occasion swept away the barriers of his reserve, and he poured out the full torrent of his gratitude and his expectations in the splendid speech now known as that *Pro Marcello*.* None of Cicero's orations are pitched in a higher key; but few who grasp the situation and know Cicero's character, so naturally impulsive, so enthusiastic for every noble action, and thrilling with hopes of the revival of the free State, can think that the praise of Caesar in that oration passes beyond the bounds set by honesty and self-respect.† 'I venture to assert, Caesar, that no laurel you have ever won is nobler than that which you have won to-day. . . . All other victors in civil wars you have surpassed in justice and mercy, but to-day you have surpassed yourself.'‡

Cicero entertained high hopes now, but they lasted little more than a fortnight. The *Ludi Victoriae Caesaris* were first celebrated from September 23rd to October 3rd, 708 (46).§ At these games Caesar compelled Laberius, a Roman knight, to appear on the stage, 'as a penalty for his republican candour, and evidently

* Cp. *Fam.* iv. 4, 3, 4 (495).

† Plutarch (*Cic.* 40) appears to have held a different view when referring to another occasion on which Cicero spoke before Caesar. Plutarch says: 'Cicero rarely went down to the city, and that only to flatter Caesar (*θεραπείας ἔνεκα τοῦ Καίσαρος*), and he was foremost among those who spoke in favour of the honours given to him, and who were eager always to be saying something original about the man and his deeds. An example is his remark about the statues of Pompey which Caesar ordered to be set up after they had been taken away and thrown down, and they were set up. For Cicero said that by this act of generosity Caesar erected the statues of Pompey, but firmly rooted his own' (*ὅτι ταύτη τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ Καῖσαρ τοὺς μὲν Πομπηίου ἴστησι, τοὺς δ' αὐτοῦ πήγνυσιν ἀνδριάντας*). This remark has a most Ciceronian ring. It was made doubtless soon after the pardon of Marcellus, when Cicero had high hopes that Caesar would restore its authority to the Senate, and Plutarch has referred speeches made by Cicero during this short period to the whole time during which Caesar remained at Rome.

‡ *Marcell.* §§ 4, 12. The genuineness of this speech, which Wolf disputed, is now almost universally acknowledged. Schmidt (p. 252) admirably points out that Cicero gives his own opinion as to the extent to which flattery might be carried in the sacred cause of peace, *Att.* viii. 9, 1 (340), *Cum autem ad eam* (sc. *pacem*) *hortarer eum praesertim hominem* (sc. *Caesarem*) *non videbar ullo modo facilius moturus quam si id, quod eum hortarer, convenire eius sapientiae dicerem. Eam si 'admirabilem' dixi, quoniam eum ad salutem patriae hortabar, non sum veritus ne viderer adsentari, cui tali in re libenter me ad pedes abiecissem.*

§ In after years they appear in the Calendars as being celebrated from July 20th to 30th, so that it has been fairly argued that in the 'year of confusion' their first

on account of his sharp tongue,'* and the low-born Publilius Syrus was awarded the prize. It was perhaps shortly after this that, in writing to Cornificius,† Cicero declares that he has grown so callous, that he can tolerate such tyrannical indignities. He is, however, still full of admiration for Caesar personally, and throws all the blame of such actions on the necessities of Caesar's position. He considers, as before, that the wretched state of affairs at Rome is due, not to the fault of the conqueror, 'nothing could be more moderate than he is, but to the victory itself, which in civil war is always outrageous (*insolens*).'‡ About November 26th Cicero spoke in Caesar's house,§ advocating the restoration of Ligarius. Caesar refused courteously, stating apparently that he would hold a formal trial of Ligarius in the Forum. Allowing the due interval of a *trinundinum*, the trial of Ligarius, at which Cicero delivered the extant speech *Pro Ligario*, must have taken place some time about the middle or latter end of the first intercalary month.||

Soon after this, probably about the beginning of the second intercalary month, Caesar left for Spain. Before leaving he had

celebration occurred on the days which corresponded to July 20th to 30th of subsequent years: see Mommsen in C. I. L. i., p. 397, and Dict. Antiq. s. v. LUDI VICTORIAE CAESARIS.

* Teuffel (ed. Schwabe), §§ 192–3.

† Fam. xii. 18, 2. In drawing up the list of letters of the year 708 (46) we omitted, perhaps erroneously, Fam. xii. 18 and 19. We did so, as we thought that the games at which Laberius appeared were held in 709 (45), and in this we followed the lead of such eminent scholars as Teuffel (ed. Schwabe), §§ 192–3; Wordsworth (Fragments and Specimens, p. 604); and Watson (ed. 4), p. 486. But there does not appear to be any objection to supposing that Laberius appeared upon the stage in 708 (46). Further, Caesar was absent in Spain in 709 (45), and it is unlikely that he would have determined to humiliate Laberius in games at which he himself was not present. Lastly, by supposing that the games in question were those of 708 (46), we obtain a very satisfactory reason for the despair which fell upon Cicero so soon after the pardon of Marcellus: cp. Fam. iv. 4, 2 (495); vi. 6, 3 (488).

‡ Fam. xii. 18, 2; iv. 4, 2 (495).

§ This passage, Fam. vi. 14, 2 (498), is interesting, as showing that Caesar was now virtually monarch, and his house his court: cp. especially *atque omnem adeundi et conveniendi illius indignitatem et molestiam pertulissem*.

|| In this year 708 (46), in order to bring the calendar into accord with the actual seasons, Caesar added two intercalary months of 29 and 28 days between November and December, and also ten days; these ten days it is supposed were added to the second intercalary month, so that the latter really had 38 days.

commissioned his Master of the Horse, M. Lepidus, consul for the year 708 (46), to procure his election as consul without colleague for 709 (45). Tribunes of the people and plebeian aediles appear to have been chosen for 709 (45), but no other magistrates were elected before Caesar left Rome. Cicero asks Atticus to find out from his father-in-law Pilius, whether Caesar is going to hold the elections in the Field of Fennel (i.e. in Spain), or in the Field of Mars.* Caesar did not hold any elections at all, either in the Field of Fennel or in the Field of Mars, but left the administration of Rome in the hands of eight (or six) *praefecti urbis*,† with propraetorian powers, all nominally subject to Lepidus. The real administration, however, at least in all civil matters, was in the hands of Balbus and Oppius.‡ Any hope which Cicero may have entertained that the government of the Senate was likely to be restored must have now utterly disappeared.

But it was a great relief to Cicero that the ‘prefect of morals,’ as he calls Caesar, had departed,§ and he was able to leave Rome. In the first instance he went to Tusculum, and made what arrangements he could in reference to the separation of Dolabella and Tullia.|| He published his *Cato*, and made preparations for publishing his *Orator*.¶ He was apparently in some doubt whether to permit young Cicero to accompany Dolabella to Spain and serve in Caesar’s army there, or to send him to the university at Athens; and we have an interesting sketch of a conversation between father and son on the point.** He finally decided to send him to the university.†† Towards the end of the second intercalary month Cicero went on a short tour of a few weeks round his estates in Campania, where he saw Paetus and M.

* Att. xii. 8, 1 (501).

† Dio Cass. xliii. 28, *πολιανόμοις ὄκτω*. The very essence of a *praefectus* is that he is not an independent magistrate.

‡ Cp. Fam. vi. 8, 1 (527), *quod omnibus rebus perspexeram quae Balbus et Oppius absente Caesare egissent ea solere illi rata esse*.

§ Cp. Fam. ix. 15, 5 (481), *quamdiu hic erit noster hic praefectus moribus parebo auctoritati tuae*, i.e. to stay in Rome.

|| Att. xii. 8 (501).

¶ Att. xii. 6, 3 (499).

** Att. xii. 7, 1 (500).

†† Att. xii. 8 (501).

Marius, and returned to Rome about the beginning of December.* The chief subject of his deliberations now was whom he should take as his second wife. The energetic Postumia,† wife of Servius Sulpicius, appears to have exerted herself in this matter. After due consideration had been bestowed on the daughter of Pompey and another lady, of whom Cicero says that ‘he never saw anything uglier’ (*foedius*), he finally married, solely for her money, his rich ward Publilia, who was a mere child, and could not possibly be a suitable companion for the sexagenarian statesman and philosopher. During December and the early part of January Cicero was in Rome, on account of the delicate health of Tullia.‡ About the middle of January she bore a son, who is called Lentulus. As soon as she was able to move Cicero brought her down to Tusculum. There early in February she died. This was perhaps the severest blow which Cicero had as yet experienced in his long and chequered life. But the account of his grief and prostration at this loss must be postponed to another volume.

* Att. xii. 1 (505).

† Att. xii. 11 (502).

‡ Fam. vi. 18, 5 (534).

II.—CICERO'S CORRESPONDENTS.

1. *GAIUS TREBONIUS*.

Gaius Trebonius was quaestor in 694 (60), and supported the consuls Afranius and Metellus Scipio in opposing the tribune Herennius, who had brought forward a law on the subject of the transference of Clodius to the plebeians.* In 699 (55) he was tribune, and in the interests of the triumvirs proposed the well-known Trebonian law, that Syria should be given to Cassius, and the Two Spains to Pompey.† In return, probably for this good service, Caesar made him one of his legati in Gaul, and from 700 (54) to 705 (49) he appears to have served in the army there.‡ At the outbreak of the Civil War he remained in the province, and probably had some conflicts with the Pompeian Afranius in the Pyrenees, and certainly besieged Massilia from the land side.§ In 706 (48) he was praetor urbanus, and opposed with firmness and judgment the wild schemes of Caelius.|| Caesar thus formed a high opinion of Trebonius; and accordingly Cicero, when at Brundisium, urged Atticus to ask Trebonius to write to Caesar, saying that Cicero's whole conduct at that time was regulated in accordance with his advice.¶ In 707 (47) Caesar sent him into Farther Spain as successor to Q. Cassius Longinus, who had mismanaged Caesar's cause grievously in that province.** Just before starting he sent Cicero a collection he had made of 'Ciceroniana.' This delicate flattery called forth an excellent letter from Cicero.†† After Trebonius had been some time in Spain, the Pompeian party, under Q. Aponius and T. Quintius Scapula, drove him out of the country; but he did not on that account forfeit the good opinion of Caesar, for in October, 709 (45), he was appointed

* Fam. xv. 21, 2 (450).

† Cp. vol. iii., p. lxi.

‡ Caes. B. G. v. 17, 24; vi. 33; vii. 11; viii. 6, 46, 54.

§ Att. viii. 3, 7 (333); Caes. B. C. i. 36 fin.

|| Dio Cass. xlii. 22, 2, and vol. iii., p. lvii.

¶ Att. xi. 6, 3 (418).

** Bell. Alex. 48-64.

†† Fam. xv. 21 (450).

consul, and the province of Asia decreed to him for the following year.*

But it would appear that already the plot against Caesar had been set on foot, and that Trebonius was privy to it. In the beginning of 709 (45) Antony and Trebonius met at Narbo, and the latter sounded Antony on the subject of the conspiracy. Antony refused to have any connexion with the plot, but did not disclose it to Caesar.† On the Ides of March the duty assigned to Trebonius was to keep Antony away from the actual scene of the murder.‡ Shortly after the murder Trebonius repaired secretly to his province.§ During his journey he wrote in May an interesting letter to Cicero from Athens. It tells that he had met young Cicero, who was studying at the university there, and that, as the young man had expressed a wish to see Asia, he had asked him to come on a visit, and to bring his tutor Cratippus along with him, 'so that you must not think that he is going to have a holiday from his books in Asia.' Trebonius also sent Cicero some satirical verses against Antony, written in rather 'broad' language in the style of Lucilius, which he had composed during some leisure hours on ship-board.|| He helped Brutus and Cassius with money when they went to their provinces,¶ and he would doubtless have been a strong support to the republican cause, but he was treacherously murdered by Dolabella at Smyrna in February, 711 (43).**

Cicero wrote to Trebonius in May, 710 (44), on the general state of politics (Fam. xv. 20). We have a third extant letter to him, written about the beginning of February, 711 (43), which, however, cannot have reached him (Fam. x. 28). This is the letter which begins with the celebrated words *Quam vellem ad illas pulcherrimas epulas me Idibus Martiis invitasses : reliquiarum nihil haberemus.*

* Dio xliii. 46, 2; Appian, B. C. iii. 2.

† Cic. Phil. ii. 34; Plut. Ant. 13.

‡ Cic. Phil. l. c., xiii. 22. In Plut. Caes. 66 this duty is said to have been undertaken by Brutus Albinus, i.e. Decimus Brutus; in Plut. Ant. 13 by 'some of the conspirators.'

§ Att. xiv. 10.

|| Fam. xii. 16, 2, 3.

¶ Dio xlvii. 21, 3; 26, 1.

** Cic. Phil. xi. 1-8; Fam. xii. 12, 1; 14, 5; 15, 4.

2. MARCUS TERENTIUS VARRO.

M. Terentius Varro was born at Reate in 638 (116). He first appears as triumvir monetalis in 660 (94). He subsequently went through the usual series of magistracies, and was quaestor, tribune, and praetor, the latter probably in 678 (76).^{*} He was considered the most learned of the Romans.[†] He was trained under Aelius Stilo, and attended the lectures of Antiochus. Though principally a student, Varro did not shrink from military duties, and in 687 (67), during the Mithradatic war and the war against the Pirates, we find him in command over Sicily and the Ionian Sea, as far as Acarnania;[‡] and at the outbreak of the Civil War he was general of one of the divisions of the Pompeian forces in Spain. Caesar speaks with some coldness of Varro's time-serving conduct in that country.[§] During the campaign in Thessaly Varro was with Cicero at Dyrrhachium.|| His villa at Casinum was plundered by Antony when the latter was governor of Italy in 707 (47).¶ Caesar, as was his wont, forgave Varro, and appointed him librarian of his new Palatine Library.** Varro was proscribed during the triumvirate in 711 (43), but, by concealing himself, escaped death, and lived till 726 (28), when he died at the age of 88.

On his philosophical views see Dr. Reid's ed. of Cicero's *Academica* (p. 50) and St. Augustine (*Civ. Dei*, xix. 1-3); and on his multifarious learning a brilliant description in Mommsen, *R. H.* iv. 591-598, and a detailed account in Teuffel, §§ 164-169. Of his literary works, his Menippean satires, written in a medley of prose and verse, are much the most interesting. It would appear that he was austere, and not very straightforward. Cicero evidently did not like him. He describes him in one place as 'having a most extraordinary character, as you know, all twists and contortions';^{††} in another, by the line in which Patroclus describes

* Gell. xiii. 12, 6; 20, 4; Appian, B. C. iv. 47.

† Quintil. x. 1, 95; Gell. iv. 9, 1.

‡ Plin. H. N. iii. 101; vii. 115; Appian Mithr. 95.

§ Caes. B. C. i. 38; ii. 17-20, especially c. 17.

|| De Div. i. 68; ii. 114.

¶ Phil. ii. 103-105.

** Suet. Caes. 44.

†† Att. ii. 25, 1 (52), *mirabiliter moratus est, sicut nosti*, ἑλίκτα καὶ οὐδέν; Att. xiii. 25, 3: cp. Hom. Il. xi. 654, δεινὸς ἀνὴρ, τάχα κεν καὶ ἀναίτιον ἀντιόψοιτο.

Achilles, 'a terrible man, readily would he blame even one that was blameless.'

Cicero had to be pressed to write Varro a letter of thanks for his exertions on his behalf during his exile, as he did not believe that those exertions were very strenuous.* His letters to Varro are, as Dr. Reid says, 'cold, forced, and artificial'; and the trepidation which Cicero exhibited with regard to the dedication of the *Academica* to Varro, shows that the relations between the two men were strained, and anything but cordial.†

3. GNAEUS DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS.

Cn. Domitius was son of L. Domitius, who commanded at Corfinium, and Porcia, sister of Cato. We first hear of him as accusing the son of Cn. Saturninus, who appears to have been instrumental in effecting the rejection of the elder Domitius in his candidature for the augurate: cp. Fam. viii. 14, 1 (280). He was taken prisoner with his father at Corfinium, but spared by Caesar.‡ On March 8th, 705 (49), he passed through Formiae, on his way to Naples to see his mother, and spread the report that the elder Domitius was at Rome.§ He did not follow his father to Massilia, but probably served under his uncle Cato in Africa. After the collapse of the Pompeians in that country he returned to Italy; in his despair he appears to have meditated suicide, and we have a letter written to him by Cicero, Fam. vi. 22 (465), dissuading him from such a desperate act. Domitius appears not to have been pardoned, and to have lived in obscurity in Italy during the following years.

It is an undecided question whether he was one of the conspirators against Caesar or not. Both Cicero (Phil. ii. 27) and Dio Cassius (xlviii. 7, 29) maintain that he was one of them, and Prof. Mayor thinks so too, rejecting the statement to the contrary by Suetonius (Nero 3) on the ground that flatterers probably had

* Att. iii. 15, 3 (73); Att. 18, 1 (76).

‡ Caes. B. C. i. 23.

† Cp. Reid, Acad. pp. 34 f.

§ Att. ix. 3, 1 (358).

a motive for clearing the memory of Nero's ancestor. But why are we to suppose that Suetonius follows flatterers of Nero here when he certainly does not follow them elsewhere? The contemporary of Domitius, L. Cocceius Nerva (cp. Appian, v. 62), was of the same opinion as Suetonius; and with them Drumann (iii. 25) agrees, on the grounds that Domitius is not specially mentioned as one of those who, after the murder of Caesar, went up to the Capitol, and that the story of his participation in the conspiracy is very likely to have arisen from his relationship to, and connexion with, Brutus and Cassius.

But, be that as it may, he certainly espoused the cause of the republicans, and in the autumn of 710 (44) collected some ships, and sailed with Brutus and Cassius to Athens. He succeeded next year in detaching a squadron of cavalry from Dolabella.* He was accordingly ranked as one of the special enemies of the triumvirs, and was proscribed by the Lex Pedia, but managed to escape being put to death.

In 712 (42) in conjunction with Statius Murcus he defeated on the day of the Battle of Philippi Domitius Calvinus, who tried to sail out of Brundisium, and for this victory he was saluted as emperor.† After the defeat of Brutus and Cassius, when Statius Murcus joined Sext. Pompey, Domitius continued to carry on the war independently for two years with such success that in 714 (40) he became reconciled with Antony on equal terms; but when Octavius complained that union with one of the proscribed persons was a breach of faith, Antony appointed Domitius to the province of Bithynia, which he administered from 714 (40) to 719 (35). In 715 (39), when treaty was made with Sext. Pompey, provision was also made for the restoration of Domitius, and the consulship promised him for 722 (32). He accompanied Antony on his Parthian expedition in 718 (36), and addressed the soldiers when Antony was ashamed to appear before them. In 722 (32)

* Att. xvi. 4, 4; Phil. x. 13.

† Appian, B. C. iv. 86, 100, 108, 115, 116. The exploits of Domitius as commander of the fleet are celebrated on coins, which acknowledge Antony as his general, so that these coins would seem to have been struck after his reconciliation with Antony: cp. Gardthausen, *Augustus*, ii. 101. A coin also records his rebuilding, while emperor, of the temple of Neptune: cp. Plin. H. N. xxxvi. 26; also Babelon, *Monnaies romaines*, i. 466-7, cp. 178.

he obtained the consulship, and did his best to moderate the violent proceedings of his colleague Sosius. When the breach between Antony and Octavius occurred Domitius went, or was sent, to Antony at Ephesus; and such was the disgust felt by many of the officers and soldiers at Antony's subservience to Cleopatra, that they urged Domitius to take the chief command. But his health was broken down; he could not accept the offer, so he merely left Antony's camp. Antony sent his goods after him, not with 'gentle adieus and greetings,' but with a scoff at his amorous propensities. He died shortly after the battle of Actium.

Domitius appears to have been a manly and energetic soldier, and was doubtless, as Suetonius says, the best of the family of the Domitii; but he was hardly, we think, as interesting as Shakspeare has portrayed him in *Antony and Cleopatra*.*

4. LUCIUS CORNELIUS BALBUS.

This able man of business was not a native Roman. He was born at Gades, about 654 (100), of a good family. As soon as opportunity was granted him he devoted himself to the interests of the Romans, and did them good service in the Sertorian War. During that period his merits were recognized by Metellus, Memmius the brother-in-law of Pompey, and Pompey himself; and by the help of the latter, he and his brother and nephew obtained Roman citizenship, a grant which was definitely ratified by the Lex Cornelia Gellia, passed in 682 (72). The cognomen Balbus was a very common one, appearing in several families, such as the Ampii, Atii, Laelii, Lucilii, Nonii, Octavii, &c., and possibly was a near equivalent of a Punic name;† or perhaps it was a name given to foreigners from their imperfect pronunciation of Latin. He adopted the prenomen and nomen Lucius Cornelius, perhaps from the L. Cornelius who was in old times a patron of Gades;‡ or possibly he adopted the nomen from the Cornelius

* The original evidence for the events of the life of Domitius have been collected by Drumann, iii. 24-28.

† It has been said that Balbus was the name of a mountain near Carthage, but the true reading in Livy xxix. 31, 8, is *Bellum*.

‡ Cic. Balb. 41.

who was joint proposer of the law of 682 (72), and the prenomen from the other proposer, Lucius Gellius.

In the year 684 (70), when the censorship was restored, Balbus became a citizen, and was enrolled in one of the city tribes. Soon afterwards he accused a member of the aristocratic *tribus Clustumina* of *ambitus*, and having secured a condemnation, obtained, in accordance with the laws, the place in that tribe which the convicted man had occupied.* He soon became so intimate with Pompey and his circle, and was so highly esteemed by them, that he was adopted by Pompey's confidential friend, Theophanes of Mytilene, who had himself some time previously been enfranchised by Pompey.†

Balbus had the thoroughly mercantile gift of forming extensive connexions, and during the years which followed his enfranchisement we may be well assured that he made his mark in Rome. Caesar when he became *propraetor* of Farther Spain especially perceived in him a valuable assistant, and in 693 (61) he appointed Balbus his *praefectus fabrum*; and again in 696 (58), when he became *proconsul* of Gaul he re-appointed him to that position. As early as 694 (60) it would appear that Balbus was in the most intimate connexion with Caesar;‡ and during most of Caesar's campaigns in Gaul he acted as Caesar's agent at Rome, and as such rapidly rose to be a power in the city. But, no matter how carefully he endeavoured to create no enemies, the influential foreigner could not escape being regarded with jealousy by the haughty Roman nobles. The result was that an attempt was made to deprive Balbus of his Roman citizenship, and thereby to teach the upstart and alien to remember that the rod could be laid upon his back; and this course had the further object in the feeling that Caesar would be annoyed by an outrage perpetrated on his trusty dependent.§

* Cic. Balb. 57.

† Hence by Capitolinus (*Maximus et Balbinus*, 7 3) Balbus is called *Balbus Cornelius Theofanes*.

‡ Att. ii. 3, 3 (29), 'Caesar,' says Cicero, 'fully expects me to support his agrarian law'—*nam fuit apud me Cornelius—hunc dico Balbum, Caesaris familiarem: is affirmabat illum omnibus in rebus meo et Pompeii consilio usurum daturumque operam ut cum Pompeio Crassum coniungeret*.

§ Plin. H. N. vii. 136, *Fuit et Balbus Cornelius maior consul, sed accusatus idque de*

Balbus was accused in 698 (56) by a fellow-townsmen, and defended by Pompey, Crassus, and Cicero. The speech which Cicero delivered on this occasion is still extant. The prosecutor urged mainly two points—(1) that the Gaditanes had a treaty with Rome, and such people could not be regarded as having the franchise unless their State adopted it; (2) that, whereas in many treaties with other States it was explicitly stated that Rome should not have the power to make any of the members of those other States citizens, it may be considered as a general rule that Rome has no such power. To the first point the answer is, that it is true that whole *communities* cannot be regarded as possessing the citizenship unless they adopt it; but that it does not follow that the adoption by the community is necessary to allow *individual* citizens to accept the grant; and it is quite absurd to suppose that Rome is to be debarred, unless in special exceptional cases, from bestowing the honour of her citizenship on individual foreigners who have done her good service. As regards (2), the answer is quite simple, and just the reverse of what the prosecutor urged. If Rome is expressly forbidden by treaties to grant citizenship to members of certain States, she has perfect liberty to grant her franchise in cases where no such restriction is found. Now no such restriction is found in the case of the treaty with Gades.* Cicero's case was a good one, and deservedly successful, though not argued quite as lucidly as is Cicero's wont. But there is one point in the speech which is worth remarking, and that is the way in which Cicero, while showing that it is pure jealousy which has prompted the accusation, yet cannot himself refrain from striking a blow at the upstart. 'Balbus,' he says, 'is accused of having a landed estate. True, but estates pass by purchase to complete strangers, often to men of the very lowest rank.'† Balbus must have winced; but he, doubtless, bore it

iure virgarum in eum iudice in consilium misso, primus externorum atque etiam in oceano genitorum usus illo honore quem maiores Latio quoque negaverint. We remember that Marcellus some years later grievously insulted Caesar by actually scourging a Transpadane: cp. Att. v. 11, 2 (200).

* We need not discuss other very questionable arguments put forward by Cicero, such as that a law can override obligations made by treaty. The various intricacies of the case are admirably set forth in Dr. Reid's Introduction to his edition of the speech.

† Balb. 56, *saepe ad infimos pervenire*.

with a patient shrug, for sufferance was the badge of all his tribe.

We next hear of Balbus as continuing to be Caesar's agent in Rome, and as furthering the interests of Quintus Cicero, who was at that time serving under Caesar in Gaul. Marcus Cicero says, 'I regard him as the apple of my eye.'* In 700 (54) Balbus made (as Dr. Reid most acutely sees) two journeys to Caesar in Gaul.† He was gradually becoming more and more attached to Caesar, and drawing away from Pompey. In 703 (51) he expostulated with Metellus Scipio, who proposed that the question of depriving Caesar of his provinces should be discussed on the Kalends of March, 704 (50).‡ In the matter of Cicero's triumph he declared that Curio's conduct would certainly not meet with the approval of Caesar.§ Just before the Civil War broke out he appears to have intended to lay before Scipio certain information received from Caesar, and thus to have been in intimate connexion with the Pompeians.|| At the same time Balbus, as well as Caesar, wrote persuasive letters to Cicero, urging him to take Caesar's side, but Cicero would not deviate a finger's breadth from the honourable course,¶ though he pretended to be troubled about some money he owed Caesar. 'If I make a brilliant speech in the Senate in defence of the constitution, your Tartessian friend (Balbus) will meet me at the door, and politely ask me for payment of that money.'**

We have thus seen Balbus as the agent of Caesar and devoted to his interests, but at the same time in friendly connexion with decided members of the Pompeian party. This keeping on good terms with both sides, but on the best terms with the side which was likely to win, was a gift which Balbus possessed in full measure. Thus, when the rupture came, he acted as agent both

* Q. Fr. iii. 1, 9 (148), *in oculis fero*.

† Possibly the letter from Cicero to Caesar, which is found in Nonius 287, 25 (*Balbi quanti faciam quamque ei me totum dicaverim ex ipso scies*), may have been brought to Caesar by Balbus in one of these journeys.

‡ Fam. viii. 9, 5 (211): cp. vol. iii., lxxi.

§ Fam. viii. 11, 2 (267).

|| Att. vii. 4, 2 (295).

¶ Att. vii. 3, 11 (294), *Ille* (sc. Caesar) *mihi litteras blandas mittit: facit idem pro eo Balbus: mihi certum est ab honestissima sententia digitum nusquam*.

** Att. vii. 3, 11 (294).

for Caesar and for Lentulus, the consul for 705 (49) ;* and owing to the obligations he was under to members of both parties, Caesar magnanimously allowed him to take no active part in the war, and to continue to act as agent for the Pompeians as well as for himself.†

He frequently corresponded with Cicero, and we have some of his letters of this period still extant: also letters which Cicero wrote to him and Oppius.‡ Towards the end of February, 705 (49), he wrote an effusive letter to Cicero, begging him to use his influence to bring about peace,§ a letter by which Cicero thought Balbus meant to ridicule him. About a week later, however, Cicero wrote to him and Oppius, asking what were Caesar's real plans with regard to the treatment of Pompey. They replied|| cautiously that they did not know, and under the circumstances advised Cicero to remain neutral. The letter reads to us sincere; but this is not the case with another (written a few days later, when they knew that Caesar earnestly desired peace), in which Balbus urged Cicero to act as he had done himself, and to serve two masters; also to ask Caesar for a special guard, as in the Milonian crisis he had asked for one from Pompey. Balbus is characteristically over-effusive in his general statements when he says, 'If I know Caesar at all I pledge my word that he will regard your dignity as more important than his own interests.' On the 20th of March he wrote to Cicero, declaring that he was tortured with anxiety and fear that all negotiations for peace would break down.¶ Cicero considered this gross insincerity, and regarded the obvious adoption by Balbus of Caesar's side as rank ingratitude to Pompey.** After Cicero's rejection of Caesar's request to attend the meeting of the

* Att. viii. 15 A, 2 (346).

† Att. ix. 7 B, 2 (354).

‡ Gellius xvii. 9, 1-4, tells that Caesar used a cypher in writing to his agents—*Libri sunt epistolarum C. Caesaris ad C. Oppium et Balbum Cornelium, qui res eius absentis curabant. In his epistolis quibusdam in locis inveniuntur litterae singulares sine coagmentis syllabarum quas tu putes positas incondite: nam verba ex his litteris confici nulla possunt. Erat autem conventum inter eos clandestinum de commutando situ litterarum; ut in scripto quidem alia aliae locum et nomen teneret, sed in legendo locus cuique suus et potestas restitueretur: quatenam vero littera pro qua subderetur, ante iis, sicuti dixi, complacebat, qui hanc scribendi latebram parabant.*

§ Att. viii. 15 A (346).

|| Att. ix. 7 A (351).

¶ Att. ix. 13 A (370).

** Att. ix. 13, 8 (371).

Senate on April 1st, he still kept up intercourse with Balbus, and even condescended to clear himself to Balbus of certain suspicions of hostility to Caesar.* But he evidently disliked the man, and was intensely annoyed at his efforts to become a senator.†

During the following years Balbus still retained the confidence of Caesar; and accordingly, when Cicero returned to Brundisium, he used what influence he had with Balbus to obtain lenient treatment from Caesar. Though at first the letters of Balbus were reassuring,‡ he does not appear to have done much for Cicero at this time, and, as he was uncertain about Caesar's feelings towards Cicero, he gradually began to hold out less and less hope.§ In June, 707 (47), Cicero wrote to Balbus and Oppius, as well as to Antony, asking for permission to leave Brundisium; but they were unable to accede to his request, as they had no instructions from their master on the subject.

On Caesar's return Balbus was doubtless amply rewarded for his faithful stewardship, and began to live in a grander style than heretofore. Cicero complains that he is building new mansions during the crisis of the State—'for what does *he* care?'|| and

* Att. x. 18, 2 (404).

† Att. x. 11, 4 (396), *Etiamne Balbus in senatum ire cogitet*. Schmidt (p. 174) supposes that *Balbus* is a mistake here for *Oppius*, who was made a senator about this time: cp. Fam. ii. 16, 7 (394). He holds that the facts related in Fam. viii. 11, 2, (267), Att. vii. 3, 11 (294), prove that Balbus was already a senator. But it is quite possible that a conversation between Balbus and Curio, held in the office of the former may have become public; and in the other case, probably Balbus may be regarded as having been among the audience who thronged the doors of the senate-house, and who appear to have been able to recognize what course proceedings were taking: cp. Cic. Phil. ii. 112; Fam. x. 2, 1. Schmidt's other supposition (p. 174), that there was a special symbol to express *Balbus et Oppius*, owing to the frequency with which these names are conjoined, and that hence the mistake arose, cannot be accepted until definite proof is adduced that there was such a symbol used in the manuscripts. Far better is Schmidt's other proposal (p. 177) to read in Att. x. 11, 4 (396) *Balbus minor*, for this Balbus had not as yet held a magistracy: cp. Fam. x. 32, 1. But we see no valid reason at all for supposing that the elder Balbus was a senator before this time. Schmidt's view (p. 165), that the *emptus pacificator* of Att. x. 1, 3 (378) was the elder Balbus, may possibly be right; but few will follow him in supposing that *Reginus* in x. 12, 1 (397) means 'creature of the monarch' (Königsknecht), and refers to one of the Balbi.

‡ Att. xi. 6, 3 (418).

§ Att. xi. 9, 1 (423).

|| Att. xii. 2, 2 (459). On *aedificare* as a term of reproach cp. Mayor on Juv. xiv. 86.

refers elsewhere to his intemperate habits, whence perhaps the gout from which Balbus suffered.* When Caesar left for Spain Balbus and Oppius were virtually given complete authority to act for Caesar, according to their discretion;† so that, however much Cicero disliked Balbus, it was necessary to keep on good terms with him. He appears to have always regarded Cicero with considerable admiration, and he speaks enthusiastically of his literary works.‡ Cicero seems to have been anxious that Balbus should see nothing of his but his best;§ he submitted to him his speech for Ligarius, and also the letter which he wrote to Caesar about Caesar's *Anti-Cato*, ||—though, of course, it was criticism from the political rather than from the literary point of view which Cicero desired in these latter cases.

Judging from his character and from that of Caesar, we should say that there was no truth whatsoever in the story that Balbus induced Caesar not to rise to meet the Senate when the latter came to inform him of extravagant honours which they had paid him.¶ It was doubtless a story which was invented by the jealousy of his enemies. On the death of Caesar the importance of Balbus vanished. But with keen judgment he attached himself to Octavius, and was probably one of the first to greet the young man as Caesar.** In the summer of 710 (44) he frequently met Cicero in Campania, and afterwards continued to write to him from Rome.†† Cicero speaks severely of his insincerity—‘Good heavens! how readily you can see that he is afraid of peace; and you know how guarded he is (*quam tectus*), yet for all that he began to tell me the designs of Antony. He complained of the

* Fam. ix. 17, 1 (480); vi. 19, 2.

† Fam. vi. 18, 1 (534): cp. p. lv., and Tacit. Ann. xii. 60, *C. Oppius et Cornelius Balbus Caesaris opibus potuere condiciones pacis et arbitria belli tractare*.

‡ Balbus urged Hirtius to write the continuation of Caesar's ‘Commentaries on the Gallic War,’ and Hirtius dedicated the eighth book to Balbus. The so-called ‘Diary of Balbus,’ mentioned by Sidonius Apollinaris (9, 14, *qui Balbi ephemeridem . . . adaequaverit*), is generally supposed to be this work of Hirtius: cp. Teuffel (ed. Schwabe), § 196, 1.

§ Att. xiii. 21, 4.

|| Att. xiii. 19, 2; 50, 1.

¶ Plut. Caes. 60; Suet. Caes. 78.

** Att. xiv. 10, 3; 11, 2; 12, 2.

†† Att. xv. 6, 4; 8, 1; 9, 1.

hatred felt towards him, and his whole speech led me to believe that he was devoted to Antony; in short, he is utterly insincere' (*quid quaeris? nihil sinceri*).*

Balbus appears to have been praetor under the triumvirs in 712 (42), to have administered the province of Gaul as proprætor in 713 (41),† and to have been consul in 714 (40),‡ being, according to Pliny, the first foreigner who rose to this dignity. The date of his death is not known. By his will he left all his property to the people, 26 denarii to each Roman citizen.

Caution was the main characteristic of Balbus. 'You know how guarded he is,' said Cicero, and to an impulsive and expansive nature like Cicero's guardedness often appeared as insincerity. He was a thorough man of business, and he always enjoyed the full confidence of Caesar.§ His sound judgment and tact, which were troubled with no ideals or ambitions beyond self-advancement, enabled him to steer his course successfully in a troublous time, and to obtain great power and influence. But worldly success is not the main thing to strive for; and we must endorse, in reference to this Balbus, words used by Cicero in the same connexion—'to a seeker after truth does it not appear that a man whose aim is pleasure, and not right, is already dead in his sins?' ||

5. GAIUS OPPIUS.

The shadow follows the man. The junior partner of Balbus, the Spaniard, appears to have been the Roman knight, Gaius Oppius. Indeed, sometimes we do not feel quite certain of his existence at all, as he is so universally mentioned in connexion with Balbus; but he really does appear to have had some sort of individuality, for, as is noticed, he was probably made a senator, at the same time as Balbus,¶ and we hear of a conversa-

* Att. xiv. 21, 2.

† Babelon, *Monnaies romaines*, i. 429. The club on this coin of Balbus doubtless has reference to the Hercules of Gades: cp. Eckhel, v. 180.

‡ Dio xlviii. 32; Plin. H. N. vii. 136, quoted on pp. lxiii., lxiv.

§ Cp. Att. xiii. 52, 1.

|| Att. xii. 2, 2 (459), *Verum si quaeris, homini non recta sed voluptaria quaerenti nonne βεβίωται?*

¶ Fam. ii. 16, 7 (394); Att. x. 11, 4 (396).

tion which he alone had with Atticus in June, 707 (47);* but elsewhere during these years he is always mentioned along with Balbus. They would seem to have dissolved partnership after the death of Caesar, for they appear to have separately espoused the cause of Octavius.† Oppius was something of a literary man; and in the second century the credit of having written the treatises on the Alexandrian, African, and Spanish wars was divided between him and Hirtius.‡ There is some reason to allow this as regards the account of the Alexandrian War; but the books on the African and Spanish Wars were written by men of quite inferior culture, and actual participants in those campaigns.§ Oppius is said to have also written lives of Scipio Africanus, Marius, Cassius, Pompey,|| and Caesar. From the latter work Suetonius and Plutarch appear to have derived some of the materials for their biographies.¶ Plutarch, in his *Life of Caesar* (*l.c.*) tells a pretty story relative to this Oppius—‘Once upon a journey Caesar was driven by a storm to seek shelter in a poor man’s cabin, where he found only one room, barely able to hold a single person. Turning to his friends, he said that, while honours should be given to the noble, necessities should be given to the feeble, and ordered Oppius to sleep in the room, while he and his companions slept in the porch of the door.’

6. TITUS AMPIUS BALBUS.

This headstrong man was tribune in 691 (63), but though supported by Pompey, did not gain the aedileship. He was praetor in 695 (59), and was governor of Cilicia in 696 (58).** He was a devoted satellite of Pompey’s, and, along with Labienus, proposed that at the games Pompey should wear a golden crown and the

* Att. xi. 17, 2 (432); 18, 2 (434).

† Att. xiv. 10, 3; xvi. 15, 3.

‡ Suet. Caes. 56.

§ Cp. Teuffel (ed. Schwabe), § 197, 3, 6.

|| Cp. Plut. Pomp. 17; also 10, where Plutarch says that Oppius was a partial historian.

¶ Cp. Suet. Caes. 53; Plut. Caes. 17.

** Schol. Bob. p. 257, Or.; Fam. i. 3, 2 (97).

triumphal dress.* When the Civil War broke out in 705 (49) he was so very vigorous in raising a levy for Pompey, that he was called the Clarion of the Civil War (*tuba belli civilis*).† Next year we hear of his endeavouring to plunder the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, but he was prevented by Caesar's approach; yet he was pardoned by Caesar in 708 (46), through the intercession of Cimber, Pansa, and Cicero.‡ Ampius appears to have written biographies of eminent men, and Suetonius notices a very violent statement of Caesar's, which, he says, was recorded by T. Ampius.§ At what time Cicero wrote the speech for T. Ampius noticed by Quintilian (iii. 8, 50) is not clearly ascertained.

7. CAERELLIA.

Caerellia was a wealthy and cultivated lady, with whom Cicero was on intimate terms of friendship. We read that she copied out the *De Finibus*, having apparently obtained that work, against Cicero's wishes, from the copyists of Atticus.|| When introducing her to Servilius, Cicero calls her 'my intimate friend' (*necessaria*). She was very rich, and had property even in Asia.¶ Cicero appears to have borrowed some money from her, which Atticus thought was inconsistent with his dignity.**

* Vell. ii. 40.

† Att. viii. 11 B, 2 (327); Fam. vi. 12, 3 (490).

‡ Caes. B. C. iii. 105; Fam. vi. 12, 2 (490).

§ Fam. vi. 12, 5 (490); Suet. Caes. 77, *nihil esse rempublicam, appellationem modo sine corpore ac specie. Sullam nescire litteras qui dictaturam deposuerit.*

|| Att. xiii. 21, 5; 22, 3.

¶ Fam. xiii. 72 (511).

** Att. xii. 51, 3. It was absurdly supposed in later ages that Cicero had an intrigue with her, though she was reputed to be seventy years of age: cp. Calenus in Dio Cass. xlv. 18, 4, οὐδ' ἐκείνην (Publiliam) μέντοι κατέσχευε ἵνα Κερελλίαν ἐπ' ἀδείας ἔχῃς, ἣν τοσοῦτ' πρεσβυτέραν σαυτοῦ οὔσαν ἐμοιχεύσας ὅσῳ νεωτέραν τὴν κόρην ἔγημας· πρὸς ἣν καὶ αὐτὴν τοιαύτας ἐπιστολὰς γράφεις οἷας ἂν γράψειεν ἀνὴρ σκωπτόλης ἀθυρόγλωσσος πρὸς γυναῖκα ἐβδομηκοντοῦτιν πληκτιζόμενος. Cicero undoubtedly carried on a correspondence with Caerellia (Quintil. vi. 3, 112), and it is argued that in Ausonius Idyll. 13 we should add *meminerint eruditi in praeceptis omnibus <Ciceronis> exstare severitatem, in epistolis ad Caerelliam subesse petulantiam*. But this charge is sufficiently refuted by the fact that Publilia, Cicero's second wife, whom he divorced so unfeelingly, asked Caerellia to reconcile her with Cicero (Att. xv. 1, 4: cp. xiv. 19, 4).

8. QUINTUS LIGARIUS.

Quintus Ligarius was a Sabine by extraction.* We first hear of him in 704 (50) as legatus of C. Considius Longus in Africa. On the departure of Considius to stand for the consulship, Ligarius took temporary command of the province when the Civil War broke out. Inasmuch as L. Aelius Tubero, the governor appointed by the Senate, did not come, while a former proprætor of Africa, P. Attius Varus, who had been defeated by Caesar near Auximum, did come, and was warmly received by the provincials, Ligarius received the latter, acknowledged him as governor, and finally, when Tubero at last arrived, would not allow him to set foot in the province.† Hence arose a bitter enmity between Tubero and Ligarius.

In 705 (49) Ligarius fought with Varus against C. Curio ; and in 708 (46) against Caesar at Thapsus. Caesar pardoned him, but refused to allow him to return to Italy.‡ A scholiast, cited by Gronovius, in a graphic introduction to the *Pro Ligario*, says that Caesar was especially hostile to his enemies in Africa, not only because they brought him into serious peril, but principally because he considered that they were fighting, not from devotion to Pompey, but from sheer obstinacy.§ The two brothers of Ligarius and his uncle T. Brocchus, as well as Cicero, were earnest in their efforts to secure his restoration ; but in an audience which Caesar granted them on November 26th, 708 (46), he refused their petition,|| deciding apparently that the case of Ligarius should come to a formal trial. Accordingly, shortly afterwards, Tubero prosecuted Ligarius under the law *de vi* for his conduct in Africa.¶ Cicero defended him in a brilliant speech, which is still extant, and which succeeded in moving Caesar so effectually, that

* Cic. Lig. 32.

† Caes. B. C. i. 31.

‡ Bell. Afr. 89 ; Cic. Fam. vi. 13, 3 (489).

§ Orell. p. 415, *quia iam non pro Pompeio pugnabant sed pertinacia*, according to a probable restoration.

|| Fam. vi. 14, 2 (498).

¶ The scholiast is fairly vivid here—*Cum Caesar vellet paene ignoscere surrexit Tubero cui iam indulgentiam dederat et dixit 'In Africa fuit': scit enim quia eos maxime exsecratur qui in Africa fuerant.*

he allowed Ligarius to return.* In the Caesarian circle Cicero's speech for Ligarius was regarded as a master-piece,† and in after ages it was held in the highest esteem, as we may judge from the many quotations which are made from it by Quintilian.

Ligarius was thus allowed to return, but he 'bore Caesar hard'; so, like a true Roman noble, he accepted the favour, but repaid it by conspiracy against his generous opponent.‡ Plutarch (Brut. 11) tells a story, which Shakespeare has introduced into *Julius Caesar*, that at the time of the conspiracy Ligarius was lying ill in bed, and that Brutus, having come to visit him, said, 'Ligarius, at what a time you are sick'; straightway raising himself on his elbow, and laying hold of the hand of Brutus, Ligarius answered, 'But if you, Brutus, are designing anything worthy of yourself, I am well.' It would appear that Ligarius, during the proscriptions, was betrayed by his slaves, and put to death.§

9. AULUS CAECINA.

Aulus Caecina, the correspondent of Cicero, was son of the Caecina, or Ceicna, of Volaterrae in Etruria, whose case Cicero conducted in 689 (65) in the speech *Pro Caecina*, which has come down to us. This younger Caecina fought on the side of Pompey, and after the African campaign was pardoned by Caesar;|| but he was not allowed to return to Italy, most probably because during

* Plutarch gives a most graphic account of Cicero's speech (*Cic.* 39)—'There is a story too that, when Quintus Ligarius was put on trial for being one of Caesar's enemies, and Cicero was his advocate, Caesar said to his friends, "Why shouldn't we hear a speech of Cicero's after a long time, since Ligarius has been long since adjudged a villain and an enemy?" But when Cicero, at the commencement of his speech, began to move him in a remarkable manner, and the oration, as it went on, was varied in emotions and wondrous in charm (πάθει τε ποικίλος καὶ χάριτι θαυμαστός), Caesar's face often changed colour, and he was evidently subject to every possible movement of mind. But when finally the orator touched on the Battle of Pharsalia, Caesar's emotions got the better of him (ἐκπαθῇ γυνόμενον), his body trembled, and he let some papers fall from his hands. Accordingly he acquitted Ligarius of the charge perforce (βεβιασμένος).'

† Att. xiii. 19, 2, *Ligarianam, ut video, praeclare auctoritas tua commendavit. Scripsit enim ad me Balbus et Oppius mirifice se probare, ob eamque causam ad Caesarem eam se oratiunculam misisse.*

‡ Appian, B. C. ii. 113.

§ Appian, B. C. iv. 22.

|| Bell. Alex. 89.

the war he wrote a violent invective against Caesar. Caesar bore this, says Suetonius, as any ordinary citizen would bear it; but this is questionable,* for Caesar was, as Mr. Jeans justly says, at this time more afraid of republican writers than of republican warriors. Caecina wrote a most abject palinode, which he called his 'Remonstrances';† but Caesar apparently did not pay any heed to the work, notwithstanding the anxious care with which it was composed,‡ for he did not allow him to return to Italy. During the latter part of 708 (46) Caecina was in Sicily, and Cicero wrote for him a commendatory letter to Furfanius, the proconsul of that province.§ Early in 709 (45) Caecina left for Asia, as he was not allowed to remain any longer so near Rome as Sicily, and Cicero gave him a letter of introduction to Servilius the governor.|| Nothing more is known about the life of Caecina. Besides his 'Remonstrances,' Caecina was also author of a work on the Etruscan system of augury (*De Etrusca disciplina*), which is mentioned by Pliny,¶ from which Seneca quotes passages about the different kinds of flashes of lightning. Cicero wrote to Caecina three extant letters—Fam. vi. 5 (533), 6 (488), 8 (527), and Caecina wrote one to Cicero, vi. 7 (532).

10. MARCUS CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

Marcus Marcellus was a candidate for curule aedileship in 698 (56), but apparently was not a very vigorous canvasser, for Cicero, who was his next-door neighbour, complained that at the time of his candidature his snoring was so loud that it was quite audible.** But he was probably elected, and in the same year

* Suet. Caes. 75, *criminosissimo libro laceratam existimationem suam civili animo tulit*.

† Fam. vi. 6, 8 (488), *Liber Querellarum*. Wieland supposes that this was a collection of poems, like Ovid's *Tristia*; Teuffel (§ 199, 5) says it was a prose work, possibly in the form of a letter to Caesar.

‡ Fam. vi. 7, 4 (532).

§ Fam. vi. 9 (528).

|| Fam. xiii. 66 (506). We regret that we were in error in placing this letter in 708 (46). It was written early in 709 (45).

¶ Hist. Nat. i. 10, p. 10, ed. Jan: cp. Cic. Fam. vi. 6, 3 (488); Seneca, Quaest. Nat. ii. 39 ff.

** Att. iv. 3, 5 (92), *Marcellus candidatus ita stertebat ut ego vicinus audirem*.

defended Milo against a charge of *vis* brought by Clodius.* In 700 (54) he, with five other advocates, defended Scaurus, and, in 702 (52), Milo.† We have already given an account of his actions from his consulship in 703 (51) to the outbreak of the Civil War in 705 (49).‡ He left Italy with Pompey, not very willingly, and was no very zealous prosecutor of the war: he and his cousin, C. Marcellus, would have remained in Italy, says Cicero,§ had they not feared the sword of Caesar. After the Battle of Pharsalia he gave up the struggle, and retired to Mytilene, where he studied philosophy under Cratippus the Peripatetic.|| The scene in the Senate at which the return of Marcellus was voted has been already described (p. lii.). He does not appear to have been very anxious to return, as may be seen both from his letter of thanks to Cicero, and also by the fact that he did not make any haste to leave Mytilene.¶ On his journey home he was murdered in the Piraeus by one Magius Cilo, in May, 709 (45).**

Marcellus appears to have been an average specimen of the better class of Roman aristocrat, respectable, ponderous, and in a measure capable, but intolerant, hard, and ungracious. Caelius says he was slow and inefficient,†† and Cicero gives as a reason why Magius Cilo murdered Marcellus, that Cilo, being in debt, made some request to Marcellus, and that the latter, true to his character, replied with considerable determination.‡‡ Cicero says he was a most excellent orator, and he is one of the few then living orators mentioned in the *Brutus*.

* Q. Fr. ii. 3, 1 (102).

† Asconius, pp. 20, 35, 40, 41.

‡ Vol. iii., Introd., § 3.

§ Att. ix. 1, 4 (353).

|| Cic. Brut. 250, *Vidi* (sc. Brutus) *enim Mytilenis nuper virum atque, ut dixi, vidi plane virum. Itaque cum eum antea tui* (sc. Ciceronis) *similem in dicendo viderim, tum vero nunc a doctissimo viro tibi que, ut intellexi, amicissimo Cratippo instructum omni copia multo videbam similiorem*: Senec. ad Helv. 9, 4, *Brutus in eo libro, quem de Virtute composuit, ait se Marcellum vidisse Mytilenis exultantem et, quantum modo natura hominis pateretur, beatissime viventem neque umquam cupidiores bonarum artium quam illo tempore; itaque adicit visum sibi se magis in exilium ire qui sine illo rediturus esset, quam illum in exilio relinqui. O fortunatiorem Marcellum eo tempore quo exilium suum Bruto adprobavit quam quo reipublicae consulatum.* The rest of the chapter too is worth reading.

¶ Fam. iv. 11, 2 (496); iv. 10, 1 (536). ** Fam. iv. 12, 2.

†† Fam. viii. 10, 3 (226), *Nosti Marcellum quam tardus et parum efficax sit.*

‡‡ Att. xiii. 10, 3, *credo eum petiisse Marcello aliquid, et illum, ut erat, constantius respondiisse.*

11. PUBLIUS NIGIDIUS FIGULUS.

Nigidius Figulus was considered the most learned man in Rome after Varro.* He was the chief exponent of what was called the New Pythagoreanism, and was especially distinguished in physical science and astronomy, which studies, however, with him degenerated into magic and astrology. Apuleius says that he was able to restore stolen goods by magic.† Lucan (i. 639 ff.) introduces him as making a long astrological speech at the beginning of the Civil War. Nigidius, however, was not a mere ancient Paracelsus. He felt it to be the Roman's and the Pythagorean's duty to take an active part in public life, and thus he rendered good service to Cicero during the Catilinarian conspiracy, and played a considerable part in subsequent politics.‡ He stood with Pompey in the Civil War,§ and died in exile 709 (45). In 708 (46) Cicero wrote him a very elaborate letter of consolation, in which he holds out some faint hope of restoration, and promises to use all his efforts to effect that end.||

We fancy that the man was much greater than his studies. His works on grammar, according to Gellius, were too obscure and minute to be useful, and his etymologies were especially absurd, e.g. he derived *frater* from *fere alter*.¶ However, Cicero speaks warmly of him, and considers him to have been an acute and hard-working investigator of the more recondite departments of nature.**

* Gell. iv. 9, 1.

† Suet. Aug. 94; Apul. De Magia 42; Mommsen, R. H. iv. 562-3; Zeller, Phil. der Griech. v². 79-81.

‡ Sull. 42; Q. Fr. i. 2, 16 (53); Att. ii. 2, 3 (28).

§ Att. vii. 24 (323).

|| Fam. iv. 13 (483).

¶ Gell. xiii. 10, 4: cp. xvii. 7, 5; xix. 14, 3, where examples are given of his discussions. The learned editor of his fragments, A. Swoboda, confesses that they are disappointing.

** Tim. 1, *Fuit enim vir ille cum ceteris artibus quae quidem dignae libero essent ornatus omnibus tum acer investigator et diligens earum rerum quae a natura involutae videntur.*

12. *SERVIUS SULPICIUS RUFUS*.

Servius Sulpicius Rufus, of the Lemonian tribe, was born in 649 (105). His father was of equestrian rank, but his grandfather was an ordinary citizen. He early devoted himself to the study of oratory and law, and, along with Cicero, attended Molon at Rhodes. On his return to Rome he directed his attention especially to jurisprudence, choosing to be first in this secondary pursuit rather than second in the primary department of oratory.* But he did not shrink from political life, and in 680 (74) was quaestor of Ostia, and in 689 (65) praetor: during the tenure of this office he presided over the court for peculation.† In 691 (63) he stood for the consulship, but was defeated by Licinius Murena, probably owing his failure to the bribery of the latter. At any rate, Sulpicius and Cato prosecuted Murena for bribery. Cicero defended Murena in a lively speech, which is still extant, and obtained his acquittal, virtually by the argument that the State required men of action, like Murena, in the crisis of the Catilinarian conspiracy, rather than students of the stamp of Sulpicius.‡ We hardly hear again of Sulpicius till 702 (52), when, as Interrex, he nominated Pompey as sole consul.§ In 703 (51) he at length attained to the consulship, but showed no particular activity in that magistracy;|| Cicero complained that he prevented the raising of reinforcements in Italy for the armies of Cicero and Bibulus.¶

During the early part of the Civil War Sulpicius was one of those lukewarm Pompeians who left Rome with the other senators,

* Brut. 151, *videtur mihi in secunda arte primus esse maluisse quam in prima secundus*. Pomponius, in the Digest (1, 2, 2, 43), says that his deep study of jurisprudence arose from a rebuke administered by Mucius Scaevola, for his ignorance at failing to understand a legal opinion which Mucius had given him. Sulpicius was quite the foremost lawyer of his own day: cp. Cic. Leg. i. 17, *ab eo uno nunc ius civile summa auctoritate et scientia sustinetur*. He was also a tolerable speaker. Besides the speech against Murena, his speech in defence of Aufidia against Messalla was especially famous: cp. Quintil. x. 1, 22, 116; also vi. 1, 20.

† Cic. Muren. 18, 42.

‡ See Mr. Heitland's admirable Introduction to his edition of the speech for Murena.

§ Pseud.-Asconius, p. 37, Orell.

|| *Itemque Servius, quam cunctator*, says Caelius, Fam. viii. 10, 3 (226).

¶ Fam. iii. 3, 1 (191).

but very soon returned to the city; and he attended Caesar's senate of April 1st.* However, the son of Sulpicius, like many young men of the time, threw himself energetically into Caesar's cause, and served with the army that blockaded Brundisium. For this Sulpicius incurred much odium with the Pompeians, though the blame was due in all probability rather to Postumia, the restless and energetic wife of Sulpicius.† In May, 705 (49), Sulpicius had an interview with Cicero, who appears to despise him somewhat for his timidity, his tears, and his desire 'to die in his bed';‡ but the man of law was positive on one point, that if the exiles were restored *he* would leave Italy, and go into exile.

After the Battle of Pharsalia Sulpicius lived at Samos, and Brutus attended lectures which he gave there on the connexion of pontifical with civil law.§ In 708 (46) Caesar set him over the province of Achaëa. While he was there Cicero wrote him several letters of introduction.|| We have also two letters written by Servius to Cicero from Athens during his administration there—one the celebrated letter of consolation on the death of Tullia (Fam. iv. 5); the other the account of the murder of Marcellus (Fam. iv. 12).

Times of trouble and excitement were not at all suited to Sulpicius, and accordingly we find him plunged in grief and alarm at the events which occurred after the murder of Caesar.¶ His proposal that no law containing any decree or grant of Caesar be posted after the Ides of March was well received.** His high character and the universal respect in which he was held led to his selection with two others, by the Senate, as ambassadors to Antony, when the latter was encamped before Mutina, in January, 711 (43). Sulpicius, though in ill-health, went on the embassy, but died before he could return. Pansa proposed that he should

* Att. viii. 1, 3 (328); x. 3 A, 2 (381).

† Att. ix. 18, 2 (376); 19, 2 (377); x. 3, 2 (380); 7, 2 (388).

‡ Att. x. 14, 1 (400), *Numquam vidi hominem perturbatiorem metu . . . Atque hæc ita multis cum lacrimis loquebatur ut ego mirarer eas tam diuturna miseria non exaruisse . . . § 3, sed est tardus ad exeundum 'multo se in suo lectulo malle quidquid foret.'*

§ Brut. 156.

|| Fam. xiii. 17–28 A (512–524).

¶ Att. xiv. 18, 3; 19, 4, *Servii orationem cognosco, in qua plus timoris video quam consilii.*

** Phil. i. 3.

be honoured with a public funeral, and that his statue should be erected on the Rostra; and Cicero, in supporting that proposal, pronounced an eloquent panegyric on his old friend, which has come down to us as the Ninth Philippic. This panegyric was thoroughly sincere; and Cicero, in letters written after the death of Sulpicius, deplores the serious loss which the republican party has sustained by his death.*

Sulpicius was a man of peace, and, like Pegasus under Domitian, was a most excellent and a most upright interpreter of the laws; but he thought that in those dreadful times all matters should be treated by Justice without her sword.† He was a very great jurist, and his legal writings were most important and extensive.‡ Mr. Long, in the Dict. Biogr., has a very warm encomium on him, and concludes by expressing as his opinion that ‘perhaps of all the men of his age, or of any age, he was, as an orator, a jurist, and an advocate, without an equal or a rival.’

13. AULUS TORQUATUS.

The Aulus Torquatus to whom Cicero addresses the first four letters of the sixth book *ad Familiares* was perhaps son of the A. Torquatus, who was propraetor of Africa in 677 (77).§ He was president of the court before which Milo was tried.|| He appears to have shown Cicero considerable kindness at the time of his exile; but when governor of Cilicia Cicero was compelled, on principle, to refuse a request which Torquatus made, that a friend of his, who was a *negotiator*, should be made a prefect in Cicero’s province.¶ In January, 705 (49), he wrote Cicero a statement about Caesar’s gladiators, which afterwards turned out to be erroneous.** Torquatus followed the Pompeians into Greece some time after the main body of senators had departed.†† He was

* Fam. x. 28, 3; xii. 5, 3.

† Juv. iv. 79–81, *optimus atque Interpres legum sanctissimus, omnia, quamquam Temporibus diris, tractanda putabat inermi Iustitia.*

‡ Cp. Dig. 1, 2, 2, 43, 44, and Teuffel, § 174, 4. "

§ Cic. Planc. 27.

|| Ascon. pp. 40, 54.

¶ Att. v. 21, 10 (250); vi. 1, 6 (252).

** Att. vii. 14, 2 (310).

†† Att. ix. 8, 1 (376).

apparently forbidden to return to Italy at the conclusion of the war, and was at the end of 708 (46) living in exile at Athens. Cicero mentions him with considerable feeling in the *De Finibus*, and calls him 'a most excellent man, and strongly attached to myself.' *

14. PUBLIUS SERVILIUS VATIA ISAURICUS.

This P. Servilius was son of the Servilius who first acquired the agnomen of Isauricus by his victory over the pirates in 676 (78). He was a staunch aristocrat in his younger days, and a follower of Cato,† but he was a very poor pupil, as all through life he was the merest opportunist. He was praetor in 700 (54), and prevented Pomptinus from gaining a triumph.‡ Six years later, however, he appears as a Caesarian, and was consul with Caesar in 706 (48), in which capacity he resisted the absurd disturbances raised by Caelius.§ In 708 (46)|| he was proprætor of Asia, and Cicero wrote several letters of introduction to him.¶ In 710, 711 (44, 43), he stood by the Senate against Antonius, and often appears in the debates of the time. Cicero generally praises him, but sometimes thought that he was too mild towards Antony and his crew.** He voted in favour of granting a public funeral to Servius Sulpicius, but against erecting a statue to him.†† It was proposed, against the advice of Cicero, that Servilius, though holding no magistracy, should be entrusted with the conduct of the war against Dolabella.‡‡ In April, 711 (43), Cicero had a violent contention with him in the Senate, and goes so far as to call him a madman.§§ Afterwards Servilius deserted the Senatorial

* Fin. ii. 72, *Vir optimus nostrique amantissimus, A. Torquatus, versatur ante oculos: cuius quantum studium fuerit et quam insigne erga me temporibus illis quae nota sunt omnibus scire necesse est utrumque vestrum*: cp. Att. v. 1, 5 (185), *A. Torquatum amantissime dimisi Minturnis, optimum virum*.

† Att. i. 19, 9 (25); ii. 1, 10 (27); Q. Fr. ii. 3, 2 (102).

‡ Q. Fr. iii. 4, 6 (152); Att. iv. 18, 4 (154).

§ Vol. iii. p. lviii.

|| Lange, Röm. Alt. iii. 442.

¶ Fam. xiii. 66–72 (482, 506–511).

** Fam. xii. 2, 1; Phil. vii. 27; xii. 5; xiv. 7, 11.

†† Phil. ix. 14.

‡‡ Phil. xi. 19.

§§ Ad Brut. ii. 2, 3, *ego hic cum homine furioso satis habeo negotii, Servilio*; Fam. x. 12, 3, 4.

15. PUBLIUS CORNELIUS DOLABELLA. lxxxi

party, attached himself to Octavian, as the latter promised to marry his daughter, and was by him reconciled to Antony.* Octavian did not marry Servilia, but compensated her father by investing him with the consulship for 713 (41) along with L. Antonius. He was too indolent (ἡσυχαιτέρος πως ὢν) either to side with or to oppose his colleague when the latter stirred up the war at Perusia.† We do not hear anything further about him, but, from his general character and desire for quietness, it is most probable that he died in his bed.

15. PUBLIUS CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

Dolabella was born about 685 (69).‡ He must have spent a very wild youth, for before he was eighteen years of age he had apparently been twice tried on a capital charge, and only escaped by the advocacy of Cicero.§ In 703 (51) he was quindecimvir, and next year accused Appius Claudius of extortion in Cilicia.|| Cicero wrote from Cilicia to Appius, expressing great indignation at the recklessness of Dolabella, but found it difficult to persuade that noble of his sincerity, as Cicero's family had meanwhile betrothed Tullia to Dolabella.¶ Cicero himself wished that Tullia should marry Tiberius Claudius Nero; but Dolabella, who is universally allowed to have had most attractive manners,** appears to have won Tullia's affection, and to have obtained Terentia's support in his suit, notwithstanding his 'wild oats.'†† This connexion

* Suet. Aug. 62.

† Dio Cass. xlviii. 4, 1; 17, 4.

‡ App. B. C. ii. 129.

§ Fam. iii. 10, 5 (261).

|| Fam. viii. 4, 1 (206); 6, 1 (242).

¶ Fam. iii. 12, 2 (275): cp. 10, 1, 4 (261). Dolabella had been previously married to Fabia. She appears to have been the lady who told Cicero that she was thirty years of age, and to whom Cicero replied that he really ought to be aware of the fact, as he had been hearing her assert it for the previous twenty years (Quintil. vi. 3, 73). Fabia left Dolabella at the time of the prosecution of Appius: cp. Fam. viii. 6, 1 (242).

** Att. vii. 3, 12 (294), *gener est suavis mihi, Tulliae, Terentiae*; Caesar ap. Att. ix. 16, 2 (374), *Dolabella tuo nihil scito mihi esse iucundius*. He appears to have been small of stature. On one occasion Cicero, seeing Dolabella equipped in full military costume, scoffingly asked him who had tied him to his long sword (Macrob. ii. 3).

†† Att. vi. 6, 1 (276), *mulieres quidem valde intellego delectari obsequio et comitate adolescentis: cetera noli ἐξακανθίζειν*.

with Cicero's family just at the time of his accusation of Appius may have been formed by Dolabella with a view to rendering Cicero's support of Appius less energetic than it would otherwise have been. Appius was acquitted, and Cicero acquiesced in his new son-in-law; though his character was none of the best, hopes were entertained that Tullia would reform him.* Cicero, in after days, says Dolabella's character was as vicious as could possibly be, but that at the time of the marriage he did not know that it was so bad.†

But his debts were enormous, and accordingly he joined Caesar's party, not from principle, but solely from a hope that Caesar would cancel all debts.‡ His letters to Cicero during the first few months of 705 (49) appear to have been like those of the other young Caesarians, Caelius and Curio, very 'cock-sure' in their expression of the certainty of Pompey's defeat. He wrote to Cicero early in February, telling of the total loss of Picenum, but saying that Caesar was satisfied with Cicero's conduct.§ In March his letters from Brundisium related 'simple horrors,' and breathed 'simple war.' || Cicero generally expresses grief that Dolabella should have adopted Caesar's side; but he was glad enough at times to reflect that Dolabella was in that commander's camp, and would use his influence on behalf of Cicero's family if serious dangers arose.¶ In May, 705 (49), he was in command of a squadron of ships in the Adriatic, but does not appear to have at all signalized himself in that position. He was in Caesar's camp in Epirus in May, 706 (48), and wrote a letter to Cicero, which is extant, urging him to retire from the conflict.** He fought at Pharsalia, but did not follow Caesar to Egypt. After the battle Caesar told him to inform Cicero that he might return to Italy as soon as he pleased.†† Dolabella himself returned to Rome, but no cancelling of debts took place, and he was beset by creditors. To extricate himself from his financial difficulties he induced a certain plebeian, named Lentulus, to adopt him,‡‡ so

* Fam. viii. 13, 1 (271).

† Phil. xi. 10.

‡ Cp. Fam. ii. 16, 5 (394).

§ Att. vii. 21, 2, 3 (319).

|| Att. ix. 13, § 1 (370), *mera scelera*; § 8, *merum bellum*.

¶ Fam. xvi. 12, 5 (312); Att. vii. 13, 3 (307).

** Fam. ix. 9 (364).

†† Att. xi. 7, 2 (420).

‡‡ Hence Cicero calls Tullia's son by Dolabella *Lentulus puer*, Att. xii. 28, 3.

that he might be eligible for the tribunate, and Dolabella's popularity succeeded in obtaining that magistracy for 707 (47). He then attempted to carry out the same radical programme which Caelius had supported a year before, and proposed abolition of debts and reduction of house-rents. Violent disorders ensued. Dolabella was in a measure resisted by Trebellius, but at length Antony, who was in command of Italy at this time, put down Dolabella's revolution with a vigorous hand.* Cicero expresses the utmost grief at these wild doings of his son-in-law, and felt constrained, in the midst of all his other troubles, to take measures for divorcing Dolabella from Tullia—not merely on political grounds, but also because Dolabella's amours with the notorious Cecilia Metella and other women were barefaced and flagrant, and he was believed to have had an intrigue even with Antony's wife, Antonia.†

Notwithstanding this extravagant and revolutionary conduct of Dolabella, he did not apparently in the least forfeit the goodwill of Caesar‡ and served in his army during the African campaign. On his return, in July, 708 (46), Dolabella lived for some weeks at Tusculum on friendly terms with Cicero, and practised rhetoric under his tuition.§ He also renewed his connexion with Tullia, as the divorce had never been formally executed; but towards the close of the year the separation was finally effected. In December he followed Caesar into Spain, and was wounded in that campaign.|| From Spain he appears to have written Cicero a letter of consolation for the death of Tullia, whose love he had so ill-deserved, and whose life he had so grievously embittered.¶ The extraordinary unconcern with which marriage connexions were broken off, as well as the absence of any ill-feeling between the families of the separated parties, is a remarkable feature in

* Dio Cass. xlii. 29–33; Livy, Epit. cxiii.

† Att. xi. 14, 2 (429); 23, 3 (437); Plut. Ant. 9.

‡ Dio (xlii. 33 fin.) says that Caesar's motive for pardoning Dolabella was gratitude for his having espoused his cause at the beginning of the Civil War. Plutarch (Ant. 10), however, attributes it to a wish to humiliate Antony, who, by his licentiousness, had allowed military discipline in Italy to be completely relaxed.

§ Fam. ix. 16, 7 (472).

|| Phil. ii. 75.

¶ Manutius on Fam. ix. 11, 1.

the social life of Rome. All Dolabella's profligacy was forgotten and forgiven, and Cicero remained on friendly terms with him,* his chief matter of concern being how to extract Tullia's dowry from such an impecunious person.†

But the most interesting part of Dolabella's career dates from his return to Rome from Spain; and accordingly, the history of his later life may better be postponed to another volume.

* For example, he wrote him a most merry letter, Fam. ix. 10 (537), in January, 709 (45): cp. also Fam. vi. 11, 1.

† Att. xii. 8 (501); Fam. vi. 18, 5 (534): cp. *Dolabellae ἀπιστία*, Att. xiv. 19, 1.

III.—THE ORDER OF THE LETTERS.*

PART VI.

A. U. C. 705, 706 = B. C. 49, 48.

301	Fam. xvi. 11, . .	Before Rome, . .	January 12, . .	§ 3.
302	„ v. 20, . .	„ . .	„ 12 (about), . .	
303	Att. vii. 10, . .	„ . .	„ 18, . .	
304	„ vii. 11, . .	Antium (?), . .	„ 19, . .	
305	„ vii. 12, . .	Formiae, . .	„ 22, . .	§ 2.
306	Fam. xiv. 18, . .	„ . .	„ 22, . .	§ 2.
307	Att. xii. 13 a, . .	Minturnae, . .	„ 23, . .	
308	„ xii. 13 b, . .	„ . .	„ 23, . .	
309	Fam. xiv. 14, . .	„ . .	„ 23, . .	Fin.
310	Att. vii. 14, . .	Cales, . .	„ 25, . .	§ 1.
311	„ vii. 15, . .	Capua, . .	„ 26, . .	§ 2.
312	Fam. xvi. 12, . .	„ . .	„ 27, . .	Fin.
313	Att. vii. 16, . .	Cales, . .	„ 28, . .	§ 2.
314	Fam. xvi. 8, . .	Campania, . .	„ (end), . .	
315	Att. vii. 17, . .	Formiae, . .	February 2, . .	§ 5.

302. To Mescinius Rufus. Cicero was before Rome from the 4th to the 17th (cp. § 2).

303. Cicero left Rome the day after Pompey left. Pompey left on the 17th (365, 4).

304. The desertion of Labienus from Caesar is a mere rumour in this letter: it is afterwards confirmed in 305, 5; 307, 1. The generally excited tone of 304 points to the departure of the senators from Rome as of quite recent occurrence.

305. Cicero probably saw the consul Lentulus the day before writing this letter (§ 2).

307. Written on the same day as 309, as the accounts of Labienus and Piso in both letters are similar.

308. Obviously written very soon after 307. It may perhaps be regarded as a postscript.

310. Cicero reached Capua early that day (311, 2).

313. The distance from Capua to Formiae was over forty miles. Cicero probably took two days on the journey: cp. 316, 318.

314. Q. Cicero to Tiro. Probably written about the end of January: cp. with 312, 6.

* When no note is appended to a letter the date of that letter can be fixed from the § given in the last column of the Table.

In drawing up these notes we have to express obligations to Sternkopf (*Quaestiones chronologicae*, &c., Marburg, 1884), Ziehen (*Ephemerides Tullianae*, Budapesth, 1887), Schiche (*Zu Cicero's Briefen an Atticus II.*, Berlin, 1883), and especially to O. E. Schmidt (*Der Briefwechsel des M. Tullius Cicero*, Leipzig, 1893). The ingenuity of this latter scholar in historical matters is very great, and can only be equalled by his learning. If we had had the advantage of his guidance when originally arranging the order of the letters that arrangement would have been much improved: cp. notes to 474, 481, 489, 502, 531, 534.

316	Att.	vii. 18, .	Formiae, . . .	Feb. 3, .	} § 1.
317	,,	vii. 19, .	,, . . .	,, 3, .	} § 1.
318	,,	vii. 20, .	Capua, . . .	,, 5, .	} § 1.
319	,,	vii. 21, .	Cales, . . .	,, 8, .	} § 1.
320	,,	vii. 22, .	Formiae, . . .	,, 9, .	
321	,,	vii. 23, .	,, . . .	,, 10, .	}
322	,,	viii. 11 A, .	Luceria, . . .	,, 10, .	}
323	,,	vii. 24, .	Formiae, . . .	,, 11 (morning)	}
324	,,	vii. 25, .	,, . . .	,, 11 (afternoon)	}
325	,,	viii. 12 B, .	Luceria, . . .	,, 12 (about), .	
326	,,	vii. 26, .	Formiae, . . .	,, 13, .	
327	,,	viii. 11 B, .	,, . . .	,, 15, .	
328	,,	viii. 1, .	,, . . .	,, 16, .	}
329	,,	viii. 12 c, .	Luceria, . . .	,, 16, .	}
330	,,	viii. 12 D, .	,, . . .	,, 17, .	}
331	,,	viii. 12 A, .	,, . . .	,, 17, .	}
332	,,	viii. 2, .	Formiae, . . .	,, 17, .	} § 4.
333	,,	viii. 3, .	Cales, . . .	,, 18-19, .	

317. Written in the afternoon of the 3rd : cp. *Ecce tibi III. Non*, &c.
320. Written before 321, as it says nothing definitely about the news from Picenum.
321. Probably written on the morning of the 10th (§ 1), after the arrival of Philotimus on the previous evening. It was certainly written before the 11th, on which day Cassius received dissimilar news from Picenum.
322. Pompey to Cicero. Written immediately after the arrival of Fabius, on the 10th. Cicero received this letter on the 15th (327, 1). It was doubtless a postscript, written by Pompey himself, to a long letter dictated to a secretary relating in detail the affairs in Picenum.
323. Probably written the day after the receipt of the letters to Cassius.
324. After the despatch of the *litterae tristes* Cephalius arrived with letters from Rome. To these Cicero replied at once.
325. Pompey to Domitius. Pompey heard from correspondents at Corfinium that Domitius had not fulfilled his promise to march out of Corfinium on the 9th (cp. 322, 1); therefore their letters cannot have been sent earlier than the morning of the 10th [Corfinium to Luceria, through Beneventum, about 130 miles]. It would take at least two days to reach Pompey at Luceria. Therefore this letter was written about the 11th or 12th (Schmidt, p. 136).
326. § 1, *hoc biduo* appears to point to two days after the last letter.
327. Cicero to Pompey. Cicero wrote *at once* (328, 2) after receipt on the 15th (327, 1) of 322.
328. Cicero promises to send Pompey's letter 'to-morrow' (§ 1); he does so on the 17th (332, 4). This letter is subsequent to 327, for in 327 he has *not* decided to go to Luceria; in 328, 4, he *has* decided to go.
- 329-330. Pompey to Domitius. Pompey received the letter from Domitius, probably written on the 14th (cp. note to 325) on the 16th (§ 1). Pompey replied immediately, for on the 17th (330, 1) another letter from Domitius is brought, to which Pompey replies in 330.
331. Pompey to the Consuls. On receipt of news of the blockade of Corfinium, received on the 17th, Pompey sent orders to the Consuls to concentrate all forces 'into one place.' This 'one place' was really Brundisium, not Corfinium, as was generally thought: cp. p. xxvi.
333. Cicero hears of the letter of Domitius of the 14th, which arrived *via* Luceria. (Corfinium to Luceria about 130 miles, Luceria to Cales about 80). Therefore Cicero could not have received this before the morning of the 19th.

334	Att. viii. 11 c,	Canusium, . . .	Feb. 20, . . .	
335	„ viii. 4, . . .	Formiae, . . .	„ 22, . . .	}
336	„ viii. 5, . . .	„ . . .	„ 22, . . .	
337	„ viii. 6, . . .	„ . . .	„ 23, . . .	
338	„ viii. 7, . . .	„ . . .	„ 24, . . .	}
339	„ viii. 8, . . .	„ . . .	„ 24, . . .	
340	„ viii. 9, . . .	„ . . .	„ 25, . . .	§ 4.
341	„ viii. 10, . . .	„ . . .	„ 26, . . .	
342	„ viii. 11, . . .	„ . . .	„ 27, . . .	}
343	„ viii. 11 D, . . .	„ . . .	„ 27, . . .	
344	Fam. viii. 15, . . .	North Italy, . . .	„ (end), . . .	
345	Att. viii. 12, . . .	Formiae, . . .	„ 28, . . .	
346	„ viii. 15 A, . . .	Rome, . . .	„ 28 (about), . . .	
347	„ ix. 7 c, . . .	Arpi (?), . . .	March 1, . . .	}
348	„ viii. 13, . . .	Formiae, . . .	„ 1, . . .	
349	„ viii. 14, . . .	„ . . .	„ 2, . . .	
350	„ viii. 15, . . .	„ . . .	„ 3, . . .	§ 1.

334. Pompey to Cicero. Date given in 343, 4.

335. Cp. 336, 1.

336. Dionysius came in the evening. After his interview with Cicero, the latter *at once* sent a special messenger post-haste to Rome, to recover the vehement letter which he had written to Dionysius. If he had not sent at once Dionysius would have received the letter on his return.

337. Pompey's order of the 17th (331) to the Consuls at Capua probably took some time to get into general circulation. Hence it did not reach Formiae till the 22nd.

338–340. These letters were written in this order, as may be seen by the gradual disappearance of Cicero's expectations that Pompey would relieve Domitius, 337, 3. Pompey will be a great terror to Caesar, 338, 1. If I am not mistaken, he will abandon Domitius, 339, 2. He has abandoned him, and Domitius has capitulated. 340 is dated (§ 4).

341–349. The date of 350 is March 3rd (§ 1); that of 352 March 4th (§ 2). Now Cicero wrote to Atticus every day (345, 1; 349, 1). Therefore 341, 342, 345, 348, 349 fill up the five days from February 26th to March 2nd.

343. Cicero to Pompey. Pompey's letter was received on the 27th (§ 4). It was probably answered at once, as he encloses it in 342 to Atticus on the 27th.

344. Caelius to Cicero. News of the capture of Corfinium had reached Caelius at Intimelum. He anticipates that Caesar has driven Pompey out of Italy, unless there is a blockade of Brundisium (§ 1). It would take Caesar twelve days to reach Brundisium from Corfinium, even marching quickly. So that perhaps this letter was written early in March. But writing at the end of February the sanguine Caelius might have supposed that Pompey would have sailed for Greece as soon as ever he learned that Caesar was marching on Brundisium.

346. Balbus to Cicero. Cicero saw young Balbus on the 24th (340, 4). On the same day he wrote to the elder Balbus about that interview. 346 is the answer to that letter of Cicero's. Possibly it was written on the 26th. From Formiae to Rome was somewhat less than two days' journey.

347. Caesar to Balbus and Oppius. Written somewhere on the journey from Corfinium to Brundisium. We know that Caesar was at Arpi on March 1st (358, 2). The news of the capture of Corfinium could have reached Rome on February 23rd, and an immediate reply could have caught up Caesar at Arpi. But it is quite possible that this letter was written later than March 1st, from some station between Arpi and Brundisium.

350. § 1. It answers (§ 3) a letter of Atticus written from Rome on the 1st.

351	Att.	ix.	7 A,	.	Rome,	.	.	.	March	3 (about),	.	
352	„	viii.	16,	.	Formiae,	.	.	.	„	4,	.	§ 2.
353	„	ix.	1,	.	„	.	.	.	„	6,	.	§ 1.
354	„	ix.	7 B,	.	Rome,	.	.	.	„	6,	.	
355	„	ix.	2,	.	Formiae,	.	.	.	„	7,	.	§ 1.
356	„	ix.	2 a,	.	„	.	.	.	„	8,	.	
357	„	ix.	6 A,	.	Road to Brundisium,	.	.	.	„	8,	.	
358	„	ix.	3,	.	Formiae,	.	.	.	„	9,	.	§ 2.
359	„	ix.	5,	.	„	.	.	.	„	10,	.	
360	„	ix.	6,	.	„	.	.	.	„	11,	.	
361	„	ix.	4,	.	„	.	.	.	„	12,	.	
362	„	ix.	7,	.	„	.	.	.	„	13,	.	
363	„	ix.	8,	.	„	.	.	.	„	14,	.	
364	„	ix.	9,	.	„	.	.	.	„	17,	.	
365	„	ix.	10,	.	„	.	.	.	„	18,	.	
366	„	ix.	11 A,	.	„	.	.	.	„	19 or 20,	.	

351. Balbus and Oppius to Cicero. Cicero appears to have written to Balbus on the 1st (probably in reply to 346), asking his advice as to what course of action he should pursue, and this is the guarded reply of Caesar's agents.

354. Balbus to Cicero. Written at once on receipt of 347 from Caesar.

356. On the morning of the 7th Cicero says (355) that he is expecting a longer letter from Atticus. That longer letter arrived later on the 7th (356, 1, 3), and was dated the 4th (365, 9 compared with 356, 2). Probably 356 was written on the next morning.

357. Caesar to Cicero. This letter was brought by Furnius, and reached Cicero at Formiae on the 11th (360, 6). Accordingly the date which we have given is wrong by about three days, and the 5th would be more accurate; for Caesar was very near Brundisium on the 7th or 8th (he reached it on the 9th), and a letter despatched from so far south could not possibly have reached Formiae on the 11th.

359-363. To begin with 363. It was plainly written immediately on receipt of Atticus's letter on the 14th (§ 1). Also, as Schmidt (p. 148) points out, it says (§ 2) that the fever-day of Atticus was 'yesterday.' That was the 13th, for Atticus had fever every fourth day (337, 3). The 7th of March was one of those days (355, 1), the 10th would be the next, and the 13th the next. Secondly, as regards 360—on the 13th (364, 2, cp. 1) Atticus wrote that Clodia exaggerated the details in her account of the departure of the Pompeians from Brundisium. That information of Clodia's was given to Atticus by Cicero in 360, 3; therefore that letter was probably written two days previously, i.e. the 11th. 359 was written before 360, as the former says that there is no news from Brundisium (§ 3). 361 follows 359 and 360, for—1. On the 9th and 10th 358 and 359 were written, and there is nothing to lead us to believe that a second letter was written on either of these days. 2. The *θέσεις* plainly point to Cicero's belief that the departure of Pompey was already an accomplished fact. Information leading him to this belief Cicero received on the 11th. 361, then, is probably the letter written on the 12th, which Cicero intended to give to a strange letter-carrier (361, 4); but that letter-carrier did not start at all on the 12th (362, 1). This is confirmed by the fact that Cicero says (361, 4) that if the letter-carrier went at the normal rate (*recte*) he would arrive in Rome on Atticus's fever-day, i.e. the 13th. Finally, for 362, the 13th is left, and that date suits admirably (§ 1), as we have seen. Also the tenor of 362 is much the same as that of 361; both letters are full of deliberations and questionings.

364. § 4, *data Liberalibus*.

365. § 1, *ad tuas omnes rescripseram* (i.e. 364) *pridie*.

366. Cicero to Caesar. Cicero received the letter of Lentulus referred to in 367, 1, on the 19th; for on the 18th he tells Atticus (365, 1) that there is no news; therefore, probably on the 19th or 20th he wrote the letter to Caesar which he forwarded to Atticus on the 20th.

367	Att.	ix. 11, . . .	Formiae, . . .	March 20, . . .	} § 1.
368	„	ix. 12, . . .	„ . . .	„ 20, . . .	} § 1.
369	„	ix. 13, §§ 1-7,	„ . . .	„ 23, . . .	
370	„	ix. 13 A, . . .	Rome, . . .	„ 21 to 23, . . .	
371	„	ix. 13, § 8, . . .	Formiae, . . .	„ 24, . . .	
372	„	ix. 14, . . .	„ . . .	„ 25, . . .	} § 6.
373	„	ix. 15, . . .	„ . . .	„ 25, . . .	} § 6.
374	„	ix. 16, . . .	„ . . .	„ 26, . . .	
375	„	ix. 17, . . .	„ . . .	„ 27, . . .	§ 1.
376	„	ix. 18, . . .	Arpinum or Aquinum (?)	„ 29, . . .	
377	„	ix. 19, . . .	Arpinum, . . .	April 1, . . .	
378	„	x. 1, . . .	Laterium, . . .	„ 3, . . .	§ 1.
379	„	x. 2, . . .	Arcanum, . . .	„ 5 or 6, . . .	§ 1.
380	„	x. 3, . . .	„ . . .	„ 7, . . .	
381	„	x. 3 a, . . .	„ . . .	„ 7, . . .	
382	„	x. 4, . . .	Cumae, . . .	„ 14, . . .	§ 1.
383	Fam. viii.	16, . . .	Intimelum, . . .	„ 16 (about), . . .	§ 8.
384	Att.	x. 5, . . .	Cumae, . . .	„ 16, . . .	§ 3.
385	„	x. 8 B, . . .	Intimelum, . . .	„ 16 (about), . . .	
386	„	x. 6, . . .	Cumae, . . .	„ 17 to 22, . . .	
387	Fam. iv.	1, . . .	„ . . .	„ (middle), . . .	
388	Att.	x. 7, . . .	„ . . .	„ 22, . . .	

367. § 1. The reading is certainly *XIII.*, not *XIIII.*, for Cicero would not have called the same day *XIIII.* in reference to one visitor (Cassius), and the *Quinquatrus* (§ 2) in reference to the other (Matius).

369. In § 2 Cicero says he is replying to a letter from Atticus received on the 22nd.

370. Balbus to Cicero, written at least two days before 371, 8.

371. Obviously written after the receipt of important news forwarded by Dolabella on the 15th. In 370, 1, the latest news from Dolabella had been that of events which occurred not later than the 13th.

372. Written early in the morning of the 25th: compare § 3 with 373, 6, *cum dedissem iam litteras viii. Kal.*

374. § 1, *ne quem diem intermitterem.*

376. Obviously written very soon after Cicero's interview with Caesar, which took place on the 28th (cp. p. xxxiv.). Possibly from Arpinum or some midway town, such as Interamna or Aquinum.

377. Written on April 1st, for (§ 2) Caesar's Senate is now meeting. Also Cicero received on the 5th the communications (379, 1) asked for in this letter (§ 4).

379. Cicero intended to remain at Minturnae on the 6th (§ 1), but did remain in his brother's Arcanum.

383, 385. These two letters were written probably on the same day, as they are of the same tenor, and Caelius (383, 4) says he has urged Caesar to write to Cicero. Cicero received them on the same day, for Caesar's letters arrived on May 2nd (392, 10, compared with words between Att. x. 8 A and 8 B, *Eodem die* (sc. vi. Non.) *a Caesare Philotimus attulit hoc exemplo*: see introductory note to Ep. 385 in the commentary, the date of 392, in which letter that of Caelius is enclosed. Most probably Caelius saw Caesar at Intimelum, as the latter was on his march to Massilia.

386-388. These letters, as Schmidt has excellently shown (pp. 171-2), admit of a more exact dating than we have given them. They were written after 385, for in 386, 2, and 388, 2, the actual direction and regulation of young Quintus, which Cicero anticipated would be a hard task (385, 2), has been already taken in hand. In 388, 2, Cicero sends letters by Philotimus to Sulpicius at Rome; on the 28th Cicero received a letter of Sulpicius forwarded by Philotimus from Rome (389, 1). It was a three days' journey from Cumae to Rome; therefore 388 was written not later than the 22nd, and 386 obviously comes between it and 384.

387. Cicero to Servius Sulpicius. Some time during the early part of April Trebatius

389	Fam.	iv.	2,	Cumae,	April 28,	§ 1.
390	„	v.	19,	„	„ (end),	
391	Att.	x.	8 A,	On journey to Campania,	„ 28 or May 1,	
392	„	x.	8,	Cumae,	May 2,	§ 10.
393	„	x.	9,	„	„ 3,	
394	Fam.	ii.	16,	„	„ 3 (about),	
395	Att.	x.	10,	„	„ 3,	§ 3.
396	„	x.	11,	„	„ 4,	
397	„	x.	12, §§ 1-3,	„	„ 5,	
398	„	x.	12, §§ 4-7,	„	„ 6,	
399	„	x.	13,	„	„ 7,	
400	„	x.	14,	„	„ 8,	
401	„	x.	15,	„	„ 12,	
402	„	x.	16,	„	„ 14,	
403	„	x.	17,	„	„ 16,	
404	„	x.	18,	„	„ 19,	
405	Fam.	xiv.	7,	Harbour of Caieta, near Formiae,	June 7,	

wrote to Cicero, saying that Sulpicius wished to see him. In accordance with this request, Cicero wrote 387 to Sulpicius, probably about the middle of the month, say the 15th or 16th. In this letter he takes a lugubrious view of the whole political situation. He tells Sulpicius to send to Trebatius any letters he wishes to have forwarded to him. Sulpicius probably did send a reply at once to Cicero, and on the 22nd Cicero sent Philotimus to Rome with a letter to Sulpicius, which appears to have been lost. Schmidt (p. 168) argues that 387 was written between April 3rd and 6th, for Trebatius arrived in Rome probably about the beginning of the month, as he had been at Formiae on March 27th (375, 1), on his journey to the city; and in 387 there is no reference to Caesar's letter (381, 2), excusing Cicero for not attending his Senate, which Cicero received on the 6th. But why should Cicero mention it? It was a purely personal letter, referring to Cicero only: and certainly Cicero, even after receiving it, could not suppose that Caesar would be so indulgent as not to be offended if Cicero actively urged the other senators to abstain from co-operating with him in carrying on the government of the State.

390. Cicero to Mescinius Rufus. Written probably about the same time as 389, the same kind of arguments being used: cp. § 2 of both letters.
391. Antony to Cicero. Probably written a day or two before Cicero received it.
392. § 10. On this day (May 2) Cicero received the letters of Caelius and Caesar, the latter brought by Philotimus: cp. note to 383, 385.
393. In § 1 reference is made to the arrival of Philotimus, which took place on the 2nd (cp. 385, 392). Cicero probably wrote this letter early next morning.
394. Cicero to Caelius. Written in reply to 383, about this time, shortly after the receipt of the letter from Caelius (383). There is nothing to fix the exact date.
396. § 4. Antony arrived at Misenum 'yesterday': he arrived on the 3rd (395, 3).
397. Antony had not yet come to Cicero (397, 1), but he was expected to come on the 5th (396, 4).
398. This letter is of much the same tenor as 397; it might have been written in the afternoon of the 5th.
399. Sulpicius was to meet Cicero next day (§ 2), i.e. the day after the Nones (400, 1).
400. Written immediately after the interview with Sulpicius, which had been arranged for the 8th (399, 2; 400, 1).
401. Written just before Cicero's departure for Pompeii, which occurred on the 12th (402, 4).
402. In § 5 Cicero expresses a hope that Hortensius, who had called on Terentia during his absence, would return. Hortensius did return on the 14th, 'after I had written my letter' (403, 1). That letter is plainly 402.
403. § 4 fin. This was the vernal equinox (§ 3); therefore the calendar was 55 days in advance of the real time.

A. U. C. 706 = B. C. 48.

406	Att. xi. 1, . . .	Pompey's camp in Epirus, . . .	Jan. (about 10th or 11th, . . .)
407	„ xi. 2, . . .	„ „ . . .	February 5, . . .
408	Fam. viii. 17, . . .	Rome, . . .	Jan. or Feb., . . .
409	„ ix. 9, . . .	Caesar's camp in Epirus, . . .	May (end) or June (beginning), . . .
410	„ xiv. 8, . . .	Pompey's camp in Epirus, . . .	June 2, . . .
411	Att. xi. 3, . . .	„ „ . . .	„ 13, . . .
412	Fam. xiv. 21, . . .	„ „ . . .	„ day uncertain
413	Att. xi. 4, . . .	„ „ . . .	§ 2 June; § 1 July,
414	Fam. xiv. 6, . . .	„ „ . . .	July 15, . . .

406. Written probably shortly after Caesar's landing in Epirus, which took place on January 5th, and which Cicero refers to in *pericula* (§ 1). Perhaps 407 was written when Cicero received the answer to 406, as Atticus, in answer to 406, had promised pecuniary assistance to Cicero (407, 1). The journey from Rome to Dyrrhachium took about ten or eleven days; accordingly, 406 was written about January 10th or 11th (Schmidt, pp. 184-5).
407. Probably written the day after the receipt of Atticus's letter, on February 4th (§ 1). There is no need to suppose that *exegi* (§ 3) means actual drawing out of the money: it signifies 'I am sending an order to draw out,' just as (§ 1) *eoque ipso die testamentum crevi* means 'on that very day I sent a notification that I would take the inheritance.'
408. Caelius to Cicero. Caesar (B. C. iii. 20-22) says that the radical movement of Caelius took place at the beginning of his magistracy, and that it found a speedy end. This letter appears to have been written during the movement, and while Caesar and Pompey were lying opposite to one another on the Apsus (January to March), so that Ziehen (*Ephemerides Tull.*, p. 49) is probably right in placing the letter towards the end of January.
409. The circumvallation (§ 2) was not completed till shortly before the battle in which Pompey conquered Caesar (Caes. B. C. iii. 63). This took place in June.
410. The reference to Terentia's fever in this letter and in 412 (which appears to be referred to in Dolabella's letter (409, 1)) fixes these three letters to May or June, 706 (48). Sternkopf (Dortmund Programm (1891), p. 46) and Schmidt (p. 192), on account of the fact that Dolabella (409, 2) had declared that Terentia was quite well again, and on account of the mention of Caesar's letters, place these two letters to Terentia in June, 707 (47), cp. 431, 1, at which time Cicero was very much concerned about a letter from Caesar, which he considered to be a forgery. But the sudden fever of Terentia appears to have come on her towards the latter end of May (410 is dated June 2nd), some weeks after accounts of her good health had been forwarded to Dolabella; and we may suppose that *Caesaris litterae* referred to some public letter which Caesar sent to Rome. If we suppose that these letters to Terentia were written in 707 (47), we have to infer that she had serious illnesses in both 706 (48) and 707 (47). This Sternkopf does, apparently thinking that Cicero's anxiety that Terentia should make her will (431, 5, *tempora monent*: cp. 412, *ut res tempusque postulat*) has reference to this illness, which he anticipated might possibly prove fatal.
412. Probably despatched on the first opportunity which Cicero had of sending a letter after 410.
413. We left this letter undivided, though it is strange that in § 1 Cicero says there is no news, and in § 2 that Atticus will learn the news from Isidorus. Ziehen

PART VII.

A. U. C. 706 = B. C. 48.

415	Fam. xiv. 12, . . .	Brundisium, . . .	November 5, }	Fin.
416	Att. xi. 5, . . .	„ . . .	„ 5, }	
417	Fam. xiv. 19, . . .	„ . . .	„ 27, }	
418	Att. xi. 6, . . .	„ . . .	„ 27, }	§ 7 fin.
419	Fam. xiv. 9, . . .	„ . . .	December 17 (?), }	
420	Att. xi. 7, . . .	„ . . .	„ 17, }	§ 8 fin.
421	Fam. xiv. 17, . . .	„ . . .	„ 25 (?), }	
422	Att. xi. 8, . . .	„ . . .	„ 25, }	§ 2 fin.

(p. 53) supposes that Cicero is answering in a single epistle a series of letters from Atticus, and that the letter to which § 1 is a reply did not give any occasion for relating the defeat of Caesar, but that, on taking up the second letter of Atticus, asking for news, Cicero said that Isidorus would tell him what news there was. We now, however, agree with Schmidt (p. 193) that § 2 was written considerably before § 1, and in close connexion with 411; for—(1) In 413, § 2, Cicero says *reliqua non videntur esse difficiliora*, and that he is hindered by illness from accompanying Pompey. In § 1 his tone is fault-finding: cp. § 1 fin. (2) 411 and 413, 2, make reference to the payment of the second instalment of Tullia's dowry on July 1st, but no reference to this appears in 413, 1. Isidorus probably brought 413, 2, to Atticus, and had returned when § 1 was written; therefore twenty-two days at the very least must have intervened between § 2 and § 1. (3) 413, 1, is plainly written at the same time as 414, i.e. July 15th; therefore 413, 2, belongs to the middle of June. This fixes Caesar's defeat to the middle of June, for plainly 413, 2, has reference to that victory of the Pompeians.

415–416. Schmidt (pp. 198–9) excellently argues that both these letters were sent on the same day, about twenty days after Cicero landed in Brundisium. In 416 the *causae acerbae graves novae* were the quarrel with Quintus. Cicero had intended to remain at Patrae, but, owing to this quarrel, he had left for Brundisium. Immediately on landing it would appear that he notified his arrival to Atticus and Terentia. Atticus replied, asking, in astonishment, why he had changed his mind. Cicero replies in 416. Terentia had no need to ask for the reason, it being a family one, and known to her; accordingly her only reply is to wish her husband good fortune in the step he has taken. Cicero's reply to that is 415. Further, 418 is in reply to Atticus's answer to 416; accordingly 416 was written about the beginning of November.

417–418. The similarity of topics in these letters, viz. nearer approach to the city (418, 2), Tullia (418, 4), and the letter from Atticus which Cicero is expecting (418, 7), affords reason to believe that both letters were written on the same day, viz. November 27th (Schmidt, p. 209).

419. Written shortly after 417, as reference is made to Tullia's ill health; perhaps sent by the same messenger as 420.

421. No doubt brought by Lepta and Trebatius along with 422: cp. 4, 221.

A. U. C. 707 = B. C. 47.

423	Att.	xi. 9, . . .	Brundisium, . . .	January 3, . . .	§ 3.
424	Fam.	xiv. 16, . . .	„ . . .	„ 4, . . .	Fin.
425	Att.	xi. 10, . . .	„ . . .	„ 19, . . .	Fin.
426	„	xi. 11, . . .	„ . . .	Mar. 8 (morning),	Fin.
427	„	xi. 12, . . .	„ . . .	„ 8 (afternoon)	§§1-4.
428	„	xi. 13, . . .	„ . . .	„ 10 (about), . . .	
429	„	xi. 14, . . .	„ . . .	April (latter half) . . .	
430	„	xi. 15, . . .	„ . . .	May 14, . . .	Fin.
431	„	xi. 16, . . .	„ . . .	June 3, . . .	Fin.
432	„	xi. 17, . . .	„ . . .	„ 14, . . .	Fin.
433	Fam.	xiv. 11, . . .	„ . . .	„ 14, . . .	Fin.
434	Att.	xi. 18, . . .	„ . . .	„ 19, . . .	Fin.
435	Fam.	xiv. 15, . . .	„ . . .	„ 19, . . .	Fin.
436	Att.	xi. 25, . . .	„ . . .	July 5, . . .	Fin.
437	„	xi. 23, . . .	„ . . .	„ 9, . . .	§ 2.
438	Fam.	xiv. 10, . . .	„ . . .	„ 9, . . .	Fin.
439	„	xiv. 13, . . .	„ . . .	„ 10, . . .	Fin.
440	Att.	xi. 19, . . .	„ . . .	„ 22, . . .	Fin.
441	„	xi. 24, . . .	„ . . .	August 6, . . .	Fin.
442	Fam.	xiv. 24, . . .	„ . . .	„ 11, . . .	Fin.
443	„	xiv. 23, . . .	„ . . .	„ 12, . . .	Fin.
444	Att.	xi. 20, . . .	„ . . .	„ 15, . . .	Fin.
445	„	xi. 21, . . .	„ . . .	„ 25, . . .	§ 1.
446	„	xi. 22, . . .	„ . . .	„ (end), . . .	
447	Fam.	xiv. 22, . . .	„ . . .	September 1, . . .	Fin.
448	„	xv. 15, . . .	„ . . .	„ (middle), . . .	
449	„	xiv. 20, . . .	Venusia, . . .	October 1, . . .	Fin.
450	„	xv. 21, . . .	Rome, . . .	December, . . .	

428. The date which we have given for this letter is wrong, as Schmidt (pp. 217-8) has shown. The exculpatory letter from Quintus, which Cicero expected he would write on receipt of a letter which Atticus wrote him on the subject, had not arrived in Brundisium on March 8th (426, 2), on which day Cephelio had arrived in that town on his journey to Greece. But Cicero says that he gave Cephelio an answer to that exculpatory letter (431, 4), so that it must have arrived shortly after March 8th, before Cephelio left Brundisium, perhaps about March 10th.

429. As 430 is an answer to the reply of Atticus to 429, there was an interval of about twenty days between them. Brundisium to Rome was a journey of about eight or nine days: cp. Ovid, Pont. iv. 5, 7. Therefore 429 was written about April 24th (Schmidt, p. 219).

446. Probably written shortly after 445: cp. what is said about Sulla (445, 2; 446, 2).

448. Written before the arrival of Caesar (September 24), and after Cicero had heard (August 25: cp. 445, 2) of Caesar's campaign against Pharnaces.

450. Probably written from Rome towards the end of the year, as may be inferred from its cheerful tone.

A. U. C. 708 = B. C. 46.

{ 451-					
455	Fam. xiii. 10-14,	.	Rome,	.	Month uncertain,
456	„ ix. 1,	.	„	.	Early in year,
457	„ xiii. 29,	.	„	.	„
458	„ v. 21,	.	„	.	April (first half),
459	Att. xii. 2,	.	„	.	„
460	Fam. ix. 3,	.	„	.	„ (middle),
461	„ ix. 2,	.	„	.	„ (second half),
462	„ ix. 7,	.	„	.	May (second half),
463	„ ix. 5,	.	„	.	„
464	„ vii. 3,	.	„	.	„
465	„ vi. 22,	.	„	.	May (about),
466	„ ix. 4,	.	„	.	June,

451-455. To M. Brutus. Brutus was governor of Cisalpine Gaul in 708 (46); he was in Rome in the end of 707 (47): cp. Cic. Brut. 10 f. 451 was probably written early in the year. There is nothing to fix the dates of the other letters.

456. Cicero to Varro. Plainly (cp. § 2) written a considerable time after Cicero's return to Rome.

457. To Plancus. Plancus was with Caesar in Africa (B. Afr. 4).

458. To Mescinius Rufus. Written before the news of the battle of Thapsus (§ 3).

459. To Atticus. Also written before that news arrived (§ 1).

460. To Varro. Written a few days before 461: cp. 461, 1, *paucis post diebus*.

461. To Varro. The news of the battle of Thapsus (fought April 6th) had just arrived (§ 1) in Rome, about April 20th: cp. §§ 1, 2, 4.

462-3. To Varro. These letters go closely together. 463, 1 (cp. 462, 1), *mihi vero ad Nonas bene maturum videtur*, sc. to go to Tusculum. The death of Lucius Caesar occurred about April 20th, and the news probably reached Rome about May 6th, so that it is just possible that the Nones referred to might be the Nones of May; but as the return of Caesar is represented as imminent (462, 2), Schmidt (p. 7) justly supposes that the Nones are those of June, so that these letters belong to the second half of May.

464. To M. Marius. The similarity of ideas (§ 6) with 463, 2, as well as the depressed tone of both these letters would seem to point to the conclusion that this letter was written at the same time as 463. Schmidt (p. 250), owing to the mention of Rhodes and Mytilene in § 5 and in 486, 4, would place 464 in the same month as 486, viz. September. But Rhodes and Mytilene were the regular foreign resorts of Romans (Hor. Od. i. 7, 1), so that we must not lay too much stress on this coincidence. The tone in which Cicero speaks of a journey to Campania (§ 6) would seem as if he did not intend to make it at once. He gave up the project in August (475, 1).

465. To Domitius. Probably written some time after the news of Caesar's victories in Africa had become widely known.

466. To Varro. Cicero appears to have left Rome for Tusculum on June 5th (462). This letter (466) was perhaps written before the visit of Atticus on the 15th. Cicero was evidently in high spirits, and he afterwards (470, 4) reverts with regret to the delightfulness of those 'Tusculan days' with Varro.

467	Att.	xii.	5, § 4, .	Rome, . . .	June 12, . . .
468	„	xii.	3, . . .	„ . . .	„ 13, . . .
469	„	xii.	4, . . .	„ . . .	„ 14, . . .
470	Fam.	ix.	6, . . .	„ . . .	„ (latter half),
471	Att.	xii.	5, §§ 1-2,	„ . . .	July (about middle)
472	Fam.	ix.	16, . . .	„ . . .	„ „
473	„	ix.	18, . . .	„ . . .	„ (latter half), .
474	„	vii.	33, . . .	„ . . .	„ (about middle)
475	„	ix.	20, . . .	„ . . .	August, . . .
476	„	vii.	27, . . .	„ . . .	August (?), . . .
477	„	vii.	28, . . .	„ . . .	August or Sept., .
478	„	ix.	19, . . .	„ . . .	„ . . .
479	„	ix.	26, . . .	„ . . .	„ . . .
480	„	ix.	17, . . .	„ . . .	„ . . .

467-469. To Atticus. For the hopeless confusion of Att. xii., xiii., as they appear in the mss and editions, and the invaluable labours of Schiche (especially in *Hermes*, xviii. 588 ff.) in producing order in that chaos, we must defer our remarks to the next volume.

As 467 states that Tiro was to return on the Ides, the latest date at which it can have been written is the 12th. Atticus was expected on the 14th, but appears to have written on the 12th that he fears he cannot manage to come before the 15th. On the 13th, before Tiro's return, Cicero replies to that letter, and says (468, 1) he will 'worry through' those three days (*Quare obduretur hoc triduum*) as well as he can. Tiro returns late on the 13th, and brings news that Atticus looked flushed and unwell. Cicero fears that he will not be able to come at all, but is relieved by a letter from Atticus, received on the 14th (and answered in 469), saying that he wants Cicero to wait only one day longer than the day which was originally arranged, viz. the 14th. Atticus arrived on the 15th, and he and Cicero soon after returned to Rome.

470. To Varro. Caesar was expected to arrive very soon (§ 1). He sailed from Sardinia on June 27th; but as he took a coasting voyage, and was delayed by storms, he did not arrive till July 25th (B. Afr. 9, 8).

471. Cicero has finished his 'Cato,' which was first sketched about June 14th (469). From this time he seeks to conciliate the Caesarians.

472. To Paetus. Dolabella and Hirtius took lessons in rhetoric (§ 7) during July, before Caesar's arrival.

473. To Paetus. This is an answer to the reply of Paetus to 472, and was written a few days before Caesar's return. Dolabella and Hirtius had gone to meet him (§ 1). Cicero probably returned to Rome about July 25th, and remained there till Caesar's departure for Spain, in the second intercalary month: cp. 481, 5.

474. To Volumnius. This letter ought to have been placed before 473, as reference is made in it (§ 2) to the lessons given to Dolabella as in progress.

475. To Paetus. Evidently written shortly after Cicero's return to Rome, when he had got into the full swing of city life (§ 3).

476. To Gallus. Probably written about the time when Cicero interested himself so much about exiles.

477. To Curius. Probably written about the same time as 475, as the mode of life sketched in both is much the same: cp. 475, 3, and 477, 2.

478. To Paetus. Cicero is still dining out, and living in the manner described in 475: cp. also 479.

479. The last words do not prove that Cicero was meditating a journey to Campania. He is constantly joking with Paetus about his own gluttony, and even in August he says (475, 2), *Proinde te para: cum homine et edaci tibi res est et qui iam aliquid intellegat*, when he had no thoughts of such a journey: cp. 475, 1.

480. To Paetus. This letter cannot be removed far from 478, as there is a reference in both to the visit of Balbus to Paetus.

481	Fam. ix. 15, . . .	Rome, . . .	Nov. (see note), .
482	„ xiii. 68, . . .	„ . . .	„ . . .
483	„ iv. 13, . . .	„ . . .	September, . . .
484	„ iv. 15, . . .	„ . . .	„ . . .
485	„ iv. 8, . . .	„ . . .	„ . . .
486	„ iv. 7, . . .	„ . . .	„ . . .
487	„ iv. 9, . . .	„ . . .	„ . . .
488	„ vi. 6, . . .	„ . . .	„ end (see note)
489	„ vi. 13, . . .	„ . . .	„ (first half),
490	„ vi. 12, . . .	„ . . .	„ „
491	„ vi. 10, §§ 4-6,	„ . . .	„ „
492	„ vi. 10, §§ 1-3,	„ . . .	„ „
493	„ xii. 17, . . .	„ . . .	„ (latter half)
494	„ iv. 3, . . .	„ . . .	Sept. (first half), or October, . . .
495	„ iv. 4, . . .	„ . . .	„ „
496	„ iv. 11, . . .	Mytilene, . . .	October (end), .
497	„ ix. 21, . . .	Rome, . . .	„ . . .

481. To Paetus. The reference to the sumptuary law (§ 5) led us to place this letter in connexion with 479. But we were wrong. It should have been placed very late in Caesar's stay, probably November. It implies (§ 5) that there had been time for the receipt of replies to despatches to Armenia, which were probably sent after Caesar's return from Africa. It was also written when Caesar's departure for Spain was impending: cp. Schmidt, p. 259.
482. To Servilius Isauricus. Perhaps written about this time. It was probably the first letter to Servilius. Cicero speaks kindly of Caesar, as he is writing to a Caesarian officer.
483. To Nigidius. Written about the same time as the measurements of land at Capena and Veii (480, 2): cp. 483, 3, *versorque in eorum naufragiis et bonorum direptionibus*. Cicero has not yet (§ 6) succeeded in seeing Caesar personally.
484. To Plancius. Possibly written about this time; but there does not appear to be anything to fix the date definitely.
485. To Marcellus. Written before 486, 487, as these letters are much more definite and detailed in the matter of the return of Marcellus.
- 486-7. Written shortly before the return of Marcellus was voted (about the middle of September).
488. To Caecina. Written shortly after the pardon of Marcellus (§ 10).
- 489-92. To Ligarius, Ampius, and Trebianus. We should have placed these four letters, and probably 494, before 488, as there is little doubt they were written before the pardon of Marcellus. Cicero says nothing in them about direct influence with Caesar, but he is in cordial relations with important Caesarians (490, 2; 492, 2). The gloomy tone of 494 would suit the time before the pardon of Marcellus, though of course it might equally well have been written when Cicero's hopes, inspired by that event, had disappeared.
493. To Cornificius. This is in answer to the first letter of Cornificius from Syria. It was probably written shortly after the pardon of Marcellus, when Cicero entertained hopes that Caesar was intending to take some steps to restore the free state (§ 1): cp. p. liii.
494. To Sulpicius. See on 494.
495. To Sulpicius. Shortly after the pardon of Marcellus (§ 3).
496. Marcellus to Cicero. An answer to Cicero's congratulations on his pardon. It would take a letter five or six weeks to reach Mytilene from Rome.
497. To Paetus. Possibly, as Schmidt suggests (p. 364), the opening words refer to Cicero's speech *Pro Marcello*.

498	Fam. vi. 14, . . .	Rome, . . .	November 26, . . .	§ 2.
499	Att. xii. 6, . . .	Tusculum . . .	Second intercalary month, . . .	
500	„ xii. 7, . . .	„ . . .	„ „	
501	„ xii. 8, . . .	„ . . .	„ „	
502	„ xii. 11, . . .	„ . . .	„ (or Dec.),	
503	Fam. vii. 4, . . .	„ . . .	xiv. Kal. Dec. . .	Init.
504	„ ix. 23, . . .	„ . . .	xiii. „ . . .	Init.
505	Att. xii. 1, . . .	Arpinum, . . .	ix. „ . . .	§ 1.
506	Fam. xiii. 66, . . .	Rome, . . .	January, 709 (45), (see note), . . .	
{ 507–	„ xiii. 67–72, . . .	„ . . .	708 (46), month un-	
{ 511			certain, . . .	
{ 512–	„ xiii. 17–28 b, . . .	„ . . .	„ „	
{ 524				
{ 525–	„ xiii. 78–79, . . .	„ . . .	„ „	
{ 526				
527	„ vi. 8, . . .	„ . . .	December, . . .	
528	„ vi. 9, . . .	„ . . .	„ . . .	
529	„ v. 16, . . .	?	?	
530	„ xv. 18, . . .	Rome, . . .	December, . . .	

498. To Ligarius. Date in § 2.

499–501. To Atticus. Immediately after Caesar's departure, in the second intercalary month, Cicero went to Tusculum, and stayed there some little time. He afterwards made a tour round his estates in Campania. These letters were written during that visit to Tusculum.

502. To Atticus. This letter is placed by Schiche (p. 20) before the Campanian journey, but probably Schmidt (p. 266) is right in supposing it to have been written after Cicero's return: cp. *Sed adsum; coram igitur*, and compare the sympathy expressed for Attica with 505, 2.

503–5. The dates of these letters are specially stated.

506–12. To Servilius Isauricus. He was governor of Asia in 708 (46), cp. Willems, *Le Sénat*, i. p. 482–3, so that 507–11 were probably written in this year; but we were wrong in not transferring 506 to the year 709 (45). Caecina did not leave Sicily for Asia till January of that year.

512–24. To Servius Sulpicius. He was governor of Achaëa during this year: cp. Lange, *Röm. Alt.* iii². 442. In 521, 3, Lepidus is mentioned as consul.

525–6. To Allienus. He was this year governor of Sicily: cp. introductory note to 525 in the Commentary.

527. To Caecina. Written after Caesar's departure, probably during December, certainly before January 1st (§ 1).

528. To Furfanius. Enclosed in 527.

529. To Titius. See introductory note in the Commentary.

530. To Cassius. This is the first of the three letters to Cassius, as no news had arrived from Spain when it was written (§ 2).

A. U. C. 709 = B. C. 45.

531	Fam. xv. 16, . . .	Rome, . . .	Jan. (end), see note
532	„ vi. 7, . . .	Sicily, . . .	„ (beginning), .
533	„ vi. 5, . . .	Rome, . . .	„ . . .
534	„ vi. 18, . . .	„ . . .	„ (end), see note
535	„ iv. 14, . . .	„ . . .	January, . . .
536	„ iv. 10, . . .	„ . . .	„ . . .
537	„ ix. 10, . . .	„ . . .	„ . . .
538	„ vi. 1, . . .	„ . . .	„ . . .
539	„ vi. 3, . . .	„ . . .	„ . . .
540	„ vi. 4, . . .	„ . . .	„ . . .
541	„ xv. 17, . . .	„ . . .	„ (end), .
542	„ xv. 19, . . .	Brundisium, . . .	„ „ .
543	„ ix. 13, . . .	Rome, . . .	February (?), .
544	„ xiii. 16, . . .	„ . . .	„ .

531. We are in error as regards the position we have assigned to this letter. Schmidt rightly shows (p. 273) that this is the last of the three letters to Cassius (§ 1). It should change places with 541. The reference in this latter epistle to the journey of Pansa will thus be more apposite, as being made soon after the event.
532. Caecina to Cicero. The answer to 527 ; therefore at least ten days later.
533. To Caecina. The answer to 532 ; therefore at least ten days later.
534. To Lepta. Schmidt (p. 271) points out that § 5 proves that Tullia's confinement (which took place in the middle of January) was over, and that she was nearly well ; so that she could have gone to Tusculum, but Cicero was still detained by business in Rome. We should accordingly have placed this letter at the end of the letters of January, i.e. after 542.
535. To Plancius. See introductory note to this letter in the Commentary.
536. To Marcellus. Cicero would hardly express a fear that Marcellus would delay his return, unless he actually had evidence that Marcellus *was* unduly delaying ; so that this letter should be placed a considerable time after the pardon of Marcellus. We have accordingly, with Wesenberg, placed it in January, 709 (45).
537. To Dolabella. Written about the same time as 541, on account of the reference in both to the death of Sulla (537, 3 ; 541, 2).
- 538-40. To Torquatus. In 538 news of some decisive action in Spain is expected (§ 6). 539 must come shortly after 538, for no definite news has yet arrived (§ 2). In 540, 1, the decisive action is imminent. Cicero was still (§ 3) at Rome ; he had not gone to Tusculum with Tullia.
541. To Cassius. This is certainly the second of the letters to Cassius. It follows 530, as some reports, though only unofficial ones, have arrived from Spain (§ 3) : cp. note to 531.
542. Cassius to Cicero. This answers 531, 541, so that it must be at least nine days later than these : cp. note to 429.
- 543-4. To Dolabella and Caesar. There is nothing definite to fix the dates of these letters, except that they were probably written before anything decisive had been announced from Spain, and before news had reached Rome that Caesar had been saluted Imperator (Feb. 19, cp. Bell. Hisp. 19).

IV.—OBLIGATIONS TO MENDELSSOHN.

In his masterly and accurate critical edition of the *Epp. ad Familiares*, published in the spring of 1893, Ludwig Mendelssohn, professor in the university of Dorpat, in a kind reference to our work, pointed out some shortcomings in the critical department, which his wider knowledge of the subject easily perceived; and he generously gave us some admonitions for our future guidance (p. xxx). These admonitions were—(1) That the Turonensis (T) be discarded, as being a direct descendant (copied probably from a copy) of the Parisinus (P), and that the latter be substituted in its place; (2) That reference be made throughout to Palatinus 598 (Palatinus Sextus of Graevius); (3) That Harl. 2591 be discarded. We gratefully accept these suggestions, and have throughout substituted P for T, and introduced Pal. In so doing, however, we do not profess any original study of those codices, and for all references to them have drawn on the edition of Mendelssohn, whose accuracy is only equalled by his rigorous and cautious reasonings.

But a few words must be said on the arguments by which Mendelssohn has established these points.

I. In Vol. II., pp. lx–lxi, we followed Streicher in holding that T did not stand in the relation of direct descent from P, but that both mss stood in the relation of descendants of a common original. Mendelssohn, however, in *Mélanges Graux* (pp. 169–73) has proved conclusively that T, which is about fifty years younger than P, owes its origin directly to P, and is probably a copy of a copy of that codex. His arguments are as follows:—

(1) Assuming the close connexion of T and P as proved (e.g. by the transposition in both of i. 9, 17 (*idque*) to 19 (*pari*), which appears between *mons* and *mihi* in ii. 10, 2, and the addition of *quam rationi* in vi. 8, 1), there are, however, many lacunae in T which can be filled up from P, but none in P which can be filled up from T. For though *ni vererer* (vi. 6, 4), *praetereo* (vi. 6, 5), *quae quidem* (vii. 30, 2), *gloriam* (vii. 31, 2), are not

mentioned by Chatelain (whose collection of T was used by Thurot) as omitted from T, it was an oversight on his part not to do so.

(2) Again, the errors of T can be explained from P : e.g. i. 2, 1, *commemor* (space for six letters) T ; *commemor atione* P, the scribe having omitted to join the parts of the word. i. 7, 8, *gau-tuam* T ; *gau* (at end of line), *tuam* at beginning of next P, the scribe having forgotten to add *-deam*. iv. 9, 1, *obsectaret* T ; *obsec raret* P ; the copyist who drew the arc made the *c* look like a *t*. v. 5, 3, *Ego . . . ad-* (in *adductus*) omitted in T ; in P it fills exactly one line. v. 9, 1, *Vaticinius* T ; *Vatini^{ci}us* P.

(3) Further, the slight variations of spelling, and the fact that T sometimes omits words (leaving a space), which are written quite plainly in P, may be explained by supposing T to be copied from a copy of P.

(4) Lastly, the inversion of leaves in the *De Natura Deorum* ii., which is found in T (cp. Thurot, pp. 45–6), is also in P ; and again in *De Fato* 23, P, as well as T, has *maluit igitur* : cp. Thurot, p. 46.

Of course the idea cannot be at all entertained that P could have been derived from T. It has a large portion at the end from vii. 32, 1 (*me conferri*) to viii. 8, 6 (*impediendi moram*), which T has not ; and it does not exhibit the large lacuna from ii. 15, 4 (*hac orbis terrarum*) to iv. 3, 4 (*cum me colat*), which is found in T.

II. The Palatinus 598 (cp. Vol. II., p. lxxxiii) is a paper ms of the fifteenth or sixteenth century. It was brought from Heidelberg to Rome in 1623. It contains, among other works, from fol. 49 Cicero's Epp. ad Familiares ix.–xvi. There are some corrections introduced from Mediceus 49, 7, which is a copy of Med. 49, 9, made in 1389, and which is the fruitful source of a multitude of fifteenth-century manuscripts. Gruter used it while he was librarian at Heidelberg (1592–1627),* and Graevius afterwards used Gruter's collation. It is called 'Palatinus Sextus' in the variorum edition of Graevius, and is spoken of with praise by

* Cp. v. Urlichs in Müller's Handbuch, i. 64, Janus Gruterus, aus Antwerpen 1560–1627, hatte namentlich seit 1592 in Heidelberg einen grossen Kreis von Schülern um sich versammelt und war seit 1602 als Bibliothekar eifrig bemüht die palatinischen Schätze auszubeuten.

the authors therein, e.g. Gebhard on ix. 26, 3, 'Et hic hunc locum incorruptum custodivit laudatissimus codex Palatinus Sextus.'

The letters are given in a confused order, which we reproduce from the account given by A. Mau in Mendelssohn (xxiii., note 1). xi. 1-27, 4 (*officium*); 27, 4-27 fin. (at a later period by the same hand); xii. 1-16, part of fol. 59^v empty; ix. 1-26, part of fol. 67^v and 68^{rv} empty; x. 1-17, 26-29 (*ego*); then follows in same line 20, 3 (*nulla esse*)—25, 3 (*sed tu*), after which follows in the same line 29 (*illi*)—35; xii. 17-21 (in different ink by the same hand); 22-30 (returns to the ordinary ink of the ms); xi. 28, part of fol. 83^v and 84^{rv} empty; xiii. 1—xvi. fin. The letters of xvi. are in the usual wrong order. Thus there would appear to be *omitted* x. 18, 19, 20, §§ 1-3; xi. 29, and '*optime iudicabis*' in x. 25, 3.

III. As regards Harl. 2591, after looking through it carefully in 1887, we were quite satisfied that it was a late manuscript of trifling value: cp. *Hermathena*, vi. 43-47. That it is of no use at all Mendelssohn (p. xvii, note 1) has discovered by tracing its origin to Med. 49, 7. He does not give any arguments, but in the case of such an unimportant manuscript there is no necessity to do so. We shall make no further reference to it.

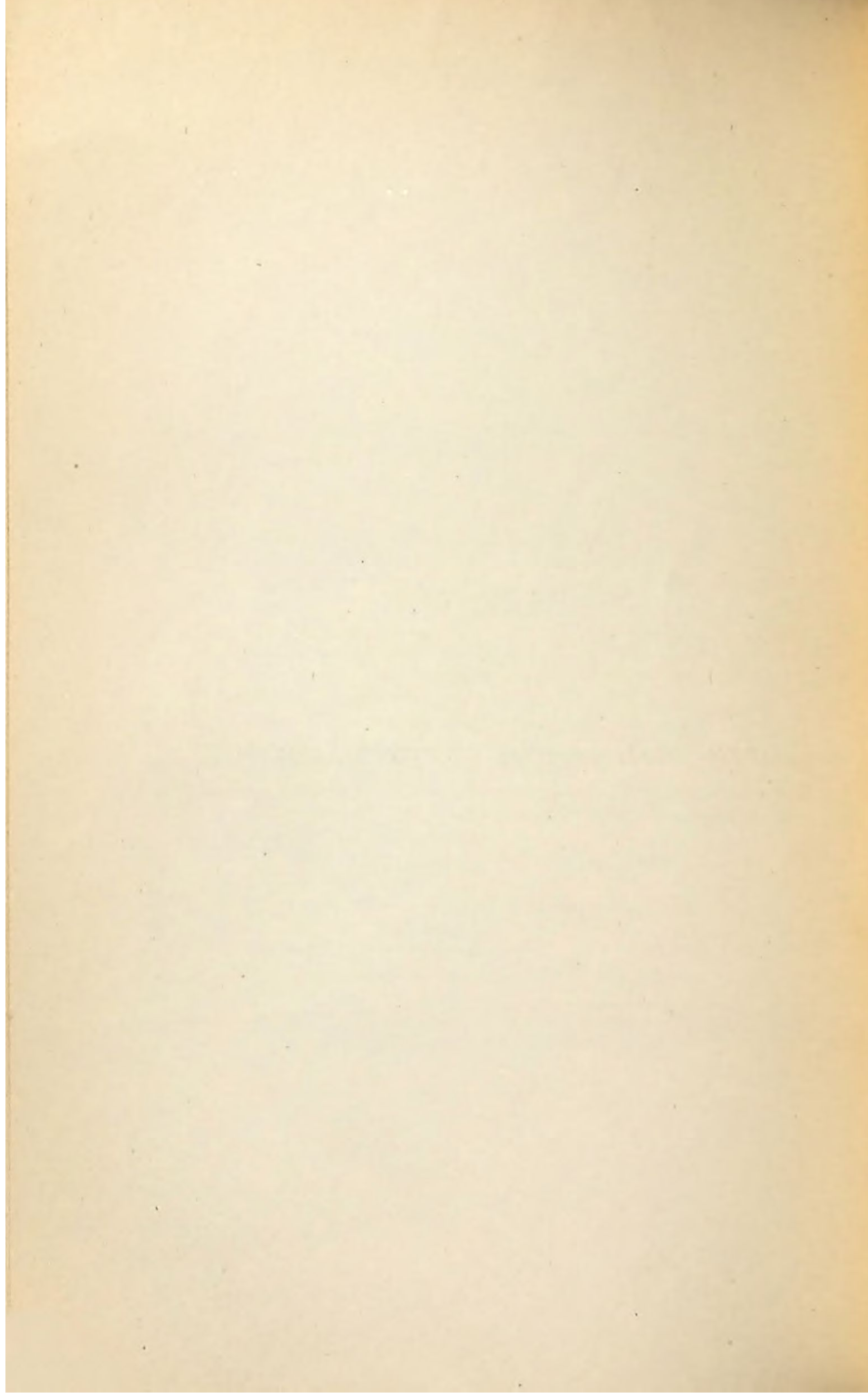
CORRIGENDA.

When the line *only* is given the reference is to the text: *a* = first column of notes,
b = second column of notes.

- | Page. | Line. | |
|-------|-----------------|--|
| 8, | 2, | 'servo' is right; omit brackets: see Adn. Crit. |
| 13, | <i>a</i> 22, | for 'ii ² .' read 'i ² .' |
| 16, | <i>a</i> , | omit 'being.' |
| 19, | <i>b</i> 14, | omit '!'. |
| 23, | <i>b</i> 1, | for 'dices' read 'dicis.' |
| 42, | <i>b</i> 10, | for 'apoeiopsis' read 'aposiopsis.' |
| 74, | 6, | for 'horibili' read 'horribili.' |
| 101, | <i>b</i> 11, | from end, for 'cogant' read 'cogunt.' |
| 136, | 2, | from end, transpose comma after 'Mart.' to follow 'sunt.' |
| 141, | 4, | from end, for 'statum' read 'statim.' |
| 162, | 4, | for 'percucurrissem' read 'percucurrissem.' |
| 172, | <i>b</i> 3, 13. | We have misrepresented Streicher's argument here: see Adn. Crit.
It is <i>quare</i> he ejects, retaining <i>tu</i> . In l. 13 read 'to omit <i>quare</i> , as it
(or <i>quae</i>) is found in the mss.' |
| 210, | 14, | for 'March' read 'January or February (beginning).' |
| 213, | 8, | for 'ulli' read 'nulli.' |
| 246, | 2, | for 'April or May' read 'April 24 (about).' |
| 291, | 5, | for 'medicina' read 'medicinae.' |
| 434, | 2, | from end, add 'ut' before 'tamen.' |
| 448, | <i>b</i> 13, | from end, for 'prasidiis' read 'praesidiis.' |
| 459, | <i>a</i> 19, | for 'ευδαίμωνα' read 'εὐδαίμωνα.' |
| 472, | <i>b</i> 27, | note should be—'sed spurcissime] nos; <i>spurcissime</i> M; <i>sed parcissime</i>
C. F. Hermann, quam lectionem accipere debuimus. |

PART VI.

DIC M. TULLI. ΣYNTOMA, CN. POMPEIO ADSENTIOR.



PART VI.

LETTERS FROM THE OUTBREAK OF THE CIVIL WAR TO CICERO'S
RETURN TO ITALY AFTER THE BATTLE OF PHARSALIA.

EPP. CCCI.—CCCCXIV.

A. U. C.	.	.	.	.	.	705, 706
B. C.	.	.	.	.	.	49, 48
AET. CIC.	.	.	.	.	.	57, 58

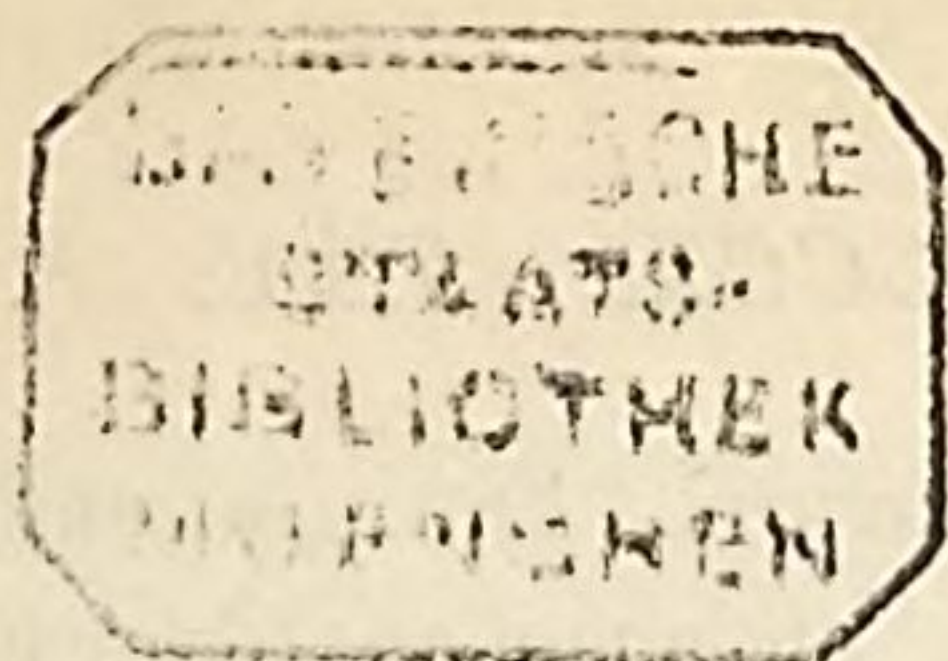
LETTERS OF THE TWENTIETH YEAR OF CICERO'S
CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. CCCI.-CCCCV.

A. U. C. 705 ; B. C. 49 ; AET. CIC. 57.

COSS. C. CLAUDIUS M. F. MARCELLUS AND L. CORNELIUS
LENTULUS CRUS.

THOUGH Cicero's correspondence during this year extends over only five months and a-half, still we have a great number of letters, especially letters to Atticus. The theme which runs through nearly all of them is anxious deliberation as to what course he should adopt in the crisis ; how he should decide between, on the one hand, his long connexion with the optimates and his personal regard for Pompey, and, on the other, his strong conviction that the victory would be with Caesar. Cicero's sympathies undoubtedly lay with the optimates, or, rather, with the principles they represented, and his conscience always pointed out to him that, if no compromise could be effected, with them he must cast in his lot ; and he ultimately obeyed his conscience ; but he was not for an instant blind to the inefficiency, violence, and selfishness which characterized their words and deeds. For a summary of Cicero's political attitude during this period, see vol. I², pp. 100-105.



CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

CCCI. CICERO AND HIS FAMILY TO TIRO (FAM. XVI. 11).

BEFORE ROME; JANUARY 12; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero Tironem rogat, ut valetudini operam det: de suo ad urbem adventu, de turbato rei publicae statu, de triumpho ac Campana praefectura.

TULLIUS ET CICERO, TERENTIA, TULLIA, Q. Q. TIRONI S. PLUR.
DIC.

1. ETSI opportunitatem operae tuae omnibus locis desidero, tamen non tam mea quam tua causa doleo te non valere. Sed quoniam in quartanam conversa vis est morbi—sic enim scribit Curius—spero te diligentia adhibita iam firmiorem fore. Modo fac, id quod est humanitatis tuae, ne quid aliud cures hoc tempore nisi ut quam commodissime convalescas. Non ignoro quantum ex desiderio labores, sed erunt omnia facilia, si valebis. Festinare te nolo, ne nauseae molestiam suscipias aeger et periculose hieme naviges. 2. Ego ad urbem accessi pridie Nonas Ianuar. Obviam mihi sic est proditum, ut nihil posset fieri ornatius. Sed incidi in ipsam flammam civilis discordiae vel potius belli, cui cum cuperem mederi et, ut arbitror, possem, cupiditates certorum hominum—nam ex utraque parte sunt qui pugnare cupiant—

Q. Q.] *Quintique*, 'Quintus, father and son.'

1. *opportunitatem*] 'although at every turn I miss your ever-seasonable assistance.' Reid, on Lael. 22, remarks that *opportunitas* is 'opportuneness,' rather than 'opportunity.'

Curius] a banker at Patrae, and close

friend of Cicero; cp. Introd. to Fam. vii. 28 (477).

2. *certorum*] We may translate 'certain.' The epithet signifies that the author knows exactly who are the men referred to (the expression therein differing from *nescio qui*), but does not wish to specify them further: cp. Sest. 41, Marc. 16, Deiot. 11.

impedimento mihi fuerunt. Omnino et ipse Caesar, amicus noster, minaces ad senatum et acerbis litteras miserat et erat adhuc impudens, qui exercitum et provinciam invito senatu teneret, et Curio meus illum incitabat. Antonius quidem noster et Q. Cassius nulla vi expulsi ad Caesarem cum Curione profecti erant, postea quam senatus consulibus, praetoribus, tribunis pl. et nobis, qui pro coss. sumus, negotium dederat ut curaremus NE QUID RES PUBLICA DETRIMENTI CAPERET. 3. Numquam maiore in periculo civitas fuit: numquam improbi cives habuerunt paratiorem ducem. Omnino ex hac quoque parte diligentissime comparatur. Id fit auctoritate et studio Pompeii nostri, qui Caesarem sero coepit timere. Nobis inter has turbas senatus tamen frequens flagitavit triumphum, sed Lentulus consul, quo maius suum beneficium faceret, simul atque expedisset quae esset necessaria de re publica, dixit se relaturum. Nos agimus nihil cupide eoque est nostra pluris auctoritas. Italiae regiones discriptae sunt, quam quisque partem tueretur. Nos Capuam sumpsimus. Haec te scire volui. Tu etiam atque etiam cura ut valeas litterasque ad me mittas, quotienscumque habebis cui des. Etiam atque etiam vale. D. pridie Idus Ian.

CCCII. CICERO TO MESCINIUS RUFUS (FAM. V. 20).

BEFORE ROME; MIDDLE OF JANUARY; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49;
AET. CIC. 57.

Excusat se M. Cicero Rufo, quod ante eius reditum rationes provinciales, in quibus ille quaedam vel addita vel immutata cupiebat, ad aerarium rettulerit.

CICERO RUFO.

1. Quoquo modo potuissem, te convenissem, si eo, quo constitueras, venire voluisses. Qua re etsi mei commodi causa com-

Omnino] 'to sum up,' 'looking on the whole affair': see Reid on Lael. 78.

amicus noster] Note how Cicero implies that the reason why he could not mediate was because he was friendly with both sides: cp. below *Curio meus*, *Antonius noster*. By *meus* a closer friendship is marked than by *noster*.

adhuc] 'even still,' *erat* being the epistolary imperfect.

nulla vi] cp. vol. iii., pp. xciii., xciv.

3. *quo maius . . . faceret*] 'that he might bring his own service into greater prominence.'

Rufo] This Mescinius Rufus was one of the quaestors of Cicero in Cilicia; and has been described (Att. vi. 3, 1, ep. 264) as *levis libidinosus tagax*. The present letter is in answer to a letter from

movere me noluisti, tamen ita existimes velim me antelaturum fuisse, si ad me misisses, voluntatem tuam commodo meo. Ad ea, quae scripsisti, commodius equidem possem de singulis ad te rebus scribere, si M. Tullius, scriba meus, adesset: a quo mihi exploratum est in rationibus dumtaxat referendis—de ceteris rebus adfirmare non possum—nihil eum fecisse scientem quod esset contra aut rem aut existimationem tuam: dein, si rationum referendarum ius vetus et mos antiquus maneret, me relaturum rationes, nisi tecum pro coniunctione nostrae necessitudinis contulissem confecissemque, non fuisse. 2. Quod igitur fecissem ad urbem, si consuetudo pristina maneret, id, quoniam lege Iulia relinquere rationes in provincia necesse erat easdemque totidem verbis referre ad aerarium, feci in provincia; neque ita feci, ut te ad meum arbitrium adducerem, sed tribui tibi tantum, quantum me tribuisse numquam me paenitebit: totum enim scribam meum, quem tibi video nunc esse suspectum, tibi tradidi: tu ei M. Mindium fratrem tuum adiunxisti. Rationes confectae me

Rufus to Cicero, in which he complained of various irregularities committed by Cicero, both in the haste with which he sent to the Treasury the public accounts without any interview with Rufus himself, and in the accounts themselves. We must remember that the quaestor was responsible to the State, so that the complaints of Rufus were not at all vexatious.

1. *M. Tullius*] A freedman of Cicero's. His full name was M. Tullius Laurea (Plin. H. N. xxxi. 7). Freedmen generally took the prenomen and nomen of their master: cp. note on Att. iv. 15, 1 (143).

dein] If looked at closely it seems somewhat hard to understand 'I can assure you' out of *possum scribere*; but the ellipse naturally supplies itself if we read the sentence rapidly. Wesenberg (Em. 68), following Martyni-Laguna, wishes to supply *scito* after *dein*.

ius vetus] i.e. the old system in force prior to the Lex Julia, which ordered the accounts to be deposited in the two principal towns of the province as well as at Rome (see Addenda to vol. iii., p. 295).

necessitudinis] For the close bond of relationship, almost that of father and son, which existed between the governor and his quaestor see Div. in Caecil. 61; Mayor on Phil. ii. 71.

contulisse confecissemque] 'examined

and settled' The *con-* refers probably to the comparing and balancing the debit and credit sides of the account.

2. *ad urbem*] 'before the city.' Cicero was waiting outside the city in hopes of obtaining a triumph. On the phrase cp. note to Fam. iii. 8, 1 (222).

ut te ad meum arbitrium adducerem] 'my object was not to bring you over to what was my own individual judgment,' i. e. I did not endeavour, by thus making up and sending in my statement of accounts without an interview with you, to force you to alter your accounts so as to make them exactly tally with mine. The accounts of quaestor and governor ought to agree; and it might be thought that Cicero, by hastily sending in his accounts without having had any conference and discussion with Rufus, wished to hide certain discrepancies and irregularities in his own accounts and to force Rufus either to alter his accounts so as to bring them into harmony with Cicero's, or else to incur the scandal of a different presentation of accounts by quaestor and governor; in which case the quaestor would have the greater difficulty in establishing his honesty.

M. Mindium] first cousin of Rufus. He was a banker at Elis in Greece and made Rufus his heir: Fam. xiii. 26, 2 (521).

absente sunt tecum, ad quas ego nihil adhibui praeter lectionem : ita accepi librum a meo [servo] scriba, ut eundem acceperim a fratre tuo. Si honos is fuit, maiorem tibi habere non potui : si fides, maiorem tibi habui quam paene ipsi mihi : si providendum fuit ne quid aliter ac tibi et honestum et utile esset referretur, non habui cui potius id negotii darem quam *cui* dedi. Illud quidem certe factum est, quod lex iubebat, ut apud duas civitates, Laodi- ceensem et Apameensem, quae nobis maximae videbantur, quoniam ita necesse erat, rationes confectas collatasque deponeremus. Itaque huic loco primum respondeo, me, quamquam iustis de causis rationes referre properarim, tamen te expectaturum fuisse, nisi in provincia relictas rationes pro *relatis* haberem ; quam ob rem . . . 3. De Volusio quod scribis, non est id rationum : docuerunt

ita tuo] 'while I received a book of the accounts from my scribe, I also received a duplicate from your cousin': *servo* is certainly to be bracketed, for M. Tullius, as is proved by his very name, was a freedman and not a slave.

quam cui dedi] This is the reading of Graevius, 'and so clear and certainly correct is it,' says that scholar, 'that not even Carneades could doubt of it.' In H T we find *quam dedi* ; in M, *quam darem*, which Wesenberg (Em. 71) altered into *quam quoi dederam*.

confectas collatasque] For the phrase see § 1. The reading *collatasque* is found in T. In M it is *consolatas* (*consolatasque* H) whence the generally adopted reading is *consolidatas* 'balanced,' which is found in a Palatine ms and in all Lambinus's mss, possibly rightly: cp. Ascon. on 2 Verr. i. 92, p. 185 (on the word *quadrarint*). 'Solida facta sint ut neque plus quisquam neque minus inveniatur in summa: ubi enim ratio sine fraude est, difficile est sexcenta, detractis quadringentis, quadrare et *solidari* vel solida fieri, quin aut minus aut plus aliquid reperiatur.' Schmalz adopts *consolidatas* in Antibarbarus, p. 309.

rationes referre] not *deferre*, as is read in the mss: see Reid on Arch. 11. 'The phrase *deferre in aerarium* (Balb. 63) is especially used of the *beneficia* [see § 7], while *referre in aerarium* is used of money and accounts.'

pro relatis] 'as good as sent into the Treasury.'

quam ob rem . . .] This word is either

the beginning of a sentence which has been lost, or has somehow arisen from dittography of *haberem*.

3. *De Volusio]* The exceedingly perplexed events alluded to in this section and the next appear to be as follows:—Volusius, one of Cicero's most trusted followers as we see from Att. v. 21, 6 (250), had made some contract with the State, perhaps to collect some branch of the revenue, but had made it on terms too advantageous to the State. He made the bargain nominally for himself, but really for a banker Valerius, who appeared in the transaction as a surety for Volusius. The praefectus fabrum and a legatus of Cicero became sureties for Valerius. When the loss had to be met, Valerius paid up a considerable sum, and paid it in a way conveying an acknowledgment that he was the purchaser of the contract. As regards the remainder of the money due, Valerius tried to transfer the obligation to Volusius; but Valerius, having acknowledged that he was purchaser and having paid a large sum as such, could not pass on the obligation *up* to Volusius, the obligation passed rather the other way *down* to the sureties of Valerius. These, as we have seen, were trusted officers and close friends of Cicero, so they had to be extricated from their difficulty some way or other. Cicero accordingly remitted the amount due, and entered the sum remitted in the accounts as arrears. He satisfied himself that the loss sustained by the State was no real loss, for the State had made too advantageous a bargain, and had

enim me periti homines, in his cum omnium peritissimus tum mihi amicissimus, C. Camillus, ad Volusium traferri nomen a Valerio non potuisse, praedes Valerianos teneri. (Neque id erat HS xxx., ut scribis, sed HS xix.) Erat enim curata nobis pecunia Valerii mancipis nomine, ex qua reliquum quod erat in rationibus rettuli. 4. Sed sic me et liberalitatis fructu privas et diligentiae et, quod minime tamen laboro, mediocris etiam prudentiae: liberalitatis, quod mavis scribae mei beneficio quam meo legatum meum praefectumque [Q. Leptam] maxima calamitate levatos, cum praesertim non deberent esse obligati: diligentiae, quod existimas de tanto officio meo, tanto etiam periculo, nec scisse me quidquam nec cogitavisse, scribam, quidquid voluisset, cum id mihi ne recitavisset quidem, rettulisse: prudentiae, quod rem a me non insipienter excogitatam *ne cogitatam* quidem putas.

obtained what was a fair price in the sum paid by Valerius (*populus suum servaret*). Cicero does not, by any means, wish to hide what he did—quite the reverse, to take considerable credit to himself for it. We must suppose that no very great strictness was required in the accounts of the provincial governors, that a certain margin was allowed, and that Cicero, not greedy for himself, chose that the margin should be used in extricating good friends and trusty officers from a rash suretyship into which they had entered.

non est id rationum] ‘that has nothing to say to the accounts.’ Volusius was quite free from the transaction now; there was no need that his name should appear at all in the accounts; no remission had been made to him. Another error on the part of Rufus was in the sum remitted; it was only 1,900,000 sesterces, not 3,000,000. Valerius had paid up most of the sum due, but there remained 1,900,000 sesterces as arrears. This is an incidental matter to which Cicero refers, so we have put it in a parenthesis.

Camillus] a lawyer friend of Cicero: Att. v. 8, 3 (193); Fam. xiv. 14, 2 (309).

Erat enim] ‘It is Valerius and his sureties who are liable; for the money was paid us in the name of Valerius as the purchaser; the balance, or arrears, I have duly returned in my accounts.’ *Mancipis* is applied to purchasers of State-contracts, Fest., p. 151, Müll. ‘*Manceps* dicitur qui quid a populo emit conducitve,

quia manu sublata significat se auctorem emptionis esse: qui idem *praes* dicitur quia tam debet praestare populo quod promisit quam is qui pro eo praes factus est’; also Ascon. on Div. in Caecil. § 33, p. 113. *In rationes referre*, ‘to make an entry in the accounts’; *in rationibus referre*, ‘to return to the Treasury in the accounts.’

4. *Q. Leptam*] As it is not in H this name is to be omitted. Rufus knew the persons who were involved in the whole transaction, so there was no necessity for Cicero to specify the names. Wesenberg (Em. 76) thinks that, so far from cutting out *Q. Leptam*, we should add *M. Anneium* after *meum*: cf. Att. v. 4, 2 (187).

non deberent esse obligati] as being only *praedes*, not principals, in the transaction. Hence the sum for which they became liable is called *multa* below.

periculo] We should have expected *amicorum*, or *meorum*, or something of the kind to have been added with this word.

quod] so we read with Lamb., instead of mss *cum*, both for the sake of symmetry (for *quod* is used after *liberalitatis* and *diligentiae*), and because *cum* would require the subjunctive.

ne cogitatam] ‘evinced no thought at all.’ This is the admirable addition of the early editors. Rufus had attributed the whole remission to Cicero’s scribe; and, in criticising the remission, said that it showed a complete absence of thought. Cicero now takes credit for the whole

Nam et Volusii liberandi meum fuit consilium et, ut multa tam gravis Valerianis praedibus ipsique T. Mario depelleretur, a me inita ratio est: quam quidem omnes non solum probant, sed etiam laudant, et, si verum scire vis, hoc uni scribae meo intellexi non nimium placere. Sed ego putavi esse viri boni, cum populus suum servaret, consulere fortunis tot vel amicorum vel civium.

5. Nam de Luceio est ita actum, ut auctore Cn. Pompeio ista

transaction, and says that Rufus has, to all intents and purposes, accused him of want of ordinary intelligence (*prudētia*), for the plan had been most carefully thought out (*excogitatam*), and just the one person who was displeased at it was Cicero's scribe. For *cogitare* and *excogitare* contrasted, cp. Att. ix. 6, 7 (360).

T. Mario] perhaps a surety of one of the sureties of Valerius.

5. The difficulty in this and the following section is that there are two sums of money, one deposited by Cicero's order and used by Pompey, another deposited by Rufus's order and used by Sestius: while both sums appear to be referred to as *ista pecunia*. The only explanation we can offer is that Sestius, who was on State service in Asia, took the latter sum for his own expenses, while he took over the former sum in trust for Pompey. This is probable, as Pompey had certainly not yet left Italy.

As to the explanation of the whole passage, we offer the following with the greatest hesitation, leaving the ultimate interpretation, whatever it may be found to be, to better manuscripts or clearer insight for its establishment. At the direction of Pompey, Cicero had ordered a certain sum of money in dispute between one Luceius and the State to be deposited in a temple. 'I acknowledge that I ordered it to be deposited,' says Cicero, 'and that Pompey took that sum for State purposes, just as Sestius took a similar sum which you deposited. I am sorry I did not add that the sum was deposited by my orders, but I have no reason to deny it. The handing over of the money to Sestius was so very well authorized, and the documents in the transaction so formal and regular, that I never dreamed that there could be any difficulty in the matter, nor thought that it could affect you at all.' But why then did Rufus find any fault with Cicero? The whole letter shows

that the grievances of Rufus were not altogether imaginary; but this does seem to have been a somewhat trivial matter, and as being trivial, Cicero yields to the request of Rufus with a great deal of circumstance. The point appears to have been that odium naturally attached to the appropriating by the State of money not properly adjudicated upon; and Sestius and the other optimates (who were nothing if not rapacious) blamed Rufus for having deposited the money and thus having acknowledged that it was questionable whether it was State property while the money ought to have been simply appropriated in the first instance. That Pompey took money from the temples is stated by Caesar (Bell. Civ. i. 6, 8). Rufus indeed gave an order for its payment to Sestius; but he had never authorized the acknowledgment that *this* money in which Luceius was concerned was in dispute, or was not the rightful property of the State.

Cicero continues—The case is quite different about the HS 900,000: that entry was authorized by you, or at any rate by your cousin, so you should not evade the responsibility of it now. [The entry appears to have been to the debit of the Treasury.] But while in the former matter I, for my part, shall see what can be done to alter the accounts, you, on your part, certainly ought not in the account of money raised (or 'collected') to disagree so widely from my accounts already sent in—governor and quaestor ought not in their accounts to exhibit such a wide discrepancy—though of course I may be in error. But be assured I shall do everything I can for you.

Nam] For this use of *nam*, introducing a transition to a new subject, Manutius compares § 6; also Fam. i. 9, 19 (153) *Nam de Appio*; Att. iii. 10, 2 (67); iii. 15, 2 (88). Still there is no doubt that *iam* would be more natural.

pecunia in fano poneretur : id ego agnovi meo iussu esse factum : qua pecunia Pompeius est usus, ut illa, quam tu deposueras, Sestius. Sed haec ad te nihil intellego pertinere. Illud me non animadvertisse moleste ferrem, ut ascriberem te in fano pecuniam iussu meo deposuisse, nisi ista pecunia gravissimis esset certissimisque monimentis testata, cui data, quo senatus consulto, quibus tuis, quibus meis litteris P. Sestio tradita esset. Quae cum viderem tot vestigiis impressa, ut in iis errari non posset, non ascripsi id, quod tua nihil referebat. Ego tamen ascripsisse mallet, quoniam id te video desiderare. 6. Sicut scribis tibi id esse referendum, item ipse sentio, neque in eo quidquam a meis rationibus discrepabunt tuae. Addes enim tu meo iussu, quod ego, qui non addidi, nec causa est cur negem, nec si causa esset et tu nolles, negarem. Nam de HS nongentis milibus certe ita relatum est, ut tu sive frater tuus referri voluit. Sed, si quid est, quoniam de Luceio parum provisum est, quod ego in rationibus referendis etiam nunc corrigere possim, de eo mihi, quoniam senatus consulto non sum usus, quid per leges liceat considerandum est. Te certe in pecuniam exactam ita referre ex meis rationibus

in fano poneretur] For the lodgment of disputed money in a temple cp. Att. v. 21, 12 (250).

Sestius] was praetor in 701 (53), and is said (Dict. Biogr.) to have been proprætor of Cilicia in 705 (49); but that is very unlikely, as he appears to have been in Italy and to have composed a manifesto for Pompeius in the spring of this year cp. Att. vii. 17, 2 (315). He was more probably sent out by Pompeius as a kind of commissioner to see after affairs in the East, and try to raise money for the aristocratic war-chest. In later times we find him sent to take command of some soldiers in Pontus (Bell. Afr. 34).

animadvertisse . . . ut] 'take care to': cp. Liv. iv. 45, 4, *adverterent animos ne quid novi tumultus oreretur*.

6. *item*] So we read with Wesenberg (Em. 76) for *idem*. The latter would have been right if *quod*, not *sicut*, had preceded.

Addes] polite fut. for imperat. 'You will kindly add.'

qui non] So HT, confirming the emendation of Wesenberg (Em. 76). The usual reading is that of M, *quidem non*.

Luceio] Most mss give *logaeo*. H

has *legato*, perhaps rightly.

parum provisum est] This is the reading which is generally adopted. It is obtained from *parum gravissimum* of M.

senatus consulto] Cicero did not make use of a decree of the Senate which allowed him to hold back his accounts for a considerable time; on the contrary, he sent them in long before the necessary time, probably because he wished to have done with his province and all its affairs. We must now, says Cicero, see what the law allows us to do in the way of altering the accounts already sent in. It is not known to what *senatus consultum* Cicero is alluding.

in pecuniam exactam] It is difficult to feel certain as to the correction of this passage. We have adopted that of Wesenberg (Em. 74), followed by Klotz: but it is harsh to translate *ex meis rationibus relatis* 'after my accounts are sent in,' as *referre ex* would certainly suggest 'entering from my accounts.' Still it is hard to suggest a less violent alteration of the mss reading which will give as good a sense. Could the reading be *ista referre nongenta*, i.e. ix, the numeral having been corrupted into ex?

relatis non oportuit, nisi quid me fallit: sunt enim alii peritiores. *Sed* illud cave dubites quin ego omnia faciam, quae interesse tua aut etiam velle te existimem, si ullo modo facere possim. 7. Quod scribis de beneficiis, scito a me et tribunos militares et praefectos et contubernales dumtaxat meos delatos esse. In quo quidem me ratio fefellit: liberum enim mihi tempus ad eos deferendos existimabam dari: postea certior sum factus triginta diebus deferri necesse esse, quibus rationes rettulissem. Sane moleste tuli non illa beneficia tuae potius ambitioni reservata esse quam meae, qui ambitione nihil uterer. De centurionibus tamen et de tribunorum militarium contubernalibus res est in integro: genus enim horum beneficiorum definitum lege non erat. 8. Reliquum est de HS centum milibus, de quibus memini mihi a te Myrina litteras esse adlatas, non mei errati, sed tui: in quo peccatum videbatur esse,

Sed illud] We have ventured to add *sed* before *illud*: it may have been lost after the *s* of *peritiores*. A particle of transition is certainly required.

7. *beneficiis*] On the return of the governor to Rome he presented to the Treasury a list (headed 'Beneficia') of persons on his staff or in his suite (*cohors praetoria*, 2 Verr. i. 36) whom he thought deserving of special reward: cp. Reid on Arch. § 11. We may compare the peers which are created on the resignation of a ministry. The quaestor seems to have sent in a similar list, it being a kind of pendant to the accounts: cp. Mommsen St. R. ii². 288.

contubernales] The same as the *comites*: cp. Q. Fr. ii. i. 11 (30).

dumtaxat meos] Accordingly not those of the quaestor.

In quo quidem] 'In which matter indeed I made a miscalculation; for I thought there was no fixed limit of time within which I should return the names. I was afterwards informed that they must be returned within thirty days after I had sent in my accounts.'

Sane] The men mentioned as deserving of *beneficia* would of course be likely in after times to help the governor or quaestor who recommended them. I am sorry, says Cicero, that I returned this list as my own: you want influence as your career is just commencing: I have reached the highest positions and I am not ambitious. But you can return a list of centurions and companions of the mili-

tary tribunes; for there is no specification in the law of the time within which the list of these *beneficiarii* must be returned.

lege] Apparently the Lex Julia de Repetundis.

8. *Reliquum est*] From some book-keeping error on the part of Rufus (or his cousin, or Cicero's clerk, Tullius) the accounts showed Rufus indebted to the Treasury for about a hundred thousand sesterces. Rufus, in a letter from Myrina, had acknowledged that the mistake was his, not Cicero's: but the language of Cicero shows that he himself was at least partially responsible. But the accounts had been returned, Cicero had left his province, and so no correction could be made. Accordingly, Cicero pays Rufus in words; but is careful to let Rufus know that he must not consider these words as anything more than those of ordinary politeness. Rufus is to consider the loss of the money as so much deduction from his allowances and from the presents given him by the governor. It must not, however, for an instant be supposed that Cicero misappropriated the money; vulgar avarice was certainly no failing of his: no, the money all went into the Treasury and was appropriated by the great Pompey. But still Rufus was hardly dealt with; and perhaps he and the rest of the *cohors* may have had some reasons for regarding with less complacency than Cicero did the extreme *elegantia* of the latter's administration.

Myrina] A seaport town in Aeolia.

si modo erat, fratris tui et Tullii. Sed cum id corrigi non posset, quod iam depositis rationibus ex provincia decesseramus, credo me quidem tibi pro animi mei voluntate proque ea spe facultatum, quam tum habebamus, quam humanissime potuerim rescripsisse. Sed neque tum me humanitate litterarum mearum obligatum puto neque me tuam hodie epistolam de HS centum sic accepisse, ut ii accipiunt, quibus epistolae per haec tempora molestae sunt. 9. Simul illud cogitare debes, me omnem pecuniam, quae ad me salvis legibus pervenisset, Ephesi apud publicanos deposuisse: id fuisse HS xxii: eam omnem pecuniam Pompeium abstulisse. Quod ego sive aequo animo sive iniquo fero, tu de HS centum aequo animo ferre debes et existimare eo minus ad te vel de tuis cibariis vel de mea liberalitate pervenisse. Quod si mihi expensa ista HS centum tulisses, tamen, quae tua est suavitas quique in me amor, nolles a me hoc tempore aestimationem accipere: nam numeratum si cuperem, non erat. Sed haec iocatum me putato,

decesseramus] The indicative should undoubtedly follow *quod*. Crat. and most edd. read *decessissemus* (MSS *decessimus*). They would explain the subjunctive probably as a virtual oblique 'because (as I said) I had left the province.'

epistolae] sc. *creditorum pecuniam creditam exigentium*.

haec tempora] i. e. the uncertain condition of affairs, owing to the Civil War, when a man would be very loth to part with whatever he had. Besides, Cicero had hopes of a triumph, and he would want all his resources for that.

9. *Pompeium*] cp. Att. xi. 1 (406), and following letters.

cibariis] 'allowance for your maintenance.' For other meanings of *cibaria*, viz. (1) soldier's pay, (2) money paid by provincials in commutation of the corn-supply imposed on them, see Mommsen, St. R. ii², 287. Doubtless it was this latter method of obtaining money, added to the economy with which Cicero spent his *vasarium*, which enabled him to save such a large sum as HS 2,200,000.

liberalitate] The officers of the provincial governor were certainly entitled to be maintained at the public expense. This maintenance was converted into an ample money allowance called *cibaria*. The officers were not in absolute strictness entitled to any salary; but they virtually obtained a salary from the

governor in the form of presents, though such salary or presents were very small in Cicero's year of administration. From Att. vii. 1, 6 (284), we may infer that it was customary to divide among the officers and suite the balance of the State grant for the administration which remained after the expenses of the year had been defrayed. The State grant (which was levied ultimately on the provincials) must have been very considerable; for Cicero not only left a large balance to his quaestor, Calpurnius, but besides paid into the Treasury HS 1,000,000.

aestimationem accipere] This was a formula which came into prominence later, when Caesar promulgated his laws about bankruptcy: cp. Caes. B. C. iii. 1; and note on Fam. ix. 16, 7 (472). Creditors had to take, in liquidation of their claims, the debtor's estate at the value which it would have fetched before the 'bad times' began, and the great depreciation of property set in. It was probably a solution of the debt question which had already been begun to be talked about; just as all sorts of solutions of the land question are talked of by us. It is referred to with a certain playfulness: 'I know you wouldn't exact an estate-valuation price from me.'

numeratum] 'If I wished to pay cash, I shouldn't be able.'

non erat] sc. *numerandus*. For the

ut ego te existimo. Ego tamen, cum Tullius rure redierit, mittam eum ad te, si quid ad rem putabis pertinere. Hanc epistolam cur non scindi velim causa nulla est.

CCCI. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. VII. 10).

BEFORE ROME; JANUARY 18; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

De exitu suo subito ex urbe et de inopia consilii quid agendum sit.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Subito consilium cepi, ut, ante quam luceret, exirem, ne qui conspectus fieret aut sermo, lictoribus praesertim laureatis. De reliquo neque hercule quid agam nec quid acturus sim scio: ita sum perturbatus temeritate nostri amentissimi consilii. Tibi vero quid suadeam, cuius ipse consilium exspecto? Gnaeus noster quid consilii ceperit capiatve, nescio, adhuc in oppidis coartatus et stupens. Omnes, si in Italia consistet, erimus una: sin cedet, consilii res est. Adhuc certe, nisi ego insanio, stulte omnia et incaute. Tu, quaeso, crebro ad me scribe vel quod in buccam venerit.

gerundive and indicative after a subjunctive protasis cp. Mil. 58, Ovid Fast. v. 408, quoted by Roby, § 1570.

consilium ut exirem] 'to leave Rome.' He had not entered the city, for he had not laid down his *imperium*. After words like *mos, consilium*, the construction with the subjunctive is as common in Cicero as the genitive of the gerund. In Att. vii. 11, 3 (304), *quod* takes the place of *ut*, and is followed by a past tense, *consilium . . . quod reliquerit* 'his policy in leaving the city.' *Consilium*, which usually means 'advice,' here means 'decision, resolution.' So in Att. viii. 3, 2 (333), and other places.

laureatis] Cicero still cherished the hope of securing the honour of a triumph. In Att. viii. 1, 3 (328) he calls them *hos*

lictore molestissimos.

amentissimi] the determination of the consuls and other magistrates to follow the example of Pompey and leave the city.

coartatus] 'cooped up,' a word strictly applicable only to the army of Pompey, but transferred to the general by a common usage: cp. *se compegerat*, Att. viii. 8, 1 (339).

erimus] 'if he makes a stand in Italy, we shall all join him; if he leaves the country, we must consider our position.'

in buccam] 'whatever rises to your lips'; we should write 'whatever comes into your head.' Another expression used by Cicero in the same sense is *quod in solum* (venit); cp. τὰ ἐν (πρὸς) ποσὶ, τὸ πρὸ ποδός (ποδῶν), *solum* = 'sole' (of foot).

CCCIV. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. VII. 11).

PLACE UNCERTAIN ; JANUARY 19 ; A. U. C. 705 ; B. C. 49 ; AET. CIC. 57.

De discessu Labieni a Caesare, de Caesaris consilio nefario rem publ. armis obtinendi, de Pompeii malo consilio urbem relinquendi, de procuratione sibi destinata, de commercio litterarum.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Quaeso, quid hoc est? aut quid agitur? Mihi enim tenebrae sunt. 'Cingulum' inquit 'nos tenemus: Anconem amisimus. Labienus discessit a Caesare.' Utrum de imperatore populi Romani an de Hannibale loquimur? O hominem amentem, et miserum qui ne umbram quidem umquam τοῦ καλοῦ viderit! Atque haec ait omnia facere se dignitatis causa. Ubi est autem dignitas nisi ubi honestas? Num honestum igitur habere exercitum nullo publico consilio? occupare urbes civium, quo facilior sit aditus ad patriam? χρεῶν ἀποκοπάς, φυγάδων καθόδους, sescenta alia scelera moliri,

τὴν θεῶν μεγίστην ὥστ' ἔχειν τυραννίδα . . . ?

Sibi habeat suam fortunam! Unam mehercule tecum apricationem

1. *inquit*] 'people say'; the plural is far more usual, except when a speaker is stating objections to his own arguments, when the singular *inquit* is common.

Anconem] Juvenal iv. 40 uses *Ancon* for the nominative, and Catullus xxxvi. 11, *Ancona* for the accusative. Strabo calls the town Ἀγκών, and Pomponius Meladerives the name from ἀγκών 'elbow.' The mss give *Anconam* at Fam. xvi. 12, 2, and most probably the Latin form of the name was *Ancona* (-ae).

amentem, et miserum] The latter adjective only qualifies *qui* . . . *viderit*, 'how demented he is! and how much to be pitied for never having had so much as a glimpse of the Right!'

χρεῶν . . . καθόδους] There is not in Latin any word so technically suitable to 'the restoration of exiles' as the Greek

word used here; this is probably the reason why he uses Greek terms to express the general repudiation of debts although he had for it the very characteristic Latin phrase *novas tabulas*. At the same time, it is singular that while *novae tabulae* has become nearly proverbial with us, Cicero employs for it a Greek expression: cp. σῶμα for *corpus* 'collection,' and see I², p. 67, f.

τὴν θεῶν . . . τυραννίδα] Eur. Phoen. 516.

Sibi habeat] The form for repudiation was *res tibi habeto tuas*. The sentence which follows shows that Cicero just allowed his consciousness to play for a moment on the thought of the commanding position which he would occupy if he should make common cause with Caesar; but he 'repudiates' the very thought, and

in illo lucrativo tuo sole malim quam omnia istius modi regna, vel potius mori miliens quam semel istius modi quidquam cogitare. 2. 'Quid si tu velis?' inquis. Age quis est cui velle non liceat? Sed ego hoc ipsum velle miserius esse duco quam in crucem tolli. Una res est ea miserior, adipisci quod ita volueris. Sed haec hactenus. Libenter enim in his molestiis ἐνσχολάζω τόσον. 3. Redeamus ad nostrum. Per fortunas! quale tibi consilium Pompeii videtur? Hoc quaero, quod urbem reliquerit. Ego enim ἀπορῶ. Tum nihil absurdus. Urbem tu relinquis? Ergo idem, si Galli venirent. 'Non est' inquit 'in parietibus res publica.' At in aris et focis. 'Fecit idem Themistocles.' Fluc-

(as we would say) 'shakes the dust off his feet.' Commanding political influence in such a party had no attractions for him compared with a life of political insignificance and literary leisure with Atticus, nay, death would be better than the thought of such a *volte-face*. In the next section he puts the unlikely case that his *wishes* should be being for such a position with Caesar, and adds 'a man may have what *wishes* he may (wishes do no harm if they do not lead to action); but *I* should consider such a wish to be more to be deplored than an ignominious death; to entertain such a wish would be the worst thing that could happen to a man, except one thing—to see it gratified.' Mr. Watson well compares Juv. x. 95 ff. for the sentiment.

lucrativo] In judicial language *res lucrativa* is a gift or bequest which is pure gain, being saddled by no conditions of any kind. But this can hardly be the meaning here. Cicero speaks of Atticus's opportunities of 'a bask' as *lucro appositus* (to borrow a Horatian phrase modified), that is a thing on which to bless one's self, even though it is snatched from the hours of business. In 2 Verr. i. 33 Cicero writes *lucretur indicia*, 'let him take a present of the informations'; hence *lucrativus* might mean 'stolen from business and given to me as a favour': see Quintil. x. 7, 27; Fronto ad Antonin. 2, 2: cp. *subsicivus*. See Adn. Crit.

2. *ipsum velle*] cp. *ipsum vinci*. Fam. xv. 15, 2.

ἐνσχολάζω] 'For I am ready to theorise at such length in the present muddle': for σχολάζειν to give lectures, cp. Plut. Dem. 5, 'Ἰσοκράτους τότε σχολάζοντος.

The late Greek sense of a word is invariably the right sense to ascribe to Cicero. *Enim* explains *haec hactenus*. The meaning is 'I must pull myself up (*haec hactenus*) for my tendency is to go on theorising for ever in the present *impasse*.'

3. *Per fortunas*] See Att. iii. 20, 1 (68).

Hoc quaero, quod reliquerit] 'what I ask you is the meaning of his leaving.'

Tum] The implied criticism in the foregoing sentence *Ego enim ἀπορῶ* is that the step which Pompey took in leaving the city is inexplicable, meaningless. *Tum* introduces a second criticism; 'moreover, such a step is quite absurd (just the step which the circumstances do *not* call for); if Caesar is an invading enemy, why should you evacuate the city before him any more than you would do so before invading Gauls.' *Tum* is correlative to *rursus* in § 4, which introduces the arguments on the other side. It is hard to see how else *tum* can be explained. It is, however, quite possible that the text is corrupt. Perhaps for *tum* we should read *tamen*, or *cum mihi*, or perhaps Cicero wrote *ego enim ἀπορῶ totum*. *Nihil absurdus*.

Fecit idem Themistocles] The inverted commas should come after *Themistocles*. The advocate of Pompey first urges that a man's country does not consist of the mere material buildings of his town; to which the answer is 'no, but a man's country is the place hallowed by religious and domestic ties.' 'Yet,' says Pompey's advocate, 'Themistocles left Athens.' 'Aye,' replies the opponent, 'because an overpowering force constrained him, yet

tum enim totius barbariae ferre urbs una non poterat. At idem Pericles non fecit, annum fere post quinquagesimum, cum praeter moenia nihil teneret: nostri olim urbe reliqua capta arcem tamen retinuerunt.

Οὕτω που τῶν πρόσθεν ἐπευθόμεθα κλέα ἀνδρῶν.

4. Rursus autem ex dolore municipali sermonibusque eorum, quos convenio, videtur hoc consilium exitum habiturum. Mira hominum querella est—nescio isticcine, sed facies ut sciam—sine magistratibus urbem esse, sine senatu. Fugiens denique Pompeius mirabiliter homines movet. Quid quaeris? Alia causa facta est: nihil iam concedendum putant Caesari. Haec tu mihi explica qualia sint. 5. Ego negotio praesum non turbulento. Vult enim me Pompeius esse quem tota haec Campana et maritima ora habeat ἐπίσκοπον, ad quem dilectus et summa negotii deferatur. Itaque vagus esse cogitabam. Te puto iam videre quae sit ὁρμὴ Caesaris, qui populus, qui totius negotii status. Ea velim scribas ad me et quidem, quoniam mutabilia sunt, quam saepissime. Acquiesco enim et scribens ad te et legens tua.

Pericles did *not* take this step, nor did our ancestors,

If right we read the deeds they did
in the brave days of old.

Because *at* introduces the first plea of the assailant of Pompey, it is hastily inferred that it must also introduce the second. But the train of thought plainly demands the view which we have taken; *fluctum* . . . *non poterat* is certainly urged by one who seeks to show that the act of Themistocles cannot be claimed as a precedent for that of Pompey. It would be quite otiose in the mouth of the supposed advocate of Pompey.

οὕτω . . . ἀνδρῶν] Il. ix. 524, but there the verse runs οὕτω καὶ τῶν πρ.

4. *Rursus* . . . *habiturum*] 'on the other hand, if I may judge by the feeling excited in the municipal towns and the talk I hear, it looks as if the step of Pom-

pey would be a success.' He goes on to say that Pompey's flight from the city is producing a great sensation, and has given a new complexion to the whole case, and steeled public opinion against any concession to Caesar. *Exitum habere* is 'to succeed,' but an adjective such as *secundum* or *meliolem* is usually added. It is, however, unqualified in Phil. v. 42.

isticcine] This form is required by the sentence as a correction of *istic*. *Nescio istic* could only mean 'I (being) there do not know.' The interrogative form of the pronoun is not found elsewhere in Cicero, which accounts for the corruption. It is common in Plautus and Terence, and therefore natural in Cicero's letters.

5. *vagus esse*] 'I mean to keep moving about.'

ὁρμὴ] 'aim' 'motive,' *appetitus qua ad agendum impellimur*, Acad. ii. 24.

CCCV. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. VII. 12).

FORMIAE; JANUARY 22; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero ab Attico requirit, ut sibi scribat quid iam sibi faciendum esse putet, Pompeium ipsum quid agat nescire et inutilia omnia facere, de M'. Lepidi, de L. Torquati consilio, se imperio impediri, denique de Labieni discessu a Caesare, de Terentia et Tullia.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Unam adhuc a te epistolam acceperam, datam XII. Kal., in qua significabatur aliam te ante dedisse, quam non acceperam. Sed quaeso ut scribas quam saepissime, non modo si quid scies aut audieris, sed etiam si quid suspicabere, maximeque quid nobis faciendum aut non faciendum putes. Nam quod rogas curem ut scias quid Pompeius agat, ne ipsum quidem scire puto, nostrum quidem nemo. 2. Vidi Lentulum consulem Formiis x. Kal., vidi Libonem: plena timoris et erroris omnia. Ille iter Larinum: ibi enim cohortes et Luceriae et Teani reliquaque in Apulia. Inde utrum consistere uspiam velit an mare transire nescitur. Si manet, vereor ne exercitum firmum habere non possit: sin discedit, quo aut qua aut quid nobis agendum sit nescio. Nam istum quidem, cuius *φαραρισμὸν* times, omnia teterrime facturum puto. Nec eum rerum prolatio nec senatus magistratumque discessus nec aerarium clausum tardabit. 3. Sed haec, ut scribis, cito sciemus. Interim velim mihi ignoscas, quod ad te scribo tam multa totiens. Acquiesco enim et tuas volo elicere litteras maximeque consilium quid agam aut quo me pacto geram, demittamne me penitus in

1. *rogas curem*] = *rogas ut curem*, an ellipse very characteristic of Latin comedy, but common also in Caesar.

nostrum quidem] 'of us at least.'

2. *erroris*] 'bewilderment.'

quo aut qua] sc. *discessurus sit*.

φαραρισμὸν] See Att. vii. 20, 2 (318), where Cicero says that it is uncertain whether Caesar will turn out a Phalaris or a Pisistratus; he very soon showed that he was going to be a greater and better man than Pisistratus. By *φαραρισμὸν*

Cicero means pretty much what we should express by 'incivism'; but a precise rendering should contain a personal designation; 'Napoleonism,' 'Caesarism,' are perhaps the nearest of the words which we should use.

rerum prolatio] 'the vacation,' also called *discessus*.

3. *Acquiesco enim*] sc. *scribens ad te*.
demittamne] a metaphor from abandoning a favourable position for a battle; 'shall I abandon my present favourable

causam?—non deterreor periculo, sed dirumpor dolore: tam nullo consilio aut tam contra meum consilium gesta esse omnia!—an cuncter et tergiverser et iis me dem, qui tenent, qui potiuntur? Αἰδέομαι Τρώας, nec solum civis, sed etiam amici officio revocor, etsi frangor saepe misericordia puerorum. 4. Ut igitur ita perturbato, etsi te eadem sollicitant, scribe aliquid, et maxime, si Pompeius Italia cedit, quid nobis agendum putes. M'. quidem Lepidus—nam fuimus una—eum finem statuit, L. Torquatus eundem. Me cum multa tum etiam lictores impediunt: nihil vidi umquam quod minus explicari posset. Itaque a te nihildum certi exquiro, sed quid videatur. Denique ipsam ἀπορίαν tuam cupio cognoscere. 5. Labienum ab illo discessisse propemodum constat. Si ita factum esset ut ille Romam veniens magistratus et senatum Romae offenderet, magno usui causae nostrae fuisset. Damnasce enim sceleris hominem amicum rei publicae causa videretur, quod nunc quoque videtur, sed minus prodest: non enim habet cui prosit, eumque arbitror paenitere, nisi forte id ipsum est falsum, discessisse illum. Nos quidem pro certo habebamus. 6. Et velim, quamquam, ut scribis, domesticis te finibus tenes, formam mihi urbis exponas, ecquod Pompeii desiderium, ecquae Caesaris invidia appareat, etiam quid censeas de Terentia et Tullia, Romae eas esse an mecum an aliquo tuto loco. Haec et si quid aliud ad me scribas velim vel potius scriptites.

position,' asks Cicero, 'and throw myself heartily into the cause (of Pompey)?' From the other alternatives—awaiting events, 'trimming,' and ultimately joining the winning side—he is withheld by his fear of public opinion, which he alludes to as usual in the words of Hector.

tam nullo . . . omnia] 'so utterly without judgment has the whole thing been, or so completely against my judgment.'

qui tenent, qui potiuntur] The omission of the object of the verb is characteristic of the epistolary style: see note

on Att. vii. 7, 5 (298).

puerorum] his own son, and the son of his brother Quintus.

4. *eum finem statuit*] 'laid down that as the limit of the obligation to be loyal to Pompey,' that is, expressed his opinion that only so long as Pompey remained in Italy were his supporters bound to be loyal to his cause. We might render, 'draws the line there.'

5. *ab illo*] sc. *a Caesare*. In the next sentences *ille*, *eum* (if it is sound), and *illum* refer to Labienus.

6. *formam*] 'a sketch'!

CCCVI. CICERO AND HIS SON TO TERENTIA AND
TULLIA (FAM. XIV. 18).

FORMIAE; JANUARY 22; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero permittit suis quid Caesare ad urbem adventante faciendum videatur.

TULLIUS TERENTIAE SUAE ET PATER SUAVISSIMAE FILIAE,
CICERO MATRI ET SORORI S. P. D.

1. Considerandum vobis etiam atque etiam, animae meae, diligenter puto quid faciatis, Romaene sitis an mecum an aliquo tuto loco. Id non solum meum consilium est, sed etiam vestrum. Mihi veniunt in mentem haec: Romae vos esse tuto posse per Dolabellam, eamque rem posse nobis adiumento esse, si quae vis aut si quae rapinae fieri coeperint. Sed rursus illud me movet, quod video omnes bonos abesse Roma et eos mulieres suas secum habere. Haec autem regio, in qua ego sum, nostrorum est cum oppidorum tum etiam praediorum, ut et multum esse mecum et, cum abieritis, commode in nostris *praediis* esse possitis. 2. Mihi plane non satis constat adhuc utrum sit melius. Vos videte quid aliae faciant isto loco feminae et ne, cum velitis, exire non liceat. Id velim diligenter etiam atque etiam vobiscum et cum amicis consideretis. Domus ut propugnacula et praesidium habeat, Philotimo dicetis. Et velim tabellarios instituatis certos, ut cotidie aliquas a vobis litteras accipiam. Maxime autem date operam ut valeatis, si nos vultis valere. VIII. Kal. Formiis.

1. *an aliquo tuto loco*] Wesenberg (Em. Alt. 50) reads *an* for *in* of the mss. *aliquo tuto loco* means *in nostris praediis*; cp. Att. vii. 12, 6 (305), *Etiam quid censeas de Terentia et Tullia Romae eas esse an mecum* AN *aliquo tuto loco*. There is also, both at the end of this section and in Fam. xiv. 14, 1 (309), a contrast between their being with Cicero and being in his estates.

Haec autem regio] 'this district (sc. Campania) consists largely, not only of towns belonging to me, but also of estates of ours,' e.g. the Cumanum, Pompeianum, &c. (cp. Watson, p. 133). Ern. says the towns were devoted to Cicero as being in his *clientela*; but the reference is rather to the towns over which he had

authority: cf. Att. vii. 14, 3 (310).

nostris praediis] We have added *praediis* with Wesenberg, as it is found in one ms: cp. also Fam. xiv. 14, 1 (309), Att. l.c. The word *praediis* could not be understood, as the towns also were *nostra*.

2. *videte quid . . . ne*] 'observe what other ladies of your rank are doing, and take care lest you may not be able to leave the city when you want to do so.' Notice *videte* takes in two senses: cp. note to Att. vii. 14, 3 (310).

propugnacula et praesidium] 'barri- cades and defenders,' in case Caesar should attempt to plunder the city.

VIII. Kal.] Schütz erroneously alters to III. This letter was written at the same time as Att. vii. 12 (305).

CCCVII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. VII. 13 a).

MINTURNAE; JANUARY 23; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

De Labieno et Pisone, de genere belli civilis, de summa Cn. Pompeii consilii inopia, de exigua spe sua, de Ciceronibus an in Graeciam amandandi sint, de Tullia et Terentia, Romaene remanere possint necne, item de ipso Attico et Peducaeo, de litterarum commercio.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. De Vennonianis rebus tibi adsentior. Labienum ἥρῳα iudico. Facinus iam diu nullum civile praeclarius; qui ut aliud nihil hoc tamen profecit: dedit illi dolorem. Sed etiam ad summam profectum aliquid puto. Amo etiam Pisonem, cuius iudicium de genere suspicor visum iri grave. Quamquam genus belli quod sit vides. Ita civile est, ut non ex civium dissensione, sed ex unius perditī civis audacia natum sit. Is autem valet exercitu, tenet multos spe et promissis, omnia omnium concupivit. Huic tradita urbs est, nuda praesidio, referta copiis. Quid est quod ab eo non metuas, qui illa templa et tecta non patriam sed praedam putet? Quid autem sit acturus aut quo modo nescio, sine senatu, sine magistratibus. Ne simulare quidem poterit quidquam πολιτικῶς. Nos autem ubi exurgere poterimus aut quando? Quorum dux quam ἀσπράτῃγγτος tu quoque animadvertis, cui ne Picena quidem

1. *Vennonianis rebus*] Vennonius is mentioned above in an amusing and delicately-expressed passage: Att. vi. 1, 25 (252); 3, 5 (264). What the transaction is which is here referred to we do not know.

Labienum] One regrets the spite which makes Cicero say that if the defection of Labienus from Caesar has had no other good effect, it has at least had one, 'it has given Caesar pain.' We must, however, remember that Cicero did not yet know whether Caesar was going to be a Phalaris or a Pisistratus.

ad summam] 'our main interests.' But *summa* seems to be always used in this sense with a genitive. *Profectum* is of course from *proficio*: 'we have gained a solid advantage.'

Pisonem] To whose daughter Calpurnia Caesar was married.

ita . . . ut] 'it is a civil war only in the sense that, though not taking its rise from any civil differences, yet it is the result of the recklessness of an individual citizen': For *ita . . . ut*, see vol. I², p. 65.

πολιτικῶς] 'he will not be able even to keep up the pretence of acting constitutionally.'

exurgere] 'to raise our heads.'

ἀσπράτῃγγτος] 'how *peu général* is our general,' Jeans.

cui . . . fuerint] 'considering that he did not even perceive what was going on at Picenum.' *Picena*, 'the Picenum business' is a careless expression. The form of the adj. is *Picenus* in Juv. xi. 74; Hor. Sat. ii. 4, 70. For the circumstances referred to see Caes. B. C. i. 15 ff. *Res Picentes* or *Picenae* would have been a more normal phrase.

nota fuerint, quam autem sine consilio res testis. Ut enim alia omittam decem annorum peccata, quae condicio non huic fugae praestitit? 2. Nec vero nunc quid cogitet scio, ac non desino per litteras sciscitari. Nihil esse timidius constat, nihil perturbatius. Itaque nec praesidium, cuius parandi causa ad urbem retentus est, nec locum ac sedem praesidii ullam video. Spes omnis in duabus insidiose retentis, paene alienis legionibus. Nam dilectus adhuc quidem invitorum est et a pugnando abhorrentium. Condicionum autem amissum tempus est. Quid futurum sit non video. Commisum quidem a nobis certe est sive a nostro duce, ut e portu sine gubernaculis egressi tempestati nos traderemus. 3. Itaque de Ciceronibus nostris dubito quid agam: nam mihi interdum amandandi videntur in Graeciam. De Tullia autem et Terentia, cum mihi barbarorum adventus ad urbem proponitur, omnia timeo, cum autem Dolabellae venit in mentem, paullum respiro. Sed velim consideres quid faciendum putes: primum πρὸς τὸ ἀσφαλές—aliter enim mihi de illis ac de me ipso consulendum est—, deinde ad opiniones, ne reprehendamus, quod eas Romae velimus esse in communi bonorum fuga. Quin etiam tibi et Peducaeo—scripsit enim ad me—quid faciatis videndum est. Is enim splendor est

condicio] 'convention, agreement, compromise.' So below *condicionum amissum tempus est*, 'the opportunity for negotiations has been let slip.'

2. *retentus*] 'detained in Italy, whereas he might have been governing Spain.'—Watson.

locum ac sedem praesidii] 'any place for the rendezvous of our forces.'—Watson.

insidiose] 'treacherously,' because these legions were withdrawn from Caesar nominally for the prosecution of the Parthian War, but really were kept by the Senate for the use of Pompey.

paene alienis] 'which can hardly be called his own at all,' as their sympathies were almost entirely with Caesar.

commisum] 'we have brought it to this that we must go where the storm impels us.' *Committere ut* often means only 'to run the risk of': cp. Att. iii. 10, 2 (67).

3. *Ciceronibus nostris*] his son and his nephew, the son of his brother Quintus.

barbarorum] Perhaps an allusion to the

number of Gauls in Caesar's army, but possibly also a general term for the whole forces of Caesar.

Dolabellae] 'when I think of Dolabella': for the gen. cp. *solet in mentem venire illius temporis*, Fam. vii. 3, 1 (464); *venit in mentem* 'I am reminded, I bethink me,' and hence a gen. naturally follows: cp. Adv. 291, obs. 3. But the nom. is also found, Fam. xi. 29, 1: Roby 1332-3.

aliter] Cicero says that the questions of his own conduct and of the best disposal of his family rest on different considerations; in their case he has only to make up his mind what is the safest course; in mapping out his own conduct he has also to consider what his reputation will demand, and that complicates the question of the disposal of his family, for their remaining in Rome might be injurious to his own dignity. *Ad* means 'with regard to,' an unusual sense, which, however, is supported by the foregoing πρὸς.

Peducaeo] cp. note on Att. vii. 17, 1 (315).

vestrum, ut eadem postulentur a vobis, quae ab amplissimis civibus. Sed de hoc tu videbis, quippe cum de me ipso ac de meis te considerare velim. 4. Reliquum est ut et quid agatur quoad poteris explores scribasque ad me et quid ipse coniectura adsequare, quod etiam a te magis exspecto. Nam acta omnibus nuntiantibus a te exspecto futura. Μάντις δ' ἄριστος . . . Loquacitati ignosces, quae et me levat ad te quidem scribentem et elicit tuas litteras.

CCCVIII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. VII. 13 b).

MINTURNAE; JANUARY 23 OR 24; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero Attico de re familiari αἰνιγματικῶς scribit, de L. Caesare a se Minturnis viso, de Labieno et de infirmitate partium Pompeianarum atque consilii inopia Litteras ab Attico exspectat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Aenigma [Oppiorum ex Velia] *primo* plane non intellexi. Est enim numero Platonis obscurius. Iam intellexi tamen. Oppios enim de Velia saccones dicis. In eo aestuavi diu, quo aperto

4. Μάντις δ' ἄριστος] ὅστις εἰκάζει καλῶς, Euripides. It was with this verse that Alexander the Great answered the Chaldaeans when, shortly before his death, they warned him not to enter Babylon (Arrian, Anab. vii. 16, 6; App. B. C. ii. 153). Cicero translates the verse thus (De Div. ii. 12), *bene qui coniciet vatem hunc perhibebo optimum*.

1. *plane non intellexi*] Some word like *primo* (which would easily have fallen out before *plane*) seems to be required as an antithesis to *iam intellexi tamen* which follows. Atticus seems to have called the Oppii, who were money-lenders, 'bagmen of Velia,' *sacci* being the regular word for that which contained the hoard of the *avarus*. Schütz reads *succones*, and ascribes to Cicero a most ponderous joke. According to his view Cicero humorously calls the Oppii *succones*, because ὀπός is the Greek of *succus*. But even Cicero does not make such poor plays on words as that. Probably the joke does not extend

beyond *dicis*. The only objection to the interpretation which we have given is that the riddle was not so difficult as Cicero represents it to be. It is quite natural to infer 'money-lender' from 'bagman.' But it is possible to suppose that it is Cicero's joke to pretend that the riddle is very dark, so that he may lead up to a play on words of his own in *reliqua patebant*, which may mean (1) 'the rest (of the riddle) was clear,' or (2) 'I saw my way to a balance (accruing on their account and) tallying with the sum mentioned by Terentia.' *Reliqua patebant* literally means 'the arrears due were entered'; he would have written *reliqua patere vidi*, or some such words, but for his desire to make a play on words. The joke is at best a poor one, but that is no reason why we should foist on him such a frigidity as *succones* for Oppii.

dicis] This is probably the correct reading. If we retain the ms reading *dices* we must translate 'no doubt you call,' that is, 'you will be found to call,' 'the solution of the riddle will be found to be that

reliqua patebant et cum Terentiae summa congruebant. 2. L. Caesarem vidi Minturnis a. d. viii. Kal. Febr. mane cum absurdissimis mandatis, non hominem, sed scopas solutas, ut id ipsum mihi ille videatur irridendi causa fecisse, qui tantis de rebus huic mandata dederit, nisi forte non dedit et hic sermone aliquo adrepto pro mandatis abusus est. 3. Labienus, vir mea sententia magnus, Teanum venit a. d. ix. Kal. Ibi Pompeium consulesque convenit. Qui sermo fuerit et quid actum sit scribam ad te, cum certum sciam. Pompeius a Teano Larinum versus profectus est a. d. viii. Kal. Eo die mansit Venafri. Aliquantum animi videtur nobis attulisse Labienus. Sed ego nondum habeo quod ad te ex his locis scribam. Ista magis exspecto: quid illim adferatur, quo pacto de Labieno ferat, quid agat Domitius in Marsis, Iguvii Thermus, P. Attius Cinguli, quae sit populi urbani voluntas, quae tua coniectura de rebus futuris, haec velim crebro et quid tibi de mulieribus nostris placeat et quid acturus ipse sis scribas. Si scriberem ipse, longior epistola fuisset, sed dictavi propter lippitudinem.

you call' the Oppii bagmen from Velia. This use of the future is characteristic of the comic drama: cp. *non credibile dices*, 'you will be found to be mistaken in what you say,' Pl. Trin. iii. 1, 5; *hic inerunt viginti minae*, 'there will be found to be in it 20 minae,' As. iii. 3, 144; *conveniet*, 'you'll find it right,' Ter. Phorm. i. 1, 3; and *sic erit*, 'so it will be found to be,' common in Plautus. Not unlike is *censebo*, used as a politer expression than *censeo*, e.g. in Pl. Mil. ii. 4, 42; Hor. Ep. i. 14, 42.

2. *L. Caesarem*] He had met Caesar at Ariminum with a private communication from Pompey. He brought back the answer to Pompey at Teanum, as we learn from the beginning of the next letter.

non hominem, sed] The words introduce, as usual, a strong metaphor: see on Att. i. 18, 1 (24). Here L. Caesar is described as being as feckless as a broom in which all the twigs have got loose, so that it cannot sweep at all. The message entrusted

to him seemed to Cicero so absurd that he doubted whether Caesar had not deliberately chosen such a creature as his emissary to throw ridicule on the diplomacy of his opponents; 'or perhaps,' he adds, 'he was not commissioned at all; maybe he picked up some gossip and passed it off as a diplomatic note entrusted to himself.'

3. *certum sciam*] 'know for certain': cp. *certum nescio*, 'I do not know for certain,' Att. xii. 23, 2.

illim] This form, instead of the form *illinc*, is frequent in the letters and in the comic drama. It is allowed by most edd. to stand in Phil. ii. 77, and De Har. Resp. 42.

Domitius in Marsis] With this letter should be read Caesar de Bell. Civ. i. The *absurdissima mandata* are given in c. 9, and the positions of Domitius, Thermus, and Attius are described (c. 12 ff.), but Attius is spoken of as being not in Cingulum but in Auximum.

CCCIX. CICERO AND HIS SON TO TERENTIA AND TULLIA (FAM. XIV. 14).

MINTURNAE; JANUARY 23; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero, cum Caesar Rubiconem transisset, Pompeius autem fugisset cum senatu ex urbe, iubet suas deliberare, maneatne in urbe necne.

TULLIUS TERENTIAE ET PATER TULLIAE, DUABUS ANIMIS SUIS,
ET CICERO MATRI OPTIMAE, SUAVISSIMAE SORORI S. P. D.

1. Si vos valetis, nos valemus. Vestrum iam consilium est, non solum meum, quid sit vobis faciendum. Si ille Romam modeste venturus est, recte in praesentia domi esse potestis: sin homo amens diripiendam urbem daturus est, vereor ut Dolabella ipse satis nobis prodesse possit. Etiam illud metuo, ne iam intercludamur, ut, cum velitis exire, non liceat. Reliquum est, quod ipsae optime considerabitis, vestri similes feminae sintne Romae. Si enim non sunt, videndum est ut honeste vos esse possitis. Quo modo quidem nunc se res habet, modo ut haec nobis loca tenere liceat, bellissime vel mecum vel in nostris praediis esse poteritis. Etiam illud verendum est, ne brevi tempore fames in urbe sit.

2. His de rebus velim cum Pomponio, cum Camillo, cum quibus vobis videbitur, consideretis, ad summam, animo forti sitis. Labienus rem meliorem fecit. Adiuvat etiam Piso, quod ab urbe discedit et sceleris condemnat generum suum. Vos, meae carissimae animae, quam saepissime ad me scribite et vos quid agatis et quid istic agatur. Quintus pater et filius et Rufus vobis salutem dicunt. Valete. VIII. Kalend. Minturnis.

DUABUS ANIMIS SUIS] This is the most affectionate superscription to any of the letters: for the expression *animae meae* cp. Fam. xiv. 18, 1 (306). This letter was written on the same day as Att. vii. 13 (307).

1. *modeste*] 'quietly,' i. e. without military licence.

Quo modo res se habet] cp. Q. Fr. ii. 2, 1 (100), *Quoquo modo res se habet*.

bellissime] 'You will be able to stay very nicely either with me or in my country house.'

2. *Camillo*] a lawyer and friend of Cicero, with whom he was in correspondence at this time: cp. Fam. v. 20, 3 (302).

Rufus] This is either Mescinius Rufus, who may have come to Cicero very shortly after receiving Fam. v. 20 (302), in order probably to settle the accounts with him; or M. Caelius Rufus, who may have joined Cicero at his Cumanum about this time: cp. Fam. ii. 16, 3 (394).

VIII. *Kal.*] If we are to add anything, it should be *Febr.*, but there is no need: see Adn. Crit.

CCCX. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. VII. 14).

CALES; JANUARY 25; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero scribit se Calibus Capuam proficisci, et exponit qua condicione mandata Caesaris a Pompeio accepta sint, se a Pompeio ad dilectum adiuvandum arcessi, de gladiatoribus Caesaris qui Capuae fuerint, mulieres suas Roma exire et in praedia sua maritima proficisci cupit, ab Attico de re publica edoceri vult, se pacis auctorem esse.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. A. d. VI. Kal. Febr. Capuam Calibus proficiscens, cum leviter lippirem, has litteras dedi. L. Caesar mandata Caesaris detulit ad Pompeium a. d. VIII. Kal. cum is esset cum consulibus Teani. Probata condicio est, sed ita, ut ille de iis oppidis, quae extra suam provinciam occupavisset, praesidia deduceret. Id si fecisset, responsum est ad urbem nos redituros esse et rem per senatum confecturos. Spero in praesentia pacem nos habere: nam et illum furoris et hunc nostrum copiarum suppaenitet. 2. Me Pompeius Capuam venire voluit et adiuvare dilectum, in quo parum prolixè respondent Campani coloni. Gladiatores Caesaris, qui Capuae sunt, de quibus ante ad te falsum ex A. Torquati litteris scripseram, sane commode Pompeius distribuit binos singulis patribus familiarum. Scutorum in ludo 100. fuerunt. Eruptionem facturi fuisse dicebantur. Sane multum in eo rei publicae provisum est. 3. De mulieribus nostris, in quibus est tua soror, quaeso videas ut satis honestum nobis sit eas Romae esse, cum ceterae illa dignitate discesserint. Hoc scripsi ad eas et

1. *L. Caesar mandata Caesaris detulit*] Caesar, B. C. i. 9, 10, says it was a praetor Roscius, with L. Caesar, who brought back the answer to Pompey.

illum furoris] 'Caesar is beginning to feel uncomfortable about his insane enterprise, and Pompey about the condition of his army.'

2. *parum prolixè*] 'are not giving a very hearty answer to his call.'

falsum] For *falsum*, used as a subst., see Reid on De Sen. 4.

Pompeius distribuit] In B.C. i. 14, Caesar ascribes this act to Lentulus.

Scutorum] 'five thousand heavy-armed gladiators.' So it would seem we must understand the term *scuta*, though we do

not find other instances of such an usage except in very late Latin. An usage, however, might be found in a letter though it never established its position in formal literature. It is impossible that Cicero should here refer merely to shields, and equally impossible that he should have written *secutorum*, as Victorius suggested; for it is highly unlikely that all the gladiators should have belonged to the one class, *secutores*; and, even if this were so, Cicero would hardly have thought it necessary to specify the particular class to which they belonged.

3. *videas ut*] 'take care will it look respectable.' This use of *vide ut* is not infrequent in the letters: cp. *vide ut*

ad te ipsum antea. Velim eas cohortere, ut exeant, praesertim cum ea praedia in ora maritima habeamus, cui ego praesum, ut in iis pro re nata non incommode possint esse. Nam si quid offendimus in genere nostro—quod quidem ego praestare non debeo—sed id fit maius, quod mulieres nostrae praeter ceteras Romae remanserunt. Tu ipse cum Sexto scire velim quid cogites de exeundo de totaque re quid existimes. Equidem pacem hortari non desino, quae vel iniusta utilior est quam iustissimum bellum. Sed haec, ut fors tulerit.

CCCXI. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. VII. 15).

CAPUA ; JANUARY 26 ; A. U. C. 705 ; B. C. 49 ; AET. CIC. 57.

De litteris a se cotidie missis, de consiliis quae Capuae agitata sint, se imparatos esse cum a militibus tum a pecunia, Pompeium cum Labieno ad legiones Appianas profectum : ipsum Formias ire, litteras Attici expectare.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Ut ab urbe discessi, nullum adhuc intermisi diem quin aliquid ad te litterarum darem, non quo haberem magno opere

possit, 'take care that he does not prove unable,' Fam. xvi. 26, 1. Just as *vereor ut veniat* is lit., 'I have my fears about his coming'; hence 'I fear he will not come'; so, *videas ut honestum sit* means 'take care about its being respectable'; that is, 'take care that it is not disreputable.' Boot, not recognising this usage, would read *num* for *ut*. If any change were necessary, we should prefer to read *videas tu sat in honestum nobis sit*. Of course *vide ut* usually has the same meaning as *fac ut*, *cura ut*. Thus *vide ut prandium paretur* can mean either 'see that the breakfast is prepared,' or 'take care is the breakfast being neglected.'

ea praedia . . . ut] 'so retired that.'

offendimus] 'if we give any offence,' by reason of the fact that his son-in-law, Dolabella, was with Caesar. *Offendere* in Cicero means, 'to give offence,' 'to take offence,' 'to fail' (e.g. *apud iudices*), 'to shock, displease,' and simply 'to find, experience.'

praestare] 'I am not bound to make myself responsible for him': cp. *praestabimus*, Att. v. 9, 1 (196); sometimes also

'to guarantee the absence' of a thing, as *nihil esse sapientis praestare nisi culpam*, Fam. ix. 16, 5 (472).

sed] This conjunction is rightly used in resuming after a parenthesis, but it would have been more in accordance with his usage if Cicero had written *sed si quid offendimus, maius id fit*. However, *sed* resumes even after a very short parenthesis, as in Fam. xiv. 5, 2 (283), *de hereditate Preciana quae mihi quidem magna dolori est*—valde enim illum amavi—*sed hoc velim cures*. The conjunctions *verum tamen* are similarly used in Att. i. 10, 1 (6), where see note.

pacem hortari] It is not necessary to insert *ad*, as many edd. do. Cicero in his letters is prone to give a direct object to verbs which usually take a prep., e.g. *pacem desperavi*, Att. vii. 20, 1 (318); *remp. desperaverint*, Fam. xii. 14, 3; *suadere pacem*, Fam. vii. 3, 2 (464). It seems to have been a peculiarity of the familiar epistolary style to dispense with prepositions in such cases; Caelius writes, *gaudere gaudium*, 'to be rejoiced at one's joy,' Fam. viii. 2, 1 (196), and *gaudere dolorem*, Fam. viii. 14, 1 (280).

quod scriberem, sed ut loquerer tecum absens, quo mihi, cum coram id non licet, nihil est iucundius. 2. Capuam cum venissem a. d. vi. Kal., pridie quam has litteras dedi, consules conveni multosque nostri ordinis. Omnes cupiebant Caesarem abductis praesidiis stare condicionibus iis, quas tulisset. Uni Favonio leges ab illo nobis imponi non placebat, sed is *haud* auditus in consilio. Cato enim ipse iam servire quam pugnare mavult. Sed tamen ait in senatu se adesse velle, cum de condicionibus agatur, si Caesar adductus sit ut praesidia deducat. Ita, quod maxime opus est, in Siciliam ire non curat; quod metuo ne obsit, in senatu esse vult. Postumius autem, de quo nominatim senatus decrevit, ut statim in Siciliam iret Furfanioque succederet, negat se sine Catone iturum et suam in senatu operam auctoritatemque quam magni aestimat. Ita res ad Fannium pervenit. Is cum imperio in Siciliam praemittitur. 3. In disputationibus nostris summa varietas est. Plerique negant Caesarem in condicione mansurum postulataque haec ab eo interposita esse quo minus quod opus esset ad bellum a nobis pararetur. Ego autem eum puto facturum ut praesidia deducat. Vicerit enim, si consul factus erit, et minore scelere vicerit quam quo ingressus est. Sed accipienda plaga est. Sumus enim flagitiose imparati cum a militibus tum a pecunia, quam quidem omnem non modo privatam, quae in urbe est, sed

2. *in Siciliam*] Caesar, B. C. i. 30, tells us that Cato afterwards went to Sicily, but left it on the arrival of Curio, complaining that Pompey had deceived everyone as to his preparedness, and had undertaken an unnecessary war.

quam magni] Wesenberg has no objection to ascribing to Cicero the use of *quam* with the positive. Most other edd. emend the mss when they give it, either by omitting the *quam* or changing it to *perquam*. Such expedients are of course simple, but it may be questioned whether they are scientific. We have *quam clementer*, Fam. viii. 8, 9 (223), and *quam multa*, Fam. viii. 15, 2 (344), in Caelius; and *quam* with positive adjectives and adverbs is an undoubted comic usage (e.g. *flens quam familiariter*, Ter. And. i. 1, 109). Is it not then highly probable that Cicero permitted himself to use this colloquialism in his familiar letters? And is anything gained by assuming that the mss are in error whenever they present examples of this usage?

3. *condicione*] 'will abide by his compact.' The change to *condicionibus* is unnecessary.

facturum ut] 'will take care to.' The use of *facere ut* strengthens the statement. It may be rendered as above in affirmative sentences, and 'will not run the risk of' in negative sentences.

minore . . . est] 'by a less treasonable course than that on which he is marching.'

flagitiose imp.] 'infamously unprepared': cp. οἷα μελεώτατα.

a] 'in point of': see note on Att. v. 18, 2 (218).

Appianas] This is a most probable correction of the ms reading *Attianas*, which cannot be right. P. Attius, of whom we read in Att. vii. 13 b, 2 (308), as being at Cingulum, seems not to have been in command of any *legiones*, and the *cohortes* with which he held Auximum had surrendered to Caesar (Caes. B. C. i. 13). The only other Attius who appears in the narrative of Caesar is Attius Paelignus

etiam publicam, quae in aerario est, illi reliquimus. Pompeius ad legiones Appianas est profectus: Labienum secum habet. Ego tuas opiniones de his rebus exspecto. Formias me continuo recipere cogitabam.

CCCXII. CICERO TO TIRO (FAM. XVI. 12).

CAPUA; JANUARY 27; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero condicionem rei publicae deplorans initia belli civilis exponit, Tironem ut curet valetudinem admonet.

TULLIUS S. D. TIRONI SUO.

1. Quo in discrimine versetur salus mea et bonorum omnium atque universi et senatus et rei publicae ex eo scire potes, quod domos nostras et patriam ipsam vel diripiendam vel inflammandam reliquimus. In eum locum res deducta est, ut, nisi qui deus vel casus aliquis subvenerit, salvi esse nequeamus. 2. Equidem ut veni ad urbem, non destiti omnia et sentire et dicere et facere quae ad concordiam pertinerent, sed mirus invaserat furor non solum improbis, sed etiam iis, qui boni habentur, ut pugnare cuperent

(*ibid.* 18), and cp. Att. viii. 4, 3 (335), who plainly cannot be referred to in this passage. Lipsius with great probability emended the word to *Appianas*. The reference would then be to the legions which were taken from Caesar under the pretence that they were to be employed against the Parthians, and were unfairly made over to Pompey. The name of the lieutenant who marched them from Gaul was Appius. Plutarch (Pomp. 57) tells us that Appius commanded on the march from Gaul 'the force which Pompey lent to Caesar,' ἡν ἔχρησε Πομπήϊος Καίσαρι στρατιάν. Of course it is possible that the reading in Plutarch should be Ἀττιος, but there is no MS authority for it.

1. *universi et senatus et rei publicae*] This is almost the reading of H. In M *senatus et* is omitted.

In eum locum] The marked difference in tone between the despair of the first sections of this letter and the hopefulness of the succeeding ones, has led Lehmann (p. 122 ff.) to argue that, in this sentence, it must be the possibility of peace and of

avoiding a struggle in which one or other of the parties must be destroyed, of which Cicero is despairing. He accordingly reads *utrique ut*; comparing ad Brut. i. 1, 2, *in eum autem locum rem adductam intellegit—est enim ut scis minime stultus—ut utrique salvi esse non possint*. However, we are inclined to think that the mention of the favourable terms which Caesar had offered, and the dilemma in which, as Cicero thinks, he has thereby involved himself, have led Cicero to the expression of different feelings on the same subject even within the limits of a letter. This need not much surprise us when we see how his hopes and fears alternated from day to day.

2. *omnia . . . pertinerent*] 'to fashion all my sentiments, words, and acts, with a view to concord.'—Watson.

improbis] This is the only place in Cicero where *invadere* is used with the dat. Generally *in* with the acc. is the construction found. Nonius (s. v. *Vastities*, p. 184, 32) quotes Attius (Ribb. p. 194). *Quae vastitudo haec aut unde invasit mihi*.

me clamante nihil esse bello civili miserius. Itaque cum Caesar amentia quadam raperetur et oblitus nominis atque honorum suorum Ariminum, Pisaurum, Anconam, Arretium occupavisset, urbem reliquimus: quam sapienter aut quam fortiter nihil attinet disputari. 3. Quo quidem in casu simus vides. Feruntur omnino condiciones ab illo, ut Pompeius eat in Hispaniam, dilectus, qui sunt habiti, et praesidia nostra dimittantur, se ulteriorem Galliam Domitio, citeriorem Considio Noniano—his enim obtigerunt—traditurum: ad consulatus petitionem se venturum, neque se iam velle absente se rationem haberi suam: se praesentem trinum nundinum petiturum. Accipimus condiciones, sed ita, ut removeat praesidia ex iis locis, quae occupavit, ut sine metu de his ipsis condicionibus Romae senatus haberi possit. 4. Id ille si fecerit, spes est pacis non honestae—leges enim imponuntur—sed quidvis est melius quam sic esse ut sumus. Sin autem ille suis condicionibus stare noluerit, bellum paratum est, eius modi tamen quod sustinere ille non possit, praesertim cum a suis condicionibus ipse fugerit, tantum modo ut eum intercludamus, ne ad urbem possit accedere: quod sperabamus fieri posse. Dilectus enim magnos habebamus, putabamusque illum metuere, si ad urbem ire coepisset, ne Gallias amitteret, quas ambas habet inimicissimas praeter Transpadanos, ex Hispaniaque sex legiones et magna auxilia Afranio et Petreio ducibus habet a tergo: videtur, si insaniet, posse opprimi, modo ut urbe salva. Maximam autem plagam accepit, quod is, qui summam auctoritatem in illius exercitu habebat, T. Labienus, socius sceleris esse noluit: reliquit illum et *est nobiscum*, multique idem facturi esse dicuntur. 5. Ego

Anconam] We must not take this statement too literally; for Cicero heard of the fall of Ancona when he had already left the city: cp. Att. vii. 11, 1 (304).

3. *Considio Noniano*] cp. Att. viii. 11, B. 2, (327). Mommsen (R. H. iv. 359), by a slight error, calls him Marcus Servilius Novianus.

trinum nundinum] 'for the interval of three full market days,' i.e. 17 days at least. The acc. is of duration of time. The interval between two market days was called *internundinum*. These were certainly exceedingly indulgent terms for Caesar to offer at this juncture. Perhaps, as Merivale (ii. 120) suggests, Caesar knew that the Pompeians would not accept them.

accipimus] So H: *accepimus* M. But as all the other verbs in the paragraph are in the present tense, it is better to retain the present here also.

4. *suis condicionibus stare*] ablat.: cp. Cluent. 132, *ensoris opinione standum non putavit*.

sustinere ille non possit] For he would excite universal hatred by refusing to stand by the conditions which he had offered.

tantum modo ut] 'provided only that.'

modo ut urbe salva] sc. *opprimatur*. For *modo ut* cp. Verr. iv. 10, *concede ut impune emerit, modo ut bona ratione emerit*: Fam. xiv. 14, 1 (309). H omits *ut*, perhaps rightly.

adhuc orae maritimae praesum a Formiis. Nullum maius negotium suscipere volui, quo plus apud illum meae litterae cohortationesque ad pacem valerent. Sin autem erit bellum, video me castris et certis legionibus praefuturum. Habeo etiam illam molestiam, quod Dolabella noster apud Caesarem est. Haec tibi nota esse volui: quae cave ne te perturbent et impediant valetudinem tuam. 6. Ego A. Varroni, quem cum amantissimum mei cognovi tum etiam valde tui studiosum, diligentissime te commendavi, ut et valetudinis tuae rationem haberet et navigationis et totum te susciperet ac tueretur: quem omnia facturum confido: recepit enim et mecum locutus est suavissime. Tu, quoniam eo tempore mecum esse non potuisti, quo ego maxime operam et fidelitatem desideravi tuam, cave festines aut committas ut aut aeger aut hieme naviges. Numquam sero te venisse putabo, si salvus veneris. Adhuc neminem videram qui te postea vidisset quam M. Volusius, a quo tuas litteras accepi: quod non mirabar: neque enim meas puto ad te litteras tanta hieme perferri. Sed da operam ut valeas, et, si valebis, cum recte navigari poterit, tum naviges. Cicero meus in Formiano erat, Terentia et Tullia Romae. Cura ut valeas. iv. Kalendas Febr. Capua.

CCCXIII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. VII. 16).

CALES; JANUARY 28; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

De litteris ab Attico missis et a se datis, exspectari quid Caesar acturus sit de condicione per L. Caesarem relata et quid Pompeius, qui auctore Labieno meliorem spem conceperit, de itinere suo Capuam facto, de Terentia et Tullia.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Omnes arbitror mihi tuas litteras redditas esse, sed primas praepostere, reliquas ordine, quo sunt missae per Terentiam. De

5. *a Formiis*] 'which stretches from *Formiae* southwards.' The chief town of his district was Capua.

6. *A. Varroni*] We hear of this Varro again: *Caes. Bell. Civ.* iii. 19, 3, relates that at Dyrrhachium he would have come to treat of peace, but was prevented by Labienus. He was father of the Murena who made a plot against Augustus: cp. *Hor. Carm.* ii. 10.

totum te susciperet ac tueretur] 'take you under his charge and care.'

operam et fidelitatem] 'faithful services.'

M. Volusius] cp. *Fam.* v. 20, 3 (302). *Val. Max.* vii. 3, 8, relates how he escaped during the proscriptions by dressing himself up as a Priest of Isis.

tanta hieme] 'now that winter is so far advanced': cp. *Q. Fr.* ii. 9, 2 (120), *multa nocte*; and Nägelsbach (ed. 7), p. 210.

1. *praepostere*] 'out of their regular order,' that is, not delivered in the order in which they were written and despatched.

mandatis Caesaris adventuque Labieni et responsis consulum ac Pompeii scripsi ad te litteris iis, quas a. d. v. Kal. Capua dedi, pluraque praeterea in eamdem epistolam conieci. 2. Nunc has exspectationes habemus duas: unam, quid Caesar acturus sit, cum acceperit ea, quae referenda ad illum data sunt L. Caesari, alteram, quid Pompeius agat: qui quidem ad me scribit paucis diebus se firmum exercitum habiturum spemque adfert, si in Picenum agrum ipse venerit, nos Romam redituros esse. Labienum secum habet non dubitantem de imbecillitate Caesaris copiarum, cuius adventu Gnaeus noster multo animi plus habet. Nos a consulibus Capuam venire iussi sumus ad Nonas Febr. Capua profectus sum Formias a. d. iiii. Kal. Eo die cum Calibus tuas litteras hora fere nona accepissem, has statim dedi. 3. De Terentia et Tullia tibi adsentior, ad quas scripseram, ad te ut referrent: si nondum profectae sunt, nihil est quod se moveant, quoad perspiciamus quo loci sit res.

CCCXIV. QUINTUS CICERO TO TIRO (FAM. XVI. 8).

CAMPANIA; END OF JANUARY; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

Q. Cicero hortatur Tironem, ne naviget nisi confirmatus.

Q. CICERO TIRONI S. D.

1. Magnae nobis est sollicitudini valetudo tua. Nam tametsi qui veniunt, ἀκίνδυνα μὲν χρονιώτερα δὲ nuntiant, tamen in magna consolatione ingens inest sollicitudo si diutius nobis afuturus est is, cuius usum et suavitatem desiderando sentimus. At tamen quamquam videre te tota cogitatione cupio, tamen te penitus rogo,

2. *exspectationes*] The word is unusually objective here, 'we have two questions to look forward to.'

3. *referrent*] 'refer the question to you.' For the omission of the object to the verb see note on *sustinuissent*, Att. vii. 7, 5 (298).

The mention of the extreme cold (§ 2) points to winter as the time when this letter was written, and the injunction to Tiro not to sail during the winter fixes it approximately to the same time as Fam. xvi. 12, 6 (312); i.e. iv. Kal. Febr.

1. *diutius nobis afuturus est is*] H and the editors supply *a* before *nobis*, but it is hardly necessary, as *nobis* can be dat.: cp. Plaut. Aul. ii. 3, 8; Caes. Bell. Gall. i. 36, 5; Verg. Aen. xii. 52. If any correction is to be made it should be that of Wesenberg (Em. Alt. 56), *nobis defuturus*. *tota cogitatione*] 'with all my mind'—an unusual expression for *toto animo*. The idea in *cogitatio* is rather the intellect than the emotions.

penitus rogo] 'I ask you from my heart': cp. Fam. xiii. 53, 1 (230), *eum tibi penitus commendo atque trado*.

ne te tam longae navigationi et viae per hiemem nisi bene firmum committas neve naviges nisi explore. 2. Vix in ipsis tectis et oppidis frigus infirma valetudine vitatur, nedum in mari et via sit facile abesse ab iniuria temporis.

Ψυχος δὲ λεπτῷ χρωτὶ πολεμιώτατον,

inquit Euripides. Cui tu quantum credas nescio. Ego certe singulos eius versus singula ^{eius} testimonia puto. Effice, si me diligis, ut valeas et ut ad nos firmus ac valens quam primum venias. Ama nos et vale. Q. F. tibi salutem dicit.

CCCXV. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. VII. 17).

FORMIAE; FEBRUARY 2; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero Attico scribit de pueris in Graeciam transportandis si ipse Hispaniam peteret, de Attici commoratione in urbe cum Sexto, de responsis ad Caesaris responsa scriptis a P. Sestio, quae ipsa a Caesare non acceptum iri existimat, de Trebatii litteris rogatu Caesaris ad se missis et quid Trebatio ipse responderit, et de consiliis suis, a se Capua reverso in Formiano mulieres suas expectari, ipsum velle Non. Febr. Capuae esse.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Tuae litterae mihi gratae iucundaeque sunt. De pueris in Graeciam transportandis tum cogitabam, cum fuga ex Italia quaeri videbatur. Nos enim Hispaniam peteremus, illis hoc aequo commodum non erat. Tu ipse cum Sexto etiam nunc mihi videris

nisi explore] ‘unless with the greatest circumspection.’

2. *abesse ab iniuria temporis*] ‘escape the violence of the weather.’

Ψυχος . . . πολεμιώτατον] It is not known from what tragedy of Euripides the line is taken: cp. Nauck Frag. 906, p. 652.

singula testimonia] ‘as true as so many declarations upon oath.’ We have left out the second *eius* which M reads after *singula*: it is not found in H. For *eius* Orelli conjectured ἀληθείας, Klotz *veritatis*.

Q. F.] = *Quintus filius*, ‘my son Quintus.’

1. *sunt*] This must refer to the general

effect of the letters of Atticus on Cicero. We should rather have expected *fuere*, and then the reference would be to certain letters recently received from Atticus. But he often expresses this sentiment generally. See Att. xiv. 10, 4.

peteremus] ‘we should now be making for Spain.’ When it first occurred to people that Pompey would leave Italy, they naturally inferred that he would go to Spain. Cicero assumes all through this letter that he will share Pompey’s fortunes, whatever they may be. Cicero now expected a war in Italy. *Cum fuga quaeri videbatur* means ‘when Pompey thought of flying.’ Cicero now believes Pompey to have abandoned the design of leaving Italy.

Sexto] Sextus Peducaeus was an inti-

Romae recte esse posse. Etenim minime amici Pompeio nostro esse debetis. Nemo enim umquam tantum de urbanis praediis detraxit. 2. Videsne me etiam iocari? Scire iam te oportet L. Caesar quae responsa referat a Pompeio, quas ab eodem ad Caesarem ferat litteras. Scriptae enim et datae ita sunt, ut proponerentur in publico: in quo accusavi mecum ipse Pompeium, qui cum scriptor luculentus esset, tantas res atque eas, quae in omnium manus venturae essent, Sestio nostro scribendas dederit. Itaque nihil umquam legi scriptum *σησιωδέστερον*. Perspici tamen ex litteris Pompeii potest nihil Caesari negari omniaque ei cumulate quae postulet dari, quae ille amentissimus fuerit nisi acceperit, praesertim cum impudentissime postulaverit. Quis enim tu es, qui dicas: 'Si in Hispaniam profectus erit, si praesidia dimiserit.' Tamen conceditur? Minus honeste nunc quidem, violata iam ab illo re publica illatoque bello, quam si olim de ratione habenda impetrasset, et tamen vereor ut his ipsis contentus sit. Nam cum ista mandata dedisset L. Caesari, debuit esse paullo quietior, dum responsa referrentur, dicitur autem nunc esse acerrimus. 3. Trebatius quidem scribit se ab illo ix. Kal. Febr.

mate friend of Cicero's, as also was his father, who was governor of Sicily as propraetor B. C. 76-75. They are both mentioned frequently in Cicero's correspondence, especially the son to whom the reference is in this passage.

de urbanis praediis detraxit] 'depreciated city property.' Pompey in abandoning the city and leaving it exposed to an attack by Caesar, who might follow the Sullan precedent of proscription and confiscation, took a step likely to depreciate property in the neighbourhood of Rome, and thus inflict an injury on Atticus and Peducaeus. The reading of Manutius, *praesidiis*, is certainly an error; these words are very frequently confounded by the copyists. Cicero is careful to point out that what he says is not serious.

2. *proponerentur*] 'with a view to the widest circulation'; lit. 'with a view to being placarded on the public hoardings.' The expression is a strong one, but signifies no more than the succeeding phrase, *quae in omnium manus venturae essent*: cp. Att. viii. 2, 1 (332), *in publico proponat velim*.

σησιωδέστερον] 'more Sestian,' that is, 'more characteristic of Sestius,' whose style was proverbially frigid. Ca-

tullus (xliv.) tells us how he once endured the infliction of hearing Sestius read a speech of his own composition, an experience which was followed by such a cold (*gravedo*) and cough (*tussis*) that he was obliged to retire to his Tiburtine farm and lie up till he recovered. This is the same Sestius who befriended Cicero in his exile, and whom Cicero defended in the celebrated extant speech B.C. 56.

quis enim tu es] Cicero here apostrophises Caesar, who demanded as a condition of his laying down arms that Pompey should retire to his province and disband his army. Render, 'who are you to say?' and for this use of the consecutive subjunctive see Roby, ii. 1678 sqq. This usage is common in Plautus; a good example is Capt. iii. 4, 36 (568)—

Ty. Tu enim repertu's Philocratem *qui superes* veriverbio.

Ar. Pol ego ut rem video tu inventu's vera vanitudine
Qui convincas.

conceditur] 'is it to be granted?' cp. Juv. iv. 130, *conciditur*, 'is it to be cut up?' and Mayor's note.

impetrasset] 'had carried his point and stood for the consulship in his absence.'

3. *ab illo*] Caesar is often referred to

rogatum esse, ut scriberet ad me, ut essem ad urbem: nihil ei me gratius facere posse. Haec verbis plurimis. Intellexi ex dierum ratione, ut primum de discessu nostro Caesar audisset, laborare eum coepisse ne omnes abessemus. Itaque non dubito quin ad Pisonem, quin ad Servium scripserit. Illud admiror non ipsum ad me scripsisse, non per Dolabellam, non per Caelium egisse, quamquam non aspernor Trebatii litteras, a quo me unice diligere scio.

4. Rescripsi ad Trebatium—nam ad ipsum Caesarem, qui mihi nihil scripsisset, nolui—quam illud hoc tempore esset difficile, me tamen in praediis meis esse neque dilectum ullum neque negotium suscepisse. In quo quidem manebo, dum spes pacis erit: sin bellum geretur, non deero officio nec dignitati meae, pueros ὑπεκθέμενος in Graeciam. Totam enim Italiam flagraturam bello intellego. Tantum mali excitatum est partim ex improbis, partim ex invidis civibus. Sed haec paucis diebus ex illius ad nostra responsa responsis intellegentur quorsum evasura sint. Tum ad te scribam plura, si erit bellum: sin otium aut etiam indutiae, te ipsum, ut spero, videbo.

5. Ego IIII. Non. Febr., quo die has litteras dedi, in Formiano, quo Capua redieram, mulieres expectabam, quibus quidem scripseram tuis litteris admonitus, ut Romae manerent. Sed audio maiorem quemdam in urbe timorem esse. Capuae Non. Febr. esse volebam, quia consules iusserant. Quidquid huc erit a Pompeio adlatum, statim ad te scribam, tuasque de istis rebus litteras expectabo.

simply as *ille*. In the next line *ei* of course also refers to Caesar.

ex dierum ratione] Cicero calculated that the day on which Caesar asked Trebatius to write to him must have been the very day on which Caesar had first heard that Pompey and the consuls had left the city.

4. *qui mihi nihil scripsisset*] 'because he had not written to me himself.'

neque . . . suscepisse] Cicero does not appear to have ever made any attempt to raise troops for Pompey, but *neque negotium suscepisse* is not strictly true. He expressly writes *Capuam sumpsimus*, Fam. xvi. 11, 3 (301), and he often speaks of a commission he held to watch the coast, Capua being his head-quarters, see Att. vii. 11, 5 (304). He appears, however, to have resigned it almost immediately: cp. Att. viii. 11 D, 5 (343).

ὑπεκθέμενος] He might just as well have written *transportando*, the word which he used at the beginning of the letter; but Cicero frequently uses Greek words even when he has a Latin synonym ready to his hand. These Greek words are a fruitful source of the corruption of the text in the correspondence of Cicero. The Greek word here of course means more than the Latin would have expressed, 'getting them out of harm's way.'

otium] The mss have *sin autem etiam indutiae*, which has been corrected to *sin pax aut etiam indutiae*. But *otium aut* would easily have been corrupted into the *autem* of the mss. The word is used in the next letter (§ 2): *O! vix ullo otio compensandam turpitudinem*.

5. *scripseram ut manerent*] 'I had told them by letter to remain in Rome.'

CCCXVI. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. VII. 18).

FORMIAE; FEBRUARY 3; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero Attico scribit mulieres suas IIII. Non. Febr. Formias venisse et ibi esse mansuras, se IIII. Non. Capuam profectum, de rumore ex urbe adlato, de responsis Pompeii et de Cassio Ancona expulso, Caesarem dici acerrime bellum praeparare, se tempori parere, Dionysium se in fuga sequi debuisse, Q. fratrem valde laborare, ut quod Attico debeat ab Egnatio solvat, omnes se summa penuria premi.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. IIII. Non. Febr. mulieres nostrae Formias venerunt tuaque erga se officia plena tui suavissimi studii ad me pertulerunt. Eas ego, quoad sciremus, utrum turpi pace nobis an misero bello esset utendum, in Formiano esse volui et una Cicerones. Ipse cum fratre Capuam ad consules—Nonis enim adesse iussi sumus—IIII. Non. profectus sum, cum has litteras dedi. Responsa Pompeii grata populo et probata contioni esse dicuntur. Ita putaram. Quae quidem ille *si* repudiarit, iacebit: *si* acceperit . . . Utrum igitur, inquires, mavis? Responderem, si quem ad modum parati essemus scirem. 2. Cassium erat hic auditum expulsum Ancona eamque urbem a nobis teneri. Si bellum futurum est, negotium utile. Caesarem quidem L. Caesare cum mandatis de pace misso tamen aiunt acerrime dilectum habere, loca occupare, vincere

1. *pertulerunt*] 'brought me an account of.'

si acceperit] This is usually understood to be a case of aposiopesis. He could not bring himself to say what the result of an acceptance of the terms would be. But aposiopesis is applicable only when the omitted words are easily and unmistakably supplied by the reader or hearer, which certainly is not the case here. It seems rather that some word has fallen out through the carelessness of the copyists. Such a word might be *perit* which would easily fall out after *acce-perit*. Cicero fancies that Caesar is in a dilemma; if he refuses Pompey's proposals all his *prestige* will leave him (*iacebit*), if he accepts them he is done for (*perit*). Cicero would no doubt have wished him to refuse if he could have been sure that Pompey was prepared for battle. It is to be observed

that the MS reading is *tacebit*, not *iacebit*, which is the conjecture of Victorius.

2. *erat hic auditum*] 'there was a rumour here that Cassius had been driven out of Ancona.' This was Q. Cassius who had embraced the cause of Caesar: cp. Fam. xvi. 11, 2 (301); C. Cassius was a Pompeian: cp. Fam. xv. 15 (448); Att. vii. 23, 1 (321).

vincire] It is rash to change this word to *munire*, as Klotz and others do, nor is it easy to understand what *vincire* could mean. Caesar could hardly be said to bind himself or to be bound with a chain of forts, but it is not unnatural that Cicero should say that Caesar was 'binding the whole country with a chain of forts.' If Livy can write of men as *vinctos somno*, why could not Cicero use such an expression as *loca praesidiis vincire*?

praesidiis. O perditum latronem! o vix ullo otio compensandam hanc rei publicae turpitudinem! Sed stomachari desinamus, temporari pareamus, cum Pompeio in Hispaniam eamus. Haec optima in malis, quoniam illius alterum consulatum a re publica ne data quidem occasione reppulimus. Sed haec hactenus. 3. De Dionysio fugit me ad te antea scribere, sed ita constitui: expectare responsa Caesaris, ut, si ad urbem rediremus, ibi nos expectaret: sin tardius id fieret, tum eum arcesseremus. Omnino quid ille facere debuerit in nostra illa fuga, quid docto homine et amico dignum fuerit, cum praesertim rogatus esset, scio, sed haec non nimis exquiro a Graecis. Tu tamen videbis, si erit, quod nolim, arcessendus, ne molesti simus invito. 4. Quintus frater laborat ut tibi quod debet ab Egnatio solvat nec Egnatio voluntas deest nec parum locuples est, sed cum tale tempus sit ut Q. Titinius—multum enim est nobiscum—viaticum se neget habere idemque debitoribus suis denuntiarit, ut eodem fenore uterentur, atque hoc idem etiam L. Ligus fecisse dicatur, nec hoc tempore aut domi nummos Quintus habeat aut exigere ab Egnatio aut versuram

optima] The Greek expression in Hom. Il. xvii. 105, is *φέρτατον κακῶν*.

ne data quidem occasione] 'even when everything was against us we refused him a second consulship,' that is, though he was at the head of a large army, and so the time was inopportune for taking a hostile attitude towards him, yet we refused to allow his candidature unless he came to Rome.

3. *Dionysio*] a literary slave of Cicero's, whom he manumitted, and to whom he entrusted the education of his son and nephew. Cicero had before this (Att. vii. 7, 1) expressed himself as not quite satisfied with the manners of Dionysius, but subsequently withdrew his condemnation. Observe what consideration Cicero here shows for his freedman; he says that he thinks Dionysius ought to accompany him in his flight if he should fly from Rome; 'but,' he adds, 'we must not expect too much from a Greek,' and, 'if I am obliged to send for him (which I hope I may not be) you must see that we consult his convenience in every way.' It appears from Att. viii. 4 and 5 (335, 336) that Dionysius flatly refused to remain an inmate of the house of Cicero during this unhappy crisis, but afterwards became alarmed and apologized. Cicero courteously dismissed him, as we learn

from Att. viii. 10 (341). His conduct seems to have been most ungrateful after this. In Att. ix. 12, 2 (368), Cicero writes: 'I hate him, and always shall. I wish I could make him smart for his conduct.' In Att. x. 16, 1 (402), we read that Dionysius apologized to Cicero, and the latter accorded him pardon grudgingly, writing to Atticus, 'I hope you may preserve his friendship. When I utter this wish I am wishing for the permanence of your prosperity. The two will coincide.' Yet he writes (Att. xiii. 2, 3): 'Dionysius writes me a long letter telling how he feels his long separation from his pupils. I fancy it will be longer. Yet I am sorry for it. I miss him greatly.' The Dionysius who, having for several years carried on peculations as librarian to Cicero, finally absconded to escape punishment, was a slave, and is not to be confounded with the Dionysius of this letter.

fugit] 'I forgot.' See on Att. v. 12, 3 (202).

4. *ab Egnatio solvat*] 'Quintus is anxious to give you an order on Egnatius for the money he owes you.'

idemque denuntiarit] 'and yet has given notice to his debtors that they may let the debt stand over, they paying the same interest as before.'

usquam facere possit, miratur te non habuisse rationem huius publicae difficultatis. Ego autem, etsi illud *ψευδησιόδειον*—ita enim putatur—observo, *μηδὲ δίκην*, praesertim in te, a quo nihil umquam vidi temere fieri, tamen in illius querella movebar. Hoc, quidquid est, te scire volui.

CCCXVII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. VII. 19).

FORMIAE ; FEBRUARY 3 ; A. U. C. 705 ; B. C. 49 ; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero accepto nuntio de condicionibus a Caesare reiectis scribit se desperantem
III. Non. Febr.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Nihil habeo quod ad te scribam : qui etiam eam epistolam, quam eram elucubratus, ad te non dederim. Erat enim plena spei bonae, quod et contionis voluntatem audieram et illum condicionibus usurum putabam, praesertim suis. Ecce tibi III. Non. Febr. mane accepi litteras tuas, Philotimi, Furnii, Curionis ad Furnium, quibus irridet L. Caesaris legationem. Plane oppressi videmur, nec quid consilii capiam scio, nec mehercule de me laboro : de pueris quid agam non habeo. Capuam tamen proficiscebar haec scribens, quo facilius de Pompeii rebus cognoscerem.

μηδὲ δίκην] *δικάσῃς πρὶν ἢν ἀμφοῖν μῦθον ἀκούσῃς*. This is one of the cases in which Cicero goes to the Greek for a familiar quotation, while we have recourse to Latin, *audi alteram partem*. It also affords a good instance of his elliptical manner of quoting. See I², p. 67. Cicero when he speaks of the verse as 'falsely ascribed to Hesiod' must be supposed to agree with those who attribute the gnome to Phocylides.

querella] Quintus seems to have been 'making a poor mouth' to his brother, in hopes, apparently, that the latter would use his influence with Atticus to give Quintus a long day to pay the debt, if not a complete remission.

qui etiam] 'as you may judge when I tell you that I did not send you a letter I had written overnight.' The force of the conjunctive can hardly be expressed without some such periphrasis. The Irish expression would exactly convey the meaning : 'I have nothing to write about; sure I did not even send you what I had written.' The reason why he suppressed his letter was because the communications subsequently received by him showed him that its hopeful tone was not justified by the circumstances.

non habeo] 'I do not know.' See Madv. 362. *Nihil habeo quod ad te scribam*, at the commencement of the letter, means 'I have nothing to write to you.'

CCCXVIII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. VII. 20).

CAPUA; FEBRUARY 5; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

Desperata pace queritur M. Cicero tamen bellum non parari a consulibus, a Caesare omnia acerrime agitari. Quaerit ab Attico quid sibi agendum putet.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Breviloquentem iam me tempus ipsum facit. Pacem enim desperavi, bellum nostri nullum administrant. Cave enim putes quidquam esse minoris his consulibus: quorum ergo spe audiendi aliquid et cognoscendi nostri apparatus maximo imbri Capuam veni pridie Nonas, ut eram iussus. Illi autem nondum venerant, sed erant venturi ad Nonas inanes, imparati. Gnaeus autem Luceriae dicebatur esse et adire cohortes legionum Appianarum,

1. *Pacem desperavi*] See on Att. vii. 14, 3 (310).

bellum nullum] 'the military operations on our side are nil.' This is a much stronger expression than *non administrant* would have been, and may be compared with such colloquial expressions as *nullus venit*, 'not a bit of him came,' Att. xi. 24, 4 (441); *nullus discederet*, 'not to move an inch,' Att. xv. 22, 1; *nullus tu quidem domum*, 'don't stir a foot to visit him,' Att. xv. 29, 1.

Cave . . . consulibus] 'don't imagine that there is anything which concerns our present consuls less than the war.' This seems more probably right than the other possible rendering, according to which *consulibus* is not dative but ablative after *minoris*: 'don't imagine that anything could be more worthless than our present consuls' (C. Claudius Marcellus and L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus).

quorum ergo] 'on account of whom, in the hope of hearing something I came to Capua in heavy rain.' The mss read *ego*, not *ergo*, and that reading might well be retained, and explained on the analogy of Plautine usage which we have so often found a safe rule for the diction of the letters. We have a parallel to this use of two genitives (one being a gerund) dependent on a noun, *quorum spe audiendi* instead of *quorum audiendorum* (or *quos*

audiendi) *spe*, in Pl. Capt. iv. 2, 72 (846), *nominandi istorum tibi erit magis quam edundi copia*. Moreover in Cicero himself we have *causa . . . eorum quae secundum naturam sunt adipiscendi*, Fin. v. 19; *facultas detur . . . agrorum suis latronibus condonandi*, Phil. v. 6. Other passages, too, very probably afford instances of this usage, as, for instance, *studium illius aeternitatis imitandi*, Tusc. v. 70, where the reading has been impugned; *quarum potiendi spe*, Fin. i. 60, where *quarum* may, of course, be governed by *potiendi* (where see Madvig). The fact, however, that *audiendi* has in this instance an object *aliquid*, and that another genitive follows, makes it slightly different from the other examples cited above, and induces us to follow Bosius in changing *ego* to *ergo*. Dr. Reid thinks that a substantive in the ablative has dropped out on which *quorum* depended, such as *vocatu*.

Nonis] C, the ms which Cratander used, is said by him to have the reading *illi autem adhuc, id est Nonis, nondum venerant*; which reading may be right, for this letter was written on the morning of the 5th, as is shown by the use of *hodie* in § 2, and we read at the end of the letter that the consuls are to arrive 'on their appointed 5th.' Boot, seeing that some statement of the time at which the consuls were expected would naturally

non firmissimarum. At illum ruere nuntiant et iam iamque adesse, non ut manum conserat—quicum enim?—sed ut fugam intercludat. 2. Ego autem in Italia *κἂν ἀποθανεῖν*—nec te id consulo—sin extra, quid ago? Ad manendum hiems, lictores, improvidi et neglegentes duces, ad fugam hortatur amicitia Gnaei, causa bonorum, turpitudine coniungendi cum tyranno: qui quidem incertum est Phalarimne an Pisistratum sit imitaturus. Haec velim explices et me iuves consilio, etsi te ipsum istic iam calere puto. Sed tamen quantum poteris. Ego si quid hic hodie novi cognoro, scies. Iam enim aderunt consules ad suas Nonas. Tuas cotidie litteras expectabo. Ad has autem, cum poteris, rescribes. Mulieres et Cicerones in Formiano reliqui.

find a place in the sentence, proposed to read *Nonis* for *inanes*. It seems to us better to suppose that *ad Nonas* fell out before *inanes*, and that C preserves a part of the right tradition by introducing the Nones, but in the wrong place. Cicero heard the report that they were expected 'by February 5th,' and that they were without equipment or preparation of any kind, 'bare and bootless.'

illum] sc. Caesarem.

2. *Ego . . . ago*] 'Now, were the scene Italy, *Bid me to die, and I will dare*—on that point I am not asking your counsel—but if the issue is to be decided out of Italy, what am I to do?' The whole verse, of which according to his habitual practice he quotes but a couple of words, is attributed to Diphilus, and runs—

κἂν ἀποθανεῖν δέη με θανοῦμ' ἐκουσῶς.

So we often quote but a few words of a proverbial expression, 'Needs must —' or 'When thieves fall out —.' Cf. Hamlet, iii. 2, 358, 'While the grass grows,—the proverb is something musty.' That *consulere*, with a double accus. of the person and of the thing, is found only in the comic drama (Pl. Men. iv. 3, 87) is no reason why we should suspect the usage here, but rather why we should expect it; the accus. of the person is of course quite regular, and the accus. of the thing is not very rare, e.g. *consulere quiddam*, Pl. Most.

v. 1. 53; *rem delatam consulere*, Liv. ii. 28, 2; *consulendis rebus*, Cic. Divin. i. 3. So that it is a mere chance that the double accus. is not more frequently forthcoming. [*Te id consulo*: the fact that the accus. *rei* is a neut. pron. makes the construction much less strange than it would otherwise be, and the passage is not very unlike two others, viz. Divin. ii. § 10, and Mil. § 16. J. S. R.]

coniungendi] On the apparently passive use of the gerund see Roby ii. pref. lxiv-lxvii. The examples collected there under class *c* especially illustrate the present passage, because here the gerund may be regarded as rather reflexive than passive; among the best of the examples are *signo recipiendi dato*, Caes. B. G. vii. 52, 1; *lusu exercendique causa*, Liv. v. 27, 2; *vix spatium instruendi fuit*, Liv. xxxi. 21, 6; *potestatem defendendi*, Cic. Mil. 11. See Reid on Acad. ii. §§ 26, 101.

Phalarimne an Pisistratum] Phalaris was typical of the worst kind of tyrant, Pisistratus of the best.

calere] This is not nearly so strong an expression as 'to be in hot water.' It means little more than 'to have one's hand full,' 'to have plenty of business of one's own to occupy one': cp. Fam. viii. 6, 4 (242), *Si Parthi vos nihil calfaciunt, nos hic frigore rigescimus*. Hence Boot's *carere* (sc. *consilio*) is not required.

CCCXIX. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. VII. 21).

CALES; FEBRUARY 8; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero Attico scribit se Capuae fuisse, eo alterum consulem usque ad VII. Id. Febr. non venisse, nihil agi neque a consulibus neque a Pompeio. De mandatis a C. Cassio tribuno pl. adlatis ad consules, de summa sua consilii inopia.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. De malis nostris tu prius audis quam ego. Istim enim emanant. Boni autem hinc quod expectes nihil est. Veni Capuam ad Nonas Febr., ita ut iusserant consules. Eo die Lentulus venit sero, alter consul omnino non venerat VII. Idus. Eo enim die ego Capua discessi et mansi Calibus. Inde has litteras postridie ante lucem dedi. Haec, Capuae dum fui, cognovi: nihil in consulibus, nullum usquam dilectum. Nec enim conquisitores *φαινοπροσωπεῖν* audent, cum ille adsit contraque noster dux nusquam sit, nihil agat; nec nomina dant. Deficit enim non voluntas sed spes. Gnaeus autem noster—o rem miseram et incredibilem!—ut totus iacet! Non animus est, non consilium, non copiae, non diligentia. Mittam illa, fugam ab urbe turpissimam, timidissimas in oppidis contiones, ignorationem non solum adversarii, sed etiam suarum copiarum. 2. Hoc cuius modi est? VII. Id. Febr. Capuam C. Cassius tribunus pl. venit, attulit mandata ad consules, ut Romam venirent, pecuniam de sanctiore aerario auferrent, statim exirent. Urbe relicta, redeant: quo praesidio? deinde exeant: quis sinat? Consul ei rescripsit,

1. *ad Nonas*] 'I arrived in Capua for the Nones,' so as to be there on Feb. 5. We read in the last letter that he actually entered Capua on the 4th.

alter consul] Marcellus.

nihil in cons.] 'that the consuls are worthless.'

Nec enim] 'the recruiting sergeants do not even dare to show their faces, while Caesar is everywhere, and Pompey never is anywhere or doing anything: the men are not enlisting'; *φαιν.* is like the phrase 'to be *en évidence*,' or, if we might use an English colloquialism, 'to show up,' which is the meaning it bears in Att. xiv. 22, 2.

ignorationem] See the excellent note of Reid in Acad. i. 42; where he decides that *ignorantiam* is probably an error for *ignorationem*. Cicero, Reid adds, uses *iactatio* but not *iactantia*, which is common in Tacitus; probably *haesitantiam* in Phil. iii. 16 should be *haesitationem*; on the other hand Cicero has both *toleratio* and *tolerantia*.

2. *sanctiore aerario*] Here the fund was kept to meet the exigency of a Gallic war; it was raised from spoil taken in war and the 5 per cent. duty on the manumission of slaves.

Consul] Lentulus; Marcellus had not yet arrived.

ut prius ipse in Picenum. At illud totum erat amissum; sciebat nemo praeter me ex litteris Dolabellae. Mihi dubium non erat quin ille iam iamque foret in Apulia, Gnaeus noster in navi. 3. Ego quid agam, σκέμμα magnum,—neque mehercule mihi quidem ullum, nisi omnia essent acta turpissime neque ego ullius consilii particeps—sed tamen, quod me deceat. Ipse me Caesar ad pacem hortatur. Sed antiquiores litterae quam ruere coepit. Dolabella, Caelius ‘me illi valde satis facere.’ Mira me ἀπορία torquet. Iuva me consilio, si potes, et tamen ista, quantum potes, provide. Nihil habeo tanta rerum perturbatione quod scribam. Tuas litteras exspecto.

CCCXX. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. VII. 22).

FORMIAE; FEBRUARY 9; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero Attico scribit iam Caesarem totam occupare Italiam, quo iverit Pompeius se ignorare et quo eum sequatur nescire, Attici consilium requirit, honestum non esse se tradere Caesari.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Pedem in Italia video nullum esse qui non in istius potestate sit. De Pompeio scio nihil, eumque, nisi in navim se contulerit, exceptum iri puto. O celeritatem incredibilem! huius autem nostri—sed non possum sine dolore accusare eum, de quo angor et crucior. Tu caedem non sine causa times, non quo minus quidquam Caesari expediat ad diuturnitatem victoriae et

3. *Ego quid . . . deceat*] ‘it is a serious problem what should be my course (though indeed it would be no problem for me but for the disgraceful mismanagement of the whole business, and the fact that I was not consulted by either side); however, I repeat, it is a serious consideration what would be my most becoming course.’ *Quid agam* depends on σκέμμα, and is again understood before *quod me deceat*. The sentence is resumed after the parenthesis by *sed tamen*, but the *quid agam* is expanded into the question *quid agam quod me deceat*. The desirableness of making a parenthesis as short as possible accounts for the omission of *esset* after *ullum* and of *essem* after *particeps*.

antiquiores quam] ‘but his letter was written before he began to run amuck.’ *Ruere* is the word by which Cicero often expresses the complete abandonment of all pretences of constitutional action.

tanta rerum perturbatione] This is the ablative *modi*, for which see note on cxxxi. 4.

1. *huius autem nostri*] This is a real case of apoeiopsis, and is quite different from that supposed example of the same figure in Att. vii. 18, 1 (316).

non quo minus] ‘not that anything could be more prejudicial to the chances of his establishing a permanent dynasty.’

dominationis, sed video quorum arbitrio sit acturus. Ut recte sit censeo cedendum. 2. De Oppiis istis egeo consilii. Quod optimum factu videbitur facies. Cum Philotimo loquere, atque adeo Terentiam habebis Idibus. Ego quid agam? qua aut terra aut mari persequar eum, qui ubi sit nescio? Etsi terra quidem qui possum? mari quo? Tradam igitur isti me? Fac posse tuto—multi enim hortantur—num etiam honeste? Nullo modo quidem. A te petam consilium, ut soleo? Explicari res non potest. Sed tamen, si quid in mentem venit, velim scribas et ipse quid sis acturus.

CCCXXI. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. VII. 23).

FORMIAE; FEBRUARY 10; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

De Philotimi litteris bonae spei plenis, quibus tamen ipse fidem nullam habuerit, sibi illud verius videri, omnia iam perdita esse, Pompeium Italia cedere persequente Caesare, se lectis Philotimi litteris de mulieribus consilium mutasse, sibi difficile esse quidquam conari, apud suos omnia iacere, exemplum litterarum Caesaris se misisse.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. v. Id. Febr. vesperi a Philotimo litteras accepi, 'Domitium exercitum firmum habere, cohortes ex Piceno Lentulo et Thermo ducentibus cum Domitii exercitu coniunctas esse, Caesarem intercludi posse, eumque id timere, bonorum animos recreatos Romae, improbos quasi percultos.' Haec metuo equidem ne sint somnia, sed tamen M'. Lepidum, L. Torquatum, C. Cassium tribunum pl.—hi enim sunt nobiscum, id est in Formiano,—Philotimi litterae ad vitam revocaverunt. Ego autem illa metuo ne veriora sint, nos omnes plane iam captos esse, Pompeium Italia cedere,

quorum arbitrio] Cicero seems to have thought that some of Caesar's friends, perhaps, especially, Antony, Curio, and Caelius would counsel severe measures of retaliation.

Ut recte sit] 'to ensure the safety of my family I vote for leaving Rome.' The use of the adverb with *esse* is characteristic of the letters: see I², p. 71.

2. *De Oppiis*] There is no doubt an allusion here to the matter referred to in Att. vii. 13 b, 1 (308).

atque adeo] These words have the augmentative sense, 'nay more'; for the corrective sense, see note on xxiii. 9.

Nullo modo quidem] So Lehmann (p. 34) punctuates the sentence. *Quidem* is appropriate in the reply: cp. Legg. ii. 1, *sane quidem*.

1. *plane*] It seems right here to correct *paene* of the mss to *plane*. Cicero would hardly have written *paene captos* in one sentence and *plane capti* in the next.

quem quidem—o rem acerbam!—persequi Caesar dicitur. Persequi Caesar Pompeium? Quid? ut interficiat? O me miserum! et non omnes nostra corpora opponimus? in quo tu quoque ingemiscis. Sed quid faciamus? Victi, oppressi, capti plane sumus. 2. Ego tamen Philotimi litteris lectis mutavi consilium de mulieribus, quas, ut scripseram ad te, Romam remittebam, sed mihi venit in mentem multum fore sermonem, me iudicium iam de causa publica fecisse, qua desperata quasi hunc gradum mei reditus esse, quod mulieres revertissent. De me autem ipso tibi adsentior, ne me dem incertae et periculosae fugae, cum rei publicae nihil prosim, nihil Pompeio, pro quo emori cum pie possum tum lubenter. Manebo igitur: etsi vivere . . . 3. Quod quaeris, hic quid agatur, tota Capua et omnis hic dilectus iacet, desperata res est, in fuga omnes sunt, nisi quid eius *modi* fuerit, ut Pompeius istas Domitii copias cum suis coniungat. Sed videbamus omnia biduo triduove scituri. Caesaris litterarum exemplum tibi misi: rogaras enim: cui nos valde satis facere multi ad me scripserunt, quod patior facile, dum, ut adhuc, nihil faciam turpiter.

CCCXXII. POMPEY TO CICERO (ATT. VIII. 11 A).

LUCERIA; FEBRUARY 10; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

CN. POMPEIUS PROCOS. S. D. M. CICERONI IMP.

Q. Fabius ad me venit a. d. iv. Idus Febr. Is nuntiat L. Domitium cum suis cohortibus XII. et cum cohortibus XIV., quas Vibullius adduxit, ad me iter habere: habuisse in animo

2. *remittebam*] = *remissurus eram*: see note on *habebam*, ccix. 1.

quasi . . . revertissent] 'the return of the ladies of my house was as it were one step on my own way back.'

vivere] Here is another case in which aposiopesis is unsuitable. Some word must have fallen out, probably a Greek word such as ἀβλῶτον, or ἀνδές, or αἰσχροῦν.

3. *eius modi fuerit ut*] 'unless some such incident happens as that Pompey should effect a junction of the forces of Domitius

with his own.' Boot suggests *nisi qui deus fecerit*. If a change were necessary, it would be better to read *nisi qui deus iuverit*: cp. Fam. xvi. 12, 1 (312), *nisi qui deus . . . subvenerit*.

XII.] It seems reasonable to read XII. here with Wesenberg instead of XI. of this mss. The change is very slight, and Pompey mentions twelve cohorts under the command of Domitius in Att. viii. 12 A, 1 (331).

proficisci Corfinio a. d. v. Id. Febr., C. Hirrum cum v. cohortibus subsequi. Censeo, ad nos Luceriam venias. Nam te hic tutissime puto fore.

CCCXXIII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. VII. 24).

FORMIAE; FEBRUARY 11, MORNING; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

De Philotimi litteris et Pompeianorum fuga, se a consilio fugiendi abesse.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Philotimi litterae me quidem non nimis, sed eos, qui in his locis erant, admodum delectarunt. Ecce postridie Cassii litterae Capua a Lucretio, familiari eius, Nigidium a Domitio Capuam venisse: eum dicere Vibullium cum paucis militibus e Piceno currere ad Gnaeum, confestim insequi Caesarem, Domitium non habere militum III. milia. Idem scripsit Capua consules discessisse. Non dubito quin Gnaeus in fuga sit, modo effugiat. Ego a consilio fugiendi, ut tu censes, absum.

CCCXXIV. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. VII. 25).

FORMIAE; FEBRUARY 11, AFTERNOON; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero Attico scribit se hilarioribus eius litteris non satis credere, Pompeii causam iacere.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Cum dedissem ad te litteras tristes et metuo ne veras de Lucretii ad Cassium litteris Capua missis, Cephalio venit a vobis, attulit

tutissime] It is to be observed that Pompey does not use the rare form *tutissimo* which is used by Cicero when in Att. viii. 1, 2 (328) he is referring to this letter. This whole letter seems to be merely an extract from the end of a longer letter dealing with Picenum and other topics (Att. viii. 1, 1).

Cassii litterae] 'a letter to Cassius': see note on xl. 1.

modo effugiat] 'I only pray that he may escape.'

absum] 'I hold aloof from, am disinclined to': cp. *abfuisse ab istis studiis* Planc. 62.

a vobis] Atticus was now in Rome.

etiam a te litteras hilariores, nec tamen firmas, ut soles. Omnia facilius credere possum, quam quod scribitis Pompeium exercitum habere. Nemo huc ita adfert omniaque quae nolim. O rem miseram! Malas causas semper obtinuit, in optima concidit. Quid dicam? nisi illud eum scisse—neque enim erat difficile,—hoc nescisse. Erat enim ars difficilis recte rem publicam regere. Sed iam iamque omnia sciemus et scribemus ad te statim.

CCCXXV. POMPEY TO DOMITIUS (ATT. VIII. 12 B).

LUCERIA; BETWEEN FEBRUARY 10 AND 16; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49;
AET. CIC. 57.

CN. MAGNUS PROCOS. S. D. L. DOMITIO PROCOS.

1. Valde miror te ad me nihil scribere et potius ab aliis quam a te de re publica me certiores fieri. Nos disiuncta manu pares adversario esse non possumus: contractis nostris copiis spero nos et rei publicae et communi saluti prodesse posse. Quam ob rem cum constituisses, ut Vibullius mihi scripserat, a. d. v. Id. Febr. Corfinio proficisci cum exercitu et ad me venire, miror quid causae fuerit qua re consilium mutaris. Nam illa causa, quam mihi Vibullius scribit, levis est, te propterea moratum esse, quod audieris Caesarem Firmo progressum in Castrum Truentinum venisse. Quanto enim magis appropinquare adversarius coepit, eo tibi celerius agendum erat, ut te mecum coniungeres, prius quam Caesar aut tuum iter impedire aut me abs te excludere posset. 2. Quam ob rem etiam

firmas] 'decided,' 'unambiguous.'

Nemo—nolim] 'no one gives this account, and everyone brings all the news most unwelcome to me.' *Quisque* must be taken out of *nemo* in accordance with a common usage of which there is a good example in Hor. Sat. i. 1, 4, where see Palmer's note. The use of the adv. (*ita adfert*) predicatively instead of an adj. is characteristic of the letters: see I², p. 71. For the use of *que* in *omniaque quae nolim*, where we should rather have expected an adversative particle, Boot compares *non exspectavi dum . . . confestimque . . . ad te*

iter facere coepi, Att. viii. 11 D, 1 (343): see also Madv. § 433, obs. 2. *Nolim* is in the subjunctive because *quae* expresses the kind, character, of the intelligence brought to him.

obtinuit] 'he carried through' to a successful issue.

illud] refers to *malas causas obtinere*, and *hoc* to *optima causa*; see on xii. 13.

1. *Firmo*] This passage lends strong support to the mss reading in Caes. B. C. i. 15, 1, *recepto Firmo*, which has been altered to *Asculo* and *oppido*.

atque etiam te rogo et hortor, id quod non destiti superioribus litteris a te petere, ut primo quoque die Luceriam advenires, ante quam copiae, quas instituit Caesar contrahere, in unum locum coactae vos a nobis distrahant. Sed si erunt qui te impedian, ut villas suas servent, aequum est me a te impetrare ut cohortes, quae ex Piceno et Camerino venerunt, quae fortunas suas reliquerunt, ad me missum facias.

CCCXXVI. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. VII. 26).

FORMIAE ; FEBRUARY 13 ; A. U. C. 705 ; B. C. 49 ; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero aliquam spem se recepisse scribit, de condicione sua, de re familiari, de Ciceronibus pueris.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Non venit idem usu mihi quod tu tibi scribis : ' Quotiens exorior.' Ego enim nunc paullum exorior, et maxime quidem iis litteris, quae Roma adferuntur, de Domitio, de Picentium cohortibus. Omnia erant facta hoc biduo laetiora. Itaque fuga, quae parabatur, repressa est. Caesaris interdicta,

Si te secundo lumine hic offendero,

respuuntur. Bona de Domitio, praeclara de Afranio fama est.

2. Quod me amicissime admones, ut me integrum quoad possim servem, gratum est. Quod addis, ne propensior ad turpem causam

2. *advenires*] The regular sequence would be *advenias*, as the verb strictly follows *rogo et hortor* ; but the past tense of *destiti* led the writer into using *advenires*, though the clause *id quod . . . petere* is really parenthetical.

fortunas suas reliquerunt] 'who have abandoned their own interests' to serve the State.

missum facias] This seems to be downright bad Latin, but it would be dangerous to correct the style of a writer like Pompey, whose inferiority to Caesar in this respect is very striking. Perhaps none of Cicero's correspondents approach so near to his own excellence as Caesar, and certainly none of them are worse than Pompey. *Missum facere* is 'to cast aside,

abandon, throw up' a matter, and cannot be made a synonym of *mittere* by the addition of *ad me*.

1. *Non venit idem usu*] 'I have not had the same experience as you say you have had when you write *every time I feel a revival of hope*. I feel that revival only now, and only in a slight degree.' It seems better not to take *quotiens* as an exclamation. Atticus would hardly have written 'how often do I revive'! It would improve the sentence to insert *primum*, which might have fallen out before *paullum*.

Si . . . offendero] εἰ σ' ἡ' πιοῦσα λαμπὰς ὄψεται θεοῦ . . . θανεῖ, Eur. Med. 352.

2. *integrum*] 'neutral.'

videar, certe videri possum. Ego me ducem in civili bello, quoad de pace ageretur, negavi esse, non quin rectum esset, sed quia, quod multo rectius fuit, id mihi fraudem tulit. Plane eum, cui noster alterum consulatum deferret et triumphum—at quibus verbis! ‘pro tuis rebus gestis amplissimis,’—inimicum habere nolueram. Ego scio et quem metuam et quam ob rem. Sin erit bellum, ut video fore, partes meae non desiderabuntur. 3. De HS xx. Terentia tibi rescripsit. Dionysio, dum existimabam vagos nos fore, nolui molestus esse. Tibi autem crebro ad me scribenti de eius officio nihil rescripsi quod diem ex die exspectabam, ut statuerem quid esset faciendum. Nunc, ut video, pueri certe in Formiano videntur hiematuri. Et ego? Nescio. Si enim erit bellum, cum Pompeio esse constitui. Quod habebo certi faciam ut scias. Ego bellum foedissimum futurum puto, nisi qui, ut tu scribis, Parthicus casus exstiterit.

CCCXXVII. CICERO TO POMPEY (ATT. VIII. 11 B).

FORMIAE; FEBRUARY 15; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

M. CICERO IMP. S. D. CN. MAGNO PROCOS.

1. A. d. xv. Kalend. Martias Formiis accepi tuas litteras, ex quibus ea, quae in agro Piceno gesta erant, cognovi commodiora esse multo, quam ut erat nobis nuntiatum, Vibullique virtutem

non quin] ‘not but that it would have been right to take a prominent position’: cp. *non quin ipse dissentiam*, Fam. iv. 7, 1 (486).

quod multo rectius fuit] Doubtless the course which he took against Catiline as Manutius suggested.

3. HS xx.] This refers, no doubt, to the transaction with the Oppii already alluded to: cp. Att. vii. 22, 2 (320).

vagos] ‘unsettled,’ ‘on the move.’

diem ex die] ‘from day to day.’ We have *diem ex die ducere*, Caes. B. G. i. 16, 4; *diem de die prospectans*, Liv. v. 48, 6; *diem de die differre*, Liv. xxv. 25, 4. The *diem* seems to be directly governed by the verb in each case, and not to be an

accusative of duration of time.

Parthicus casus] ‘unless we have a repetition of the Parthian incident.’ The Parthians had suddenly left the province of Bibulus, at a time when he was apprehending very grave results from their invasion. Cicero writes that there is no serious cause for alarm unless Caesar should, by some chance, imitate the Parthian tactics and suddenly suspend his operations without any apparent reason: see Att. vii. 1, 2; 2, 8 (284, 293). The correction of *scis* of the mss to *scribis* seems necessary; *ut tu scis* could not mean ‘which you remember,’ and the natural sense of the words does not fit the context.

industriamque libenter agnovi. Nos adhuc in ea ora, ubi prae-positi sumus, ita fuimus, ut navem paratam haberemus. Ea enim audiebamus et ea verebamur ut, quodcumque tu consilium praecepisses, id nobis persequendum putaremus. Nunc quoniam auctoritate et consilio tuo in spe firmiore sumus, si teneri posse putas Tarracinam et oram maritimam, in ea manebo, etsi praesidia in oppidis nulla sunt. Nemo enim nostri ordinis in his locis est praeter M. Eppium, quem ego Minturnis esse volui, vigilantem hominem et industrium. Nam L. Torquatum, virum fortem et cum auctoritate, Formiis non habemus, ad te profectum arbitramur.

2. Ego omnino, ut proxime tibi placuerat, Capuam veni eo ipso die, quo tu Teano Sidicino es profectus. Volueras enim me cum M. Considio pro praetore illa negotia tueri. Cum eo venissem, vidi T. Ampium dilectum habere diligentissime, ab eo accipere Libonem, summa item diligentia et in illa colonia auctoritate. Fui Capuae quoad consules. Iterum, ut erat edictum a consulibus, veni Capuam ad Nonas Februar. Cum fuisset triduum, recepi me Formias.

3. Nunc quod tuum consilium aut quae ratio belli sit ignoro. Si tenendam hanc oram putas, quae et opportunitatem et dignitatem habet et egregios cives et, ut arbitror, teneri potest, opus est esse qui praesit. Sin omnia in unum locum contrahenda

1. *ubi*] It is unnecessary to change *ubi* to *cui*. The verbs *praeesse*, *praeponi*, *prae-ficere*, are used absolutely. For instance we have *in eo exercitu . . . fratrem prae-fecerat*, 'he had given him a commission,' Sest. 41; *illo loco praepositus*, 'given a command there,' Liv. xxvii. 15, 15.

cum auctoritate] 'a man of weight, of importance'—a strange phrase. These words could not refer to the fact that he held the praetorship; nor could *cum auctoritate* be regarded as parallel to such a phrase as *cum imperio*. Possibly *cum* may be a corruption of *summa*.

2. *Teano Sidicino*] an inland town in Campania, so called to distinguish it from another Teanum in Apulia.

T. Ampium] For this Ampius Balbus, who was called *tuba belli civilis*, see introductory note to Fam. vi. 12 (490).

ab eo accipere Libonem] 'that L. has taken over the command of the troops raised by Ampius.'

ad Nonas] 'for the 5th'; that is, 'so as to be there on the 5th.'

3. *opportunitatem et dignitatem*] 'Capua has a favourable position, and is a town of importance.' *Opportunitatem habet* probably refers to the favourableness of its position 'for keeping up communications with Spain, and for threatening Caesar's hold of the capital' (Watson). The expression in Greek would be *καλῶς κεῖται πρὸς*.

esse qui praesit] This is Cicero's resignation of his commission, so far as it included the protection of Capua, and is the act to which he afterwards refers in the words *a me Capuam reiiciebam*, Att. viii. 11 D, 5 (343); *Capuam . . . accipere nolui*, 12, 2 (345); but he did at first accept the charge of Capua, for he writes *nos Capuam sumpsimus*, Fam. xvi. 11, 4 (301), and *invite cepi Capuam*, Att. viii. 3, 4 (333), so that *sumere*, *capere*, are merely to 'take in hand' a commission, while *accipere* is 'formally to undertake it,' just as *accipere* in this letter means 'to take over the command' of troops.

sunt, non dubito quin ad te statim veniam, quo mihi nihil optatius est, idque tecum, quo die ab urbe discessimus, locutus sum. Ego, si cui adhuc videor segnior fuisse, dum ne tibi videar, non laboro, et tamen, si, ut video, bellum gerendum est, confido me omnibus facile satis facturum. 4. M. Tullium, meum necessarium, ad te misi cui tu, si tibi videretur, ad me litteras dares.

CCCXXVIII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. VIII. 1).

FORMIAE: FEBRUARY 16; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero Attico scribit se Pompeii litteris invitatum esse Luceriam, se invitum in eam causam descendere, sed tamen eo iturum esse, non quod auctoritate Pompeii, sed beneficio moveatur.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Cum ad te litteras dedissem, redditae mihi litterae sunt a Pompeio: cetera de rebus in Piceno gestis, quae ad se Vibullius scripsisset, de dilectu Domitii—quae sunt vobis nota, nec tamen tam laeta erant in his litteris, quam ad me Philotimus scripserat: ipsam tibi epistolam misissem, nisi tam subito fratris puer proficiscebatur; cras igitur mittam—sed in ea Pompeii epistola erat in extremo ipsius manu: 'Tu, censeo, Luceriam venias: nusquam eris tutius.' Id ego in eam partem accepi, haec oppida atque oram maritimam illum pro derelicto habere, nec sum miratus eum, qui caput ipsum reliquisset, reliquis membris non parcere. 2. Ei statim rescripsi hominemque certum misi de comitibus meis, *me* non quaerere, ubi tutissimo essem: si me vellet sua aut rei publicae causa Luceriam venire, statim esse venturum, hortatusque sum, ut

statim veniam] Cicero did not carry out this promise; he left Formiae with the intention of doing so, but returned thither, fearing lest he should fall in with Caesar: cp. Att. viii. 3, 7 (333).

1. *scripsisset*] 'which (Pompey said) Vibullius had told him'; but *quae sunt vobis nota*, because these words are Cicero's.

sed] resumptive after the parenthesis, as usual.

in extremo] 'at the end'; *in extremo*, in clvii. 1, means 'when things have come to the worst.'

2. *tutissimo*] The form used by Pompey in Att. viii. 11 A (322) (which seems to be a part of the actual letter here summarized) is *tutissime*; no analogy is quoted except *meritissimo* from *merito*.

oram maritimam retineret, si rem frumentariam sibi ex provinciis suppeditari vellet. Hoc me frustra scribere videbam. Sed uti in urbe retinenda tunc, sic nunc in Italia non relinquenda testificabar sententiam meam. Sic enim parari video, ut Luceriam omnes copiae contrahantur—et ne is quidem locus stabilis—sed ex eo ipso, si urgeamur, paretur fuga. 3. Quo minus mirere, si invitus in eam causam descendo, in qua neque pacis neque victoriae ratio quaesita sit umquam, sed semper flagitiosae et calamitosae fugae. Eundum, ut, quemcumque fors tulerit casum, subeam potius cum iis, qui dicuntur esse boni, quam videar a bonis dissentire. Etsi propediem video bonorum, id est, lautorum et locupletium, urbem refertam fore, municipiis vero his relictis refertissimam. Quo ego in numero essem, si hos lictores molestissimos non haberem. Nec me M'. Lepidi, L. Volcatii, Ser. Sulpicii comitum paeniteret, quorum nemo nec stultior est quam L. Domitius nec inconstantior quam App. Claudius. 4. Unus Pompeius me movet, beneficio, non auctoritate. Quam enim ille habeat auctoritatem in hac causa? qui, cum omnes Caesarem metuebamus, ipse eum diligebat, postquam ipse metuere coepit, putat omnes hostes illi oportere esse. Ibimus tamen Luceriam, nec eum fortasse delectabit noster adventus. Dissimulare enim non potero mihi quae adhuc acta sint displicere. Ego si somnum capere possem, tam longis te epistolis non obtunderem. Tu, si tibi eadem causa est, me remunerere sane velim.

et . . . stabilis] It is better to regard this as a parenthesis than to take two liberties with the text by changing *et* to *ut*, and inserting *sit*. We have the characteristic mark of a parenthesis in *sed*. He was going to say 'I see their plan is to collect all their forces at Luceria and make a general stampede if hard pressed'; but, having inserted the reflection, 'indeed Luceria itself is not a very secure retreat,' he was obliged to introduce the last clause by the conjunction *sed*.

3. *Eundum*] Manutius would add *Luce-*

riam, and Boot would change *eundum* to *faciendum*; but cp. *eundum*, Att. ix. 2 a, 4; *ibitur*, x. 15, 3; *eatur*, xiii. 42, 3.

paeniteret] 'I should not be dissatisfied with Lepidus, &c., as associates (in my design of returning to Rome); none of them are stupider than Domitius, or more unstable than Appius (who have adopted the other alternative of flying with Pompey.)'

4. *eadem causa*] If you too are kept awake by reflecting on the unsatisfactory state of affairs.

CCCXXIX. POMPEY TO DOMITIUS (ATT. VIII. 12 C).

LUCERIA ; FEBRUARY 16 ; A. U. C. 705 ; B. C. 49 ; AET. CIC. 57.

CN. MAGNUS PROCOS. S. D. L. DOMITIO PROCOS.

1. Litteras abs te M. Calenius ad me attulit a. d. XIII. Kal. Martias, in quibus litteris scribis tibi in animo esse observare Caesarem et, si secundum mare ad me ire coepisset, confestim in Samnium ad me venturum, sin autem ille circum istaec loca commoraretur, te ei, si propius accessisset, resistere velle. Te animo magno et forti istam rem agere existimo, sed diligentius nobis est videndum ne distracti pares esse adversario non possimus, cum ille magnas copias habeat et maiores brevi habiturus sit. Non enim pro tua providentia debes illud solum animadvertere, quot in praesentia cohortes contra te habeat Caesar, sed quantas brevi tempore equitum et peditum copias contracturus sit. Cui rei testimonio sunt litterae, quas Bussenius ad me misit, in quibus scribit, id quod ab aliis quoque mihi scribitur, praesidia Curionem, quae in Umbria et Tuscis erant, contrahere et ad Caesarem iter facere. Quae si copiae in unum locum fuerint coactae, ut pars exercitus ad Albam mittatur, pars ad te accedat, ut non pugnet, sed locis suis repugnet, haerebis, neque solus cum ista copia tantam multitudinem sustinere poteris, ut frumentatum eas. 2. Quam ob rem te magno opere hortor, ut quam primum cum omni copia huc venias. Consules constituerunt idem facere. Ego M. Tuscilio ad te mandata dedi providendum esse ne duae legiones sine Picentinis cohortibus in conspectum Caesaris committerentur. Quam ob rem nolito commoveri, si audieris me regredi, si forte Caesar ad me veniet: cavendum enim puto esse ne implicatus haeream. Nam neque castra propter anni tempus et militum animos facere possum

1. *secundum mare*] sc. *Superum*, as appears from the places mentioned in Att. viii. 12 B (325).

ut pars exercitus . . . eas] 'even though a part of the army should be sent to Alba, and only a part should oppose you, even though he should not offer battle, but merely defend his positions, still you will

be in an *impasse*, and you will not be able with you following to make head against such a force even sufficiently to allow of your sending out foraging parties.' For *ut* = 'though, supposing,' see on Att. viii. 3, 5 (333).

2. *nolito commoveri*] 'don't stir.'

neque ex omnibus oppidis contrahere copias expedit, ne receptum amittam. Itaque non amplius XIII. cohortes Luceriam cœgi. 3. Consules praesidia omnia *ad me* deducturi sunt aut in Siciliam ituri. Nam aut exercitum firmum habere oportet, quo confidamus perrumpere nos posse, aut regiones eius modi obtinere e quibus repugnemus: id quod neutrum nobis hoc tempore contigit, quod et magnam partem Italiae Caesar occupavit et nos non habemus exercitum tam amplum neque tam magnum quam ille. Itaque nobis providendum est ut summam rei publicae rationem habeamus. Etiam atque etiam te hortor, ut cum omni copia quam primum ad me venias. Possumus etiam nunc rem publicam erigere, si communi consilio negotium administrabimus: si distrahemur, infirmi erimus. Mihi hoc constitutum est. 4. His litteris scriptis Sicca abs te mihi litteras attulit et mandata. Quod me hortare ut istuc veniam, id me facere non arbitror posse, quod non magno opere iis legionibus confido.

CCCXXX. POMPEY TO DOMITIUS (ATT. VIII. 12 D).

LUCERIA; FEBRUARY 17; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

CN. MAGNUS PROCOS. S. D. L. DOMITIO PROCOS.

1. Litterae mihi a te redditae sunt a. d. XIII. Kal. Martias, in quibus scribis Caesarem apud Corfinium castra posuisse. Quod putavi et praemonui fit, ut nec in praesentia committere tecum proelium velit et omnibus copiis conductis te implicet, ne ad me iter tibi expeditum sit atque istas copias coniungere optimorum civium possis cum iis legionibus, de quarum voluntate dubitamus:

3. *obtinere*] 'to get and hold'; *obtinere* always means more than 'to obtain.'

amplum] There does not seem to be any distinction between *amplum* and *magnum*; for the collocation of these adjectives cp. Imp. Pomp. 37; Caec. ap. Fam. vi. 7, 6 (532).

copia] see on Att. viii. 12 A (331).

1. *ut . . . velit*] For this explanatory use of the subjunctive with *ut* see on Ep.

xii. 47, 'all that I foretold has happened, his refusing battle, and hemming you in, so that you cannot go where you want, and unite your thoroughly loyal contingent with my men, whose allegiance is doubtful.' Pompey relied on the army of Domitius to hold in check his two legions which had served under Caesar.

voluntate] The dative both of the person and the thing is more usual than the ablative after *confidere*: cp. Schmalz, Antibarbar. pp. 294-95.

p. 54, 2

quo etiam magis tuis litteris sum commotus. Neque enim eorum militum, quos mecum habeo, voluntate satis confido, ut de omnibus fortunis rei publicae dimicem, neque etiam, qui ex dilectibus conscripti sunt consulibus, convenerunt. 2. Qua re da operam, si ulla ratione etiam nunc efficere potes, ut te explices, huc quam primum venias, ante quam omnes copiae *ad* adversarium conveniant. Neque enim celeriter ex dilectibus huc homines convenire possunt et, si convenirent, quantum iis committendum sit, qui inter se ne noti *quidem* sunt, contra veteranas legiones non te praeterit.

CCCXXXI. POMPEY TO THE CONSULS (ATT. VIII. 12 A).

LUCERIA ; FEBRUARY 17 ; A. U. C. 705 ; B. C. 49 ; AET. CIC. 57.

CN. MAGNUS PROCOS. S. D. C. MARCELLO L. LENTULO COSS.

1. Ego, quod existimabam dispersos nos neque rei publicae utiles neque nobis praesidio esse posse, idcirco ad L. Domitium litteras misi, primum uti ipse cum omni copia ad nos veniret: si de se dubitaret, ut cohortes XIX., quae ex Piceno ad me iter habebant, ad nos mitteret. Quod veritus sum, factum est, ut Domitius implicaretur neque ipse satis firmus esset ad castra facienda, quod meas XIX. et suas XII. cohortes tribus in oppidis distributas haberet—nam partim Albae, partim Sulmone collocavit—, neque *se*, si vellet, expedire posset. 2. Nunc scitote me esse in summa sollicitudine. Nam et tot et tales viros periculo obsidionis liberare cupio, neque subsidio ire possum, quod his duabus legionibus non puto esse committendum ut illuc ducantur, ex quibus tamen non amplius XVI.

consulibus] ‘for the consuls’: see note on *Fausto*, Att. viii. 3, 7 (333).

2. *si convenirent*] ‘even if the new recruits were concentrated on this point, you cannot fail to see how little we could trust them—they do not even know each other by sight—when opposed to experienced troops.’ For *quantum*, ‘how little,’ cp. Att. iii. 9, 2 (65); xi. 13, 1 (428). Care must be taken to render the indicative *noti sunt* correctly, as being merely the statement of Pompey about them, and not a description of them, which would demand the subjunctive *sint*.

1. *copia*] This word in the singular denotes a hastily-raised and irregular levy, and may be translated ‘following’ [used of Catiline’s force in Mur. 78, J.S.R.], while *copiae* is the word for regular troops. Pompey frequently applies *copia* to his own army, and *copiae* to that of Caesar.

habebant] If *habebant* is retained, and not corrected to *haberent*, we must understand that Pompey here informs the consuls that their cohorts were on their way at the time when he wrote to Domitius, ‘I wrote to Domitius to send me

cohortes contrahere potui, quod *duas* Brundisium misi, neque Canusium sine praesidio, dum abessem, putavi esse dimittendum.

3. D. Laelio mandaram, quod maiores copias sperabam nos habituros, ut, si vobis videretur, alteruter vestrum ad me veniret, alter in Siciliam cum ea copia, quam Capuae et circum Capuam comparastis, et cum iis militibus, quos Faustus legit, proficisceretur, Domitius cum XII. suis cohortibus eodem adiungeretur, reliquae copiae omnes Brundisium cogerentur et inde navibus Dyrrhachium transportarentur. Nunc, cum hoc tempore nihilo magis ego quam vos subsidio Domitio ire possim, se per montes explicare, non est nobis committendum, ut ad has XIV. cohortes, quas dubio animo habeo, hostis accedere aut in itinere me consequi possit.

4. Quam ob rem placitum est mihi (taliam video censi Marcello et ceteris nostri ordinis, qui hic sunt), ut Brundisium ducerem hanc copiam, quam mecum habeo. Vos hortor, ut, quodcumque militum contrahere poteritis, contrahatis et eodem [Brundisium] veniatis quam primum. Arma quae ad me missuri eratis, iis censeo armetis milites, quos vobiscum habetis. Quae arma superabunt, ea si Brundisium iumentis deportaritis, vehementer rei publicae profueritis. De hac re velim nostros certiores faciatis: ego ad P. Lupum et C. Coponium praetores misi, ut se vobis coniungerent et militum quod haberent ad vos deducerent.

CCCXXXII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. VIII. 2).

FORMIAE; FEBRUARY 17; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

De litteris Attici, de litteris ad Caesarem a se datis, de perdita causa Pompeii et misera condicione sua, de sententia Attici, ut ipse etiam Italia, si ille cedat, fugiat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Mihi vero omnia grata, et quod scripsisti ad me quae audieras et quod non credidisti quae digna diligentia mea non erant et

the nineteen cohorts, which as a matter of fact were on their way to me.'

2. *duas*] Supplied from Att. viii. 3, 7 (333).

3. *se per montes*] Some such words as *neque ipse possit* must have fallen out after *possim*.

4. *taliam . . . censi*] Another remarkable example of Pompey's carelessness of

style, *taliam placere Marcello* would be the right expression. *Talia* is our correction of *alcia* (*altia*) of M; Dr. Reid suggests *nec alia*. The attraction of *arma* to *quae*, and the epanalepsis of *arma* by *iis* are also inelegant, though found in Cicero.

iumentis] 'by baggage wagons.'

1. *quod non credidisti*] 'I am obliged to

quod monuisti quod sentiebas. Ego ad Caesarem unas Capua litteras dedi, quibus ad ea rescripsi, quae mecum ille de gladiatoribus suis egerat, breves, sed benevolentiam significantes, non modo sine contumelia, sed etiam cum maxima laude Pompeii. Id enim illa sententia postulabat, qua illum ad concordiam hortabar. Eas si quo ille misit, in publico proponat velim. Alteras eodem die dedi, quo has ad te. Non potui non dare, cum et ipse ad me scripsisset et Balbus. Earum exemplum ad te misi. 2. Nihil arbitror fore quod reprehendas. Si qua erunt, doce me quo modo μέμψιν effugere possim. Nihil, inquires, omnino scripseris. Qui magis effugias eos, qui volent fingere? Verum tamen ita faciam, quoad fieri poterit. Nam quod me hortaris ad memoriam factorum, dictorum, scriptorum etiam meorum, facis amice tu quidem mihi que gratissimum, sed mihi videris aliud tu honestum meque dignum in hac causa iudicare atque ego existimem. Mihi enim nihil ulla in gente umquam ab ullo auctore rei publicae ac duce turpius factum esse videtur, quam a nostro amico factum est: cuius ego vicem doleo: qui urbem reliquit, id est, patriam, pro qua et in qua mori praeclarum fuit. 3. Ignorare mihi videris haec quanta sit clades. Es enim etiam nunc domi tuae. Sed invitis perditissimis hominibus esse diutius non potes. Hoc miserius, hoc turpius quidquam? Vagamur egentes cum coniugibus et liberis. In unius hominis quotannis periculose aegrotantis anima positas omnes nostras spes habemus, non expulsi, sed evocati ex patria, quam non servandam ad reditum nostrum, sed diripiendam et inflammandam reliquimus. Ita multi nobiscum sunt, non in suburbanis, non in hortis, non in

you for not believing a report which reflected on my energy in the discharge of my duties, and for letting me know your own opinion.' *Ille* and *illum* in the succeeding sentences refer to Caesar.

si quo ille misit] 'if Caesar has passed on my letter to any one (I care not); he may post up all that I write to him as a public advertisement.' We learn from Att. viii. 9, 1 (340), that Caesar did communicate Cicero's letters to others.

2. μέμψιν] This is the conjecture of Gronovius for *esse* of M¹; M² gives *enim*, which is not very unlike MEMTIN, the form in which M gives μέμψιν in Att. xiii. 13, 2 *neque . . . potero μέμψιν effugere*. Brandt ingeniously suggested that *e nassa* lay hidden under *esse* and *enim*, but the

Greek word is the more likely to be corrupted, and is rendered probable by the closely parallel passage in Att. xiii. 13.

auctore rei p.] This expression is about the nearest in Latin to our 'statesman.'

3. *periculose aegrotantis*] See Mayor on Juv. x. 283, where Cic. Tusc. i. 86, Vell. ii. 48, and all the passages touching on the recovery of Pompey in Campania, and moralizings thereon are collected.

Ita multi . . . non erunt] If these words are allowed to stand as in the text, the interpretation of them must be that given by Schütz: 'so many Pompeians are with us (sharing the flight of Pompey), not in their suburban villas (from which they might have been able to defend the city), not in Rome itself; and if some are

ipsa urbe, et si nunc sunt, non erunt. Nos interea ne Capuae quidem, sed Luceriae, et oram quidem maritimam iam relinquemus, Afranium expectabimus et Petreium. Nam in Labieno parum est dignitatis. Hic tu in me illud desideras. Nihil de me dico, alii viderint. Hic quidem quae est . . . ? Domi vestrae estis et eritis omnes boni. Quis tunc se mihi non ostendit? quis nunc adest hoc bello? Sic enim iam appellandum est. 4. Vibullii res gestae sunt adhuc maximae. Id ex Pompeii litteris cognosces: in quibus animadvertito illum locum, ubi erit διπλῆ. Videbis de Gnaeo nostro ipse Vibullius quid existimet. Quo igitur haec spectat oratio? Ego pro Pompeio libenter emori possum: facio pluris omnium hominum neminem. Sed non sitam in eo iudico spem de salute rei publicae. Significas enim aliquanto secus quam solebas, ut etiam Italia, si ille cedat, putes cedendum. Quod ego nec rei publicae puto esse utile nec liberis meis, praeterea neque rectum neque honestum. Sed cur 'Poterisne igitur videre tyrannum?'—Quasi intersit audiam an videam aut locupletior mihi sit

now in Rome, they will soon be there no longer.' But this is a directly contradictory sentiment to that which he expressed in Att. viii. 1, 3 (328), *etsi propediem video, bonorum urbem refertam fore*, and to that which he expresses a little further on in this letter, *domi vestrae estis et eritis omnes boni*; there he says the Pompeians are likely to flock to Rome; how, then, can he say here that those who are now there are likely to leave it? Yet he has just said to Atticus 'you are in your house now, but you may soon be forced by ruffians (meaning of course the Caesarians) to leave it.' Boot's proposed remodelling of the sentence is still more unsatisfactory, since it amounts to this, that he describes as *abandonment* of the city the conduct of those who still linger in its vicinity, instead of joining Pompey. Surely those who have abandoned the city to its fate, are those who have joined Pompey. We can only say that two thoughts seem to be struggling for expression in Cicero's mind, one that the abandonment of Rome was an unpatriotic act, the other, that even should the Pompeians concentrate themselves in Rome, in their present unnerved condition they would do little to protect it.

Capuae . . . Luceriae] *Sumus* must be supplied.

Afranium . . . Petreium] Pompey's lieutenants in Spain.

dignitatis] because Labienus had been a strong partisan of Caesar, and his *volte-face* to Pompeianism did not raise his character. Besides, he was socially inferior to the other Pompeians, who were for the most part *nobiles*.

illud] This might refer to *dignitatem*, as *hoc* to *optimam causam* in Att. vii. 25 (324), where see note. But it seems highly probable that a Greek word, τὸ σεμνόν, πρόσχημα, ἀξίωμα, or the like, has fallen out.

quae est] This either refers to *dignitas*, or a Greek word has fallen out, perhaps σεμνότης or ἀξίωσις.

tunc] on the occasion of the Catilinarian conspiracy, no doubt.

4. διπλῆ] a marginal mark used by grammarians, like a V lying on its side, to indicate anything notable, or (in dramatic poetry) to mark the appearance of a new speaker.

Sed cur] The difficulty here which edd. have sought to solve by emendation or omission can easily be met by striking out the mark of interrogation immediately after *cur*. The meaning will then be 'But why will you be able to look on the tyrant's face?' That is, what is the meaning of this question asked by you in your letter? The ellipse of some such word as *rogas* or *scribis* is the rule, not the exception, in these letters.

quaerendus auctor quam Socrates, qui, cum xxx. tyranni essent, pedem porta non extulit. Est mihi praeterea praecipua causa manendi, de qua utinam aliquando tecum loquar. Ego XIII. Kalend. cum eadem lucerna hanc epistolam scripsissem, qua inflammaram tuam, Formiis ad Pompeium, si de pace agetur, profecturus, si de bello—quid ero?

CCCXXXIII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. VIII. 3).

CALES; NIGHT OF FEBRUARY 18 AND 19; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET.
CIC. 57.

M. Cicero cum Attico per has litteras deliberat quid sibi, si Pompeius Italia cedat, agendum putet, et quo facilius ille consilium dare possit, quid sibi in utramque partem in mentem veniat explicat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Maximis et miserrimis rebus perturbatus, cum coram tecum mihi potestas deliberandi non esset, uti tamen tuo consilio volui. Deliberatio autem omnis haec est: si Pompeius Italia cedat, quod eum facturum esse suspicor, quid mihi agendum putes, et quo facilius consilium dare possis, quid in utramque partem mihi in mentem veniat explicabo brevi. 2. Cum merita Pompeii summa erga salutem meam familiaritasque, quae mihi cum eo est, tum ipsa rei publicae causa me adducit, ut mihi vel consilium meum cum illius consilio vel fortuna *mea cum illius fortuna* coniungenda esse videatur. Accedit illud: si maneo et illum comitatum optimorum et clarissimorum civium desero, cadendum est in unius

praecipua causa] probably connected with his growing distrust of Terentia.

ad Pompeium] *Ire cogitabam* must be understood, for *profecturus* could not stand for *profecturus eram* even if it came from *proficisci*; but surely it comes from *proficio*: the meaning is 'I am off to join Pompey, and am likely to do some good if we are to discuss the means of preserving peace; if the talk is to be about the conduct of the war, what good shall I be?' cp. Att. viii. 12, 4 (345), *ecquae pacifica persona desideretur an in bellatore sint omnia*; see also viii. 15, fin. (350), and 15 A (346). For *quid ero* = *qualis*

ero, cp. *quid erimus*, x. 8, 4 (392), and Reid on Acad. ii. 76.

1. *Deliberatio*] 'The whole question to be considered is this: what you think I ought to do if Pompey leaves Italy.'

2. *consilium*] 'decision': cp. *subito consilium cepi*, Att. vii. 10, 1 (303).

mea cum illius fortuna] The italicised words afford a good example of *corruptio ex homoeoteleuto*. After the copyist had written *fortuna* he raised his eyes from the task, and resumed after *fortuna* where it occurs for the second time.

comitatum] 'company.'

potestatem, qui etsi multis rebus significat se nobis esse amicum—et ut esset a me est, tute scis, propter suspicionem huius impendentis tempestatis multo ante provisum—tamen utrumque considerandum est, et quanta fides ei sit habenda et, si maxime exploratum sit eum nobis amicum fore, sitne viri fortis et boni civis esse in ea urbe, in qua cum summis honoribus imperiisque usus sit, res maximas gesserit, sacerdotio sit amplissimo praeditus, non futurus . . ., subeundumque periculum sit, cum aliquo forte dedecore, si quando Pompeius rem publicam recuperarit. 3. In hac parte haec sunt. Vide nunc quae sint in altera. Nihil actum est a Pompeio nostro sapienter, nihil fortiter: addo etiam, nihil nisi contra consilium auctoritatemque meam. Omitto illa vetera, quod istum in rem publicam ille aluit, auxit, armavit, ille legibus per vim et contra auspicia ferendis auctor, ille Galliae ulterioris adiunctor, ille gener, ille in adoptando P. Clodio augur, ille restituendi mei quam retinendi studiosior, ille provinciae propagator, ille absentis in omnibus adiutor, idem etiam tertio consulatu,

qui] agrees with *significat*; render 'I must fall into the hands of an individual (Caesar), and although he shows his kindly feeling for me in many ways (I took good care to try to earn it with this crisis before my eyes), yet two things must be considered.' The parenthetic clause is an instance of *parataxis* for *hypotaxis*, not rare in the letters.

non futurus] Some word or words must have fallen out here such as *sit idem*, or *sit sui iuris*; the conject. of Gronovius *nomen futurus sit* is brilliant, but *nomen* = 'a mere name' is hardly in keeping with the style of the letters, and is not supported by Att. v. 15, 1, *nomen duarum legionum exilium*, which means 'two contingents which, though called legions, are mere skeletons,' a passage from which *exilis* might better be taken to express the thought required in this passage.

forte] The reading of M is *fore*, but *periculum* would naturally be followed by *ne* with the subjunctive, though Lehmann quotes *timor* with infinitive from De Orat. 334. The change is slight, and it cannot be objected that the disgrace would be certain, and not merely possible, in case of Pompey's victory. Such a contingency would have exposed Cicero to peril if he now abandoned Pompey, but not to disgrace, unless he could be shown to have done so from unworthy motives.

3. *istum]* sc. Caesarem. *Ille* is Pompey.

contra auspicia] Bibulus announced *se servaturum de caelo* for a great part of the year, which would render legislation irregular during that time.

in adoptando] 'he who sanctioned as augur the adoption of Clodius (by Fonteius), and was more zealous about procuring my restoration than preventing my banishment.' These two sins of Pompey against Cicero himself are rather characteristically inserted among the instances of Pompey's relations with Caesar; but these wrongs to Cicero were wrongs done to the constitution in his person.

propagator] Pompey prolonged the tenure of Caesar's provincial government in 55.

idem] This should in strict conformity with prevailing usage introduce some act of Pompey inconsistent with those previously recited, and should mean 'and yet'; but that is not the meaning here; there is no adversativeness in the sentence; he who was guilty of all the connivance with Caesar already described, 'also' struggled to induce the ten tribunes to propose the law allowing him to stand for the consulship, without coming to Rome, and resisted Marcellus when he wanted to fix the Calends of March as the limit of Caesar's tenure of his provinces. The force

postquam esse defensor rei publicae coepit, contendit, ut decem tribuni pl. ferrent ut absentis ratio haberetur, quod idem ipse sanxit lege quadam sua, Marcoque Marcello consuli finienti provincias Gallias Kalendarum Martiarum die restitit. Sed, ut haec omittam, quid foedius, quid perturbatius hoc ab urbe discessu sive potius turpissima nequissima fuga? Quae condicio non accipienda fuit potius quam relinquenda patria? Malae condiciones erant. Fateor, sed num quid hoc peius? 4. At recuperabit rem publicam. Quando? aut quid ad eam spem est parati? Non ager Picenus amissus? non patefactum iter ad urbem? non pecunia omnis et publica et privata adversario tradita? Denique nulla causa, nullae vires, nulla sedes quo concurrant qui rem publicam defensam velint. Apulia delecta est, inanissima pars Italiae et ab impetu huius belli remotissima, fuga et maritima opportunitas visa quaeri desperatione. Invite cepi Capuam, non quo munus illud defugerem, sed *ut* in ea causa, in qua nullus esset ordinum, nullus apertus privatorum dolor, bonorum autem esset aliquis, sed hebes, ut solet; et, ut ipse sensi, esset multitudo et infimus quisque propensus in alteram partem; multi mutationis

of *idem* is, that not only when he was a confessed supporter of Caesar, but even when he had made overtures to the Optimates, and thus dissociated himself ostensibly from Caesar, he did all he could to advance Caesar to the position which he now held: cp. vol. III., p. lxiv.

4. *nulla causa*] 'no definite policy': see note on Att. vii. 3, 5 (294).

inanissima] 'least populous.'

impetu] 'brunt.'

fuga et maritima opp.] This may almost be called a hendiadys, 'the opportunity of flight which the seaboard affords.'

Invite cepi] The reading of the mss is *in te cepi*. Now it is clear from a comparison of passages in the letters that Cicero originally undertook the protection of Capua together with the rest of the sea coast. He writes *nos Capuam sumpsimus*, Fam. xvi. 11, 4 (301): see also Fam. xvi. 12, 5 (312); Att. viii. 11 B, 2 (327). But it is equally clear that he afterwards divested himself of all responsibility for Capua, which he thought could not be held without an armed force (*exercitu praesidio*): cp. Att. viii. 11 D, 5 (343), *a me Capuam reiciebam quod feci non vitandi oneris causa sed quod videbam teneri illam*

urbem sine exercitu non posse. The old reading *invite cepi* would, therefore, well suit the meaning, 'it was against my will I undertook Capua'; he does not think it necessary to add 'and afterwards repudiated that part of my commission,' because he knows that Atticus is aware of the fact. Hence it is not necessary to make such violent alterations of the text as *non recepi* or *reieci*. When Boot says, against the reading *invite*, that *hoc adverbio Cicero nusquam utitur* he is mistaken, as it occurs in a passage of unimpeachable soundness, *quem ego paulo ante sciebam vel prudentius vel invitius (nolo enim dicere de tam suavi homine fastidiosius) ad hoc genus sermonis accedere*, De Or. ii. 364. It is hardly necessary to remind our readers how easily *ni* would fall out after *in*; obviously *ni* might have been taken for a dittography of *in*, and deliberately struck out. *Capere* is a word which often expresses the *assuming* of a commission, e. g. Ter. Phorm. i. 2, 23, *O Geta provinciam cepisti duram*.

ut in ea causa] The insertion of *ut* greatly improves the sense 'with that reluctance which one would feel in such a cause.'

rerum cupidi. Dixi ipsi me nihil suscepturum sine praesidio et sine pecunia. 5. Itaque habui nihil omnino negotii, quod ab initio vidi nihil quaeri praeter fugam. Eam si nunc sequor, quonam? Cum illo non: ad quem cum essem profectus, cognovi in iis locis esse Caesarem, ut tuto Luceriam venire non possem. Infero mari nobis, incerto cursu, hieme maxima navigandum est. Age iam cum fratre an sine eo cum filio an quo modo? In utraque enim re summa difficultas erit, summus animi dolor. Qui autem impetus illius erit in nos absentes fortunasque nostras? Acrior quam in ceterorum, quod putabit fortasse in nobis violandis aliquid se habere populare. Age iam, has compedes, fasces, inquam, hos laureatos eferre ex Italia quam molestum est! Qui autem locus erit nobis tutus, ut iam placatis utamur fluctibus, ante quam ad illum venerimus? Qua autem aut quo, nihil scimus. 6. At si restitero et fueris nobis in hac parte locus, idem fecero quod in Cinnae dominatione L. Philippus, quod L. Flaccus, quod Q. Mucius, quoquo modo ea res huic quidem cecidit, qui tamen ita dicere solebat se id fore videre, quod factum est, sed malle quam armatum ad patriae moenia accedere. Aliter Thrasybulus, et fortasse melius. Sed est certa quaedam illa Mucii ratio atque sententia, est illa etiam [Philippi], et, cum sit necesse, servire tempori et non amittere tempus, cum sit datum. Sed in hoc ipso

ipsi] sc. Pompeio.

5. *Itaque . . . negotii*] 'consequently I have had no responsibility at all,' Jeans.

Eam si nunc sequor] 'if I now turn my thoughts to flight.'

impetus illius] 'how Caesar will wreak his rage on me.'

se habere populare] From this we learn that Cicero had not yet lived down the unpopularity incurred by him for his high-handed proceedings against the Catilinarian conspirators: cp. *ut mea persona semper ad improborum civium impetus aliquid videretur habere populare*, Att. viii. 11 D, 7 (343).

compedes] He gives this name to his *fasces*, as *fettering* his freedom of action.

ut iam] 'even supposing for argument's sake'; he had spoken above of his apprehension that the voyage would be a rough one. For *ut iam* see Madv. on Fin. iv, 66; so often *si iam* in Lucretius. *Illum* refers to Pompey.

6. *in hac parte*] 'on Caesar's side.' L.

Marcus Philippus, and L. Valerius Flaccus, and Q. Mucius Scaevola remained in Rome during the Cinna revolution when the rest of their party fled to Sulla's camp. Thrasybulus, on the other hand, left Athens during the sway of the Thirty Tyrants, but returned to overthrow them. Cicero goes on to say that both these courses of conduct may be defended. Scaevola was put to death by the order of C. Marius the younger: hence Cicero says of him 'who, though the step had a tragical issue in his case, yet used to say that he foresaw the result and accepted it in preference to marching against his country.'

certa quaedam] 'thoroughly well grounded'; the adjective is strengthened by *quaedam*, Hofmann; but *quidam* generally on the contrary qualifies the force of a substantive, as in *quaedam spes*, § 7, or of an adjective; see note on *contempti cuiusdam*, Att. viii. 4, 1 (335).

illa etiam] This certainly refers to the policy described in the words *et cum sit . . .*

habent tamen iidem fasces molestiam. Sit enim nobis amicus, quod incertum est, sed sit, deferet triumphum. Non accipere *vereor* ne periculosum sit *apud ipsum*, accipere invidiosum ad bonos. O rem, inquis, difficilem et inexplicabilem! Atque explicanda est. Quid enim fieri potest? Ac ne me existimaris ad manendum esse propensio-rem, quod plura in eam partem verba fecerim, potest fieri, quod fit in multis quaestionibus, ut res verbosior haec fuerit, illa verior. Quam ob rem ut maxima de re aequo animo delib-eranti, ita mihi des consilium velim. Navis et in Caieta est parata nobis et Brundisii. 7. Sed ecce nuntii scribente me haec ipsa noctu in Caleno, ecce litterae Caesarem ad Corfinium, Domitium Corfinii cum firmo exercitu et pugnare cupiente. Non puto etiam hoc Gnaeum nostrum commissurum, ut Domitium relinquat, etsi Brundisium Scipionem cum cohortibus duabus praemiserat, legio-nem Fausto conscriptam in Siciliam sibi placere a consule duci scripserat ad consules. Sed turpe Domitium deserere implorantem eius auxilium. Est quaedam spes, mihi quidem non magna, sed in his locis firma, Afranium in Pyrenaeo cum Trebonio pugnas- se, pulsum Trebonium, etiam Fadium tuum transisse cum cohortibus,

datum, that is, the course taken by Thrasybulus. *Philippi* is an erroneous gloss. The two courses opposed are that of Mucius (including that of Philippus and Flaccus) and that of Thrasybulus.

molestiam] His *fasces* impose on him the inconvenience that he cannot leave his country when he wishes and return to it at once when the opportunity serves, as Thrasybulus did.

Sit . . . amicus] 'suppose Caesar is friendly to me.'

Non accipere] We have given the reading as emended by Klotz, though it is hard to see why so many words should have fallen out here. But the passage *et de triumpho . . . putabit*, Att. ix. 2 a, 1 (356) leaves no doubt that the reading given in the text represents at least the sense. Hofmann retains the reading of the ms, making *non* = *nonne* and *ne* = *ut non*, 'would not an acceptance of such an offer, even if safe, be unpopular with the Pompeians?' But this does not seem to be the sense required here. The insertion of *vereor* is not absolutely necessary; we have *vereor* understood in *sed ne dum huic obsequor vobis molestus sim*, Fin. v. 8. Dr. Reid suggests *vide ne*. The only in-

sertion which cannot be dispensed with is that of *accipere*.

Quid enim fieri potest?] 'what can possibly be done' to save me from having to face this question, shall I accept such an offer from Caesar or not? [Rather read *qui enim ferri potest?* 'how can the present state of things be borne?' J.S.R.]

verbosior . . . verior] 'it may be that there are more reasons on one side but more reason on the other.'

7. *ad Corfinium*] sc. *esse* 'is before Corfinium.'

commissurum ut] 'will go so far as to abandon.'

Fausto conscriptam] 'raised for Faustus.' *A* is generally inserted before *Fausto*, but Hofmann shows that the *dativus commodi* is common enough in passages like this; he instances *conscripti consulibus*, Att. viii. 12 D, 1 (330); *nobis expediri*, Fam. xii. 13, 4.

Fadium tuum transisse] 'has gone over to Pompey.' He is mentioned Att. viii. 12, 1 (345), as being then in Italy, so it is quite possible that *Fabium* should be read here, but there is no evidence that Caesar's officer C. Fabius was a friend of Atticus.

summa autem, Afranium cum magnis copiis adventare. Id si est, in Italia fortasse manebitur. Ego autem, cum esset incertum iter Caesaris, quod vel ad Capuam vel ad Luceriam iturus putabatur, Leptam ad Pompeium misi et litteras; ipse, ne quo inciderem, reverti Formias. Haec te scire volui scripsique sedatiore animo, quam proxime scripseram, nullum meum iudicium interponens, sed exquirens tuum.

CCCXXXIV. POMPEY TO CICERO (ATT. VIII. 11 C).

CANUSIUM; FEBRUARY 20; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

CN. MAGNUS PROCOS. S. D. M. CICERONI IMP.

S. V. B. E. Tuas litteras libenter legi. Recognovi enim tuam pristinam virtutem etiam in salute communi. Consules ad eum exercitum, quem in Apulia habui, venerunt. Magno opere te hortor, pro tuo singulari perpetuoque studio in rem publicam, ut te ad nos conferas, ut communi consilio rei publicae adflictae opem atque auxilium feramus. Censeo, via Appia iter facias et celeriter Brundisium venias.

summa] sc. *spes*.
ne quo inciderem] 'lest I should stumble on anybody.' He means 'lest he should fall in with Caesar,' but we cannot render *quo* as if it were *qua* anywhere; *quo* = *aliquo* = *in aliquem*.

Recognovi] Here, as in the other letters of Pompey, we recognize a negligence which Cicero himself remarks on. *Recognovi* is a rare word for *agnovi*; and Cicero would have added *tuenda* to the words *in salute communi*.

CCCXXXV. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. VIII. 4).

FORMIAE; FEBRUARY 22, MORNING; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET.
CIC. 57.

M. Cicero de ingrato Dionysii magistri Ciceronum animo queritur et quae audiri de C. Atio Paeligno nuntiat, Attici litteras exspectat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Dionysius quidem tuus potius quam noster, cuius ego cum satis cognossem mores, tuo tamen potius stabam iudicio quam meo, ne tui quidem testimonii, quod ei saepe apud me dederas, veritus superbum se praebuit in fortuna, quam putavit nostram fore: cuius fortunae nos, quantum humano consilio effici poterit, motum ratione quadam gubernabimus. Cui qui noster honos, quod obsequium, quae etiam ad ceteros contempti cuiusdam hominis

1. *Dionysius*] See on Att. vii. 18, 3 (316).

tuus] Atticus constantly undertook the defence of the ungrateful Greek. [Does *noster* mean here 'our common friend,' or is it the equivalent of *meus*? See my note on Acad. i. § 1, and Fam. i. 9, 24 (153), *Lentuli tui nostrique*; but *ibid.* ii. 16, 5 (394), *Dolabellam meum vel potius nostrum*, J. S. R.].

veritus] This is the only place outside of Latin comedy where *vereri* takes the genitive. The construction is ascribed by Nonius to Accius and Pacuvius. Their precedent, however, would not justify us in ascribing the construction to Cicero, the diction of whose letters conforms not to the extreme archaism of Attius and Pacuvius, but to the more modern colloquialism of Plautus and Terence. However, Terence, Phorm. v. 8. 78 (971), has the genitive with *vereri*—

Neque huius sis veritus feminae primariae,
quin novo modo ei faceres contumeliam.

Boot denies the applicability of this passage by making *feminae* the dative after *facere contumeliam*, and taking *huius sis veritus* to mean 'did not care that (a snap of your fingers) for.' But the natural construction is rightly recognised by grammarians, e.g. Roby, 1328. [The

probabilities seem to me to be heavily against the genuineness of *testimonii tui veritus*. Some word on which *testimonii* depended has most likely dropped out. Probably *verba* has been lost before *veritus*, J. S. R.]

motum] 'the shock' which his fortunes have suffered. The word *gubernabimus* is carelessly added as if he had written *quas quamvis motas* before. A man might write with a natural metaphor 'I shall guide my shipwrecked fortunes' into safety, but not 'I shall guide the shipwreck of my fortunes' into port. [*Motum*: is not this rather 'the onward course'? Cicero seems to say that he will divert the attack of this *fortuna* by skilful piloting before it leads to shipwreck. *Gubernare fortunam* occurs in Vell. ii. 127, 1 (or rather *ad gubernandum f.*). It is not necessary to regard *cuius fortunae* as identical with the *adverse* fortune just mentioned; rather here it is the personified fortune. Cp. Att. x. 4, 4 (382), *ne fortunam quidem ipsam qua illiflorentissima nos duriore conflictati videmur*, J. S. R.]

ad ceteros] These words are usually taken with *commendatio*, but we should have rather expected *ad alios* or *ad omnes*. If taken with *contempti* they could only mean 'as compared with the others' introduced by me to my friends, and that sen-

commendatio defuit? ut meum iudicium reprehendi a Quinto fratre vulgoque ab omnibus mallet quam illum non efferre laudibus. Ciceronesque nostros meo potius labore subdoceri quam me alium iis magistrum quaerere. Ad quem ego quas litteras, di immortales, miseram, quantum honoris significantes, quantum amoris!—Dicaearchum mehercule aut Aristoxenum diceret arcessi, *non* hominem omnium loquacissimum et minime aptum ad docendum. 2. 'Sed est memoria bona.' Me dicet esse meliore.—Quibus litteris ita respondit, ut ego nemini, cuius causam non reciperem. Semper enim, 'si potero, si ante suscepta causa non impediar,' numquam reo cuiquam tam humili, tam sordido, tam

timent would not have been so expressed, though this use of *ad* is common enough in Plautus, e.g. *ad summos bellatores*, Trin. iii. 2, 97 (753), and in Cic. with *nihil*, e.g. *nihil ad Persium*, De Or. ii. 25 (where see Wilkins's note). If we accepted Boot's suggestion to read *apud*, that word would more naturally go with *contempti*, 'despicable in the minds of others,' though commended by me. [*Ad ceteros*: it is hard to divorce *ad* from *commendatio*. *Ceteri* is often used where *omnes* would at first sight be expected, because a limitation of the reference to a particular set of people is assumed though not stated explicitly. To take only one example, cf. Off. ii. § 37, *admiratione autem afficiuntur ii qui anteire ceteris virtute putantur*, i.e. the rest of those of whom they live. So here *ceteros* = the rest of the people (besides myself) whom Dionysius desired to approach. But *contempti cuiusdam hominis* has all the appearance of being one of those exclamations with which copyists sometimes relieved their feelings, writing them on the margin.—J. S. R.]

cuiusdam] 'a despicable kind of fellow.' *Quidam* slightly mitigates the force of the adj. or part. with which it is joined, like *τις* with adjectives in Greek and *πῶς* with adverbs.

subdoceri] 'secretly taught.' Cicero says that he preferred to face the reproaches of his brother Quintus and all his friends rather than give up eulogising Dionysius, and that rather than dismiss him for his incompetency as a teacher, he chose that his boys should be taught on the sly by himself. Possibly, however, the *sub-* indicates that Cicero was ready to take on himself the duties of an 'under master,' *ὑποδιδάσκαλος*, to correct

the deficiencies in the teaching of the boys' ostensible instructor.

Dicaearchum aut Aristoxenum] These philosophers are again mentioned together in Att. xiii. 32, 2. [*Dic.* and *Aristox.* constantly go together because of the similarity of their views about the soul: e.g. Tusc. i. 41. With this cf. Att. x. 12, 2 (368), where Cicero says he had treated Dionysius with more distinction than Scipio showed to Panaetius.—J. S. R.]

2. *memoria bona*] 'But you, his constant defender, will urge *he has a good memory*. He will find that I have a better.' The great merit of Dionysius was the retentiveness of his memory. Cicero bitterly says he will find that his is better still, that is, he will never forget the ingratitude of Dionysius.

ita . . . ut] 'in a tone which I never used to anyone in declining to take up his case.'

numquam . . . praecidit] 'never was client so low, so mean, so plainly guilty, or so completely a stranger to myself, that I gave him as abrupt a refusal as his flat, unceremonious, unqualified *No.*' The elliptic use of *tam*, which I have endeavoured to express by a paraphrase, is here complicated by the fact that it is followed by the regular and normal use of *tam* before *praecise*. After *humili* we must understand some such words as *quam qui humillimus*. The nearest literal translation, then, of *tam humili* would be 'ever so humble,' and this would be a suitable rendering as being itself a loose expression incapable of exact analysis, since the correct form seems to have been 'never so,' as in 'and heareth not the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely.'

nocenti, tam alieno tam praecise negavi quam hic mihi plane sine ulla exceptione praecidit. Nihil cognovi ingratus, in quo vitio nihil mali non inest. Sed de hoc nimis multa. 3. Ego navem paravi: tuas litteras tamen expecto, ut sciam quid respondeant consultationi meae. Sulmone C. Atium Paelignum aperuisse Antonio portas, cum essent cohortes quinque, Q. Lucretium inde effugisse scis, Gnaeum ire Brundisium,† desertum. Confecta res est.

CCCXXXVI. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. VIII. 5).

FORMIAE; FEBRUARY 22, EVENING; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero Attico scribit Dionysium ipsum ad se venisse et se sibi iam referri velle eam epistolam quam Attico misisset ad illum perferendam. Tum de expectatione Corfiniensi, de Tirone M'. Curio commendando.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Cum ante lucem VIII. Kal. ad te [de Dionysio] litteras dedissem, vesperi ad nos eodem die venit ipse Dionysius, auctoritate tua permotus, ut suspicor. Quid enim putem aliud? Etsi solet eum, cum aliquid furiose fecit, paenitere. Numquam autem cer-

praecise] ἀποτόμως. *Praeciderat* = *praecise negaverat*, Att. x. 16, 1 (402).

in quo vitio nihil mali non inest] cp. *ingratum si dixeris omnia dixti*, a familiar quotation of which we are not able to find the source.

3. *navem*] He had vessels in readiness at Caieta and Brundisium, Att. viii. 3, 6 (333).

Gnaeum desertum] The mss reading given in the text cannot be translated. It is possible that Cicero wrote *Gnaeum ire Brundisium iri Domitium desertum*, and that the general likeness between *ire Brundisium* and *ire Domitium* caused the latter words to drop out. Still more naturally, if the archetype had *Brundisium ire* the words *Domitium iri* would have dropped out, the copyist raising his eyes after writing *ire*, and then, by an oversight, going on with the word after *iri*—a case of the common source of error in mss called *corruptio ex*

homoeoteleuto. This letter was written on February 22; Domitius surrendered the day before. Thus it is most probable, as Dr. Reid suggests, that Cicero wrote *Domitium desertum*, meaning merely 'that he has turned his back on Domitius.' With Antonius at Sulmo and Pompey on the march to Brundisium, Cicero would hardly say that Domitius was *going* to be deserted.

1. *Etsi*] 'Yet (he might have come on his own mere motion and uninfluenced by you, for) he usually gets sorry after his tantrums.' Lit. 'it is accustomed to repent him,' *paenitere* being of course impersonal.

cerritior] This is an excellent conjecture of Bosius for *certior* of the mss. *Certus* usually means 'safe' of a messenger; it also means 'firm,' 'determined,' Att. x. 11, 3 (396). But here a word suitable to *furiose fecerit* is evidently

ritior fuit quam in hoc negotio. Nam, quod ad te non scripseram, postea audiui a tertio miliario timuisse

πολλὰ μάτην κεράεσσιν ἐς ἥερα θυμήναντα·

multa, inquam, mala cum dixisset: suo capiti, ut aiunt. Sed *en* meam mansuetudinem! Conieceram in fasciculum una cum tua vehementem ad illum epistolam: hanc ad me referri volo, nec ullam ob aliam causam Pollicem servum a pedibus meis Romam misi. Eo autem ad te scripsi, ut, si tibi forte reddita esset, mihi curares referendam, ne in illius manus perveniret. 2. Novi si quid esset, scripsissem. Pendeo animi expectatione *de re* Corfiniensi, in qua

required; such a word exactly is *cerritior*, and it is rare enough to be easily ousted by such a common word as *certior*.

a tertio miliario timuisse] 'after he had passed the third mile-stone,' that is, 'as soon as he had got well out of the city and its suburbs.' He was apparently resolved to leave the city and betake himself to some place where Cicero could not even communicate with him. But when he had passed the third mile-stone he 'became alarmed, took fright,' and went back again to Rome. For *tum eum isse*, which really has no meaning, we read *timuisse*, which would closely resemble *tmeuisse* in the mss. For *timuisse* used absolutely 'to take alarm,' cp. Att. ix. 5, 3 (359), *ipsi tum se timuisse dicunt* (a passage which suggests that we ought perhaps here too to read *tum timuisse*); and *ab altera te ipsum nunquam timuisse certo scio*, Fam. vi. 1, 2 (538): cp. also *pertimuit*, Att. viii. 7, 1 (338). For *a* in the sense of 'after leaving' cp. *a Peducaeo*, Att. xii. 51, 1; so in Fam. x. 8, 2, *ab ea vita* is 'after such a life.'

πολλὰ . . . θυμήναντα] We do not know the source of this verse, but it doubtless comes from some Alexandrine poet. It probably suggested well-known passages to Virgil (Aen. xii. 104) and to Catullus (lxiv. 111), *nequicquam vanis iactantem cornua ventis*. It reminds us of the Euripidean ἐς κέρας θυμούμενοι (Bacch. 743), and may be rendered:—

When he had wreaked the fury of his horns
On the void air in vain.

Cicero then goes on to explain the sense in which he quotes the verse, which is, 'after he had uttered many idle curses, which,' he adds, 'I hope will come home

to roost, as the proverb has it.' *Cum dixisset*, the reading of the mss, is quite right and quite indispensable. Editors make a great mistake in changing it to *eum dixisse*. For rough explanation of Greek introduced by *inquam*, see Att. ix. 6, 4 (360).

en] We have restored this word, which is demanded by the construction. Baiter inserts *o*, but *en* would have fallen out more easily before *m*. So in Att. xiv. 5, 2, we would restore *en meam stultitiam*. His placableness of disposition was shown by recalling the furious letter which he had written to Dionysius. [It must be allowed, I think, that Cicero used the accusative of exclamation without either *en* or *o*. The examples are too numerous to be all due to the chances of mss. I would therefore not alter either this passage or Att. xiv. 5, 2, or Att. xv. 3, 3, *praeclaros XIV. ordines!*—J. S. R.]

a pedibus meis] If these words are genuine they must mean 'from personal attendance on myself,' which shows that Cicero had even to submit to personal inconvenience in recalling his angry missive. Body-servants in close attendance on their masters might be said *a pedibus stare*. We have *a legatorum pedibus abduxerit* in Deiot. 2, and *circum pedes* in 2 Verr. i. 92. Victorius changed *meis* to *meum*, and supposed *servum a pedibus* to mean 'a valet,' but this designation of the duties of slaves by the preposition *a* is post-Ciceronian. Possibly the words *a pedibus meis* are a gloss.

2. *de re Corfiniensi*] We have inserted *de re* on the theory that it probably got out of its place and gave rise to the corrupt reading *des M'. Curio*. The regular preposition after *expectatio* is *de*: cp.

de salute rei publicae decernetur. Tu fasciculum, qui est M'. CURIO inscriptus, velim cures ad eum perferendum, Tironemque Curio commendes et ut det ei, si quid opus erit in sumptum, roges.

CCCXXXVII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. VIII. 6).

FORMIAE; FEBRUARY 23; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero Attico nuntiat C. Sosii praetoris adventum Formias, mittit exemplum litterarum Pompeii ad consules datarum, de sollicitudine sua, de valetudine Attici et Piliae, de Tirone.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Obsignata iam ista epistola, quam de nocte daturus eram, sicut dedi—nam eam vesperi scripseram—, C. Sosius praetor in Formianum venit ad M'. Lepidum, vicinum nostrum, cuius quaestor fuit. Pompeii litterarum ad consules exemplum attulit:

2. '*Litterae mihi a L. Domitio a. d. XIII. Kalend. Mart. adlatae sunt: earum exemplum infra scripsi. Nunc, ut ego non scribam, tua sponte te intellegere scio, quanti rei publicae intersit omnes copias in unum locum primo quoque tempore convenire. Tu, si tibi videbitur, dabis operam, quam primum ad nos venias, praesidii Capuae, quantum constitueris satis esse, relinquo.*'

3. Deinde supposuit exemplum epistolae Domitii, quod ego ad te pridie miseram. Di immortales, qui me horror perfudit! quam sum sollicitus quidnam futurum sit! Hoc tamen spero, Magnum

expectatione de Pompeio, Att. iii. 14, 1 (70). *Expectatio Corfiniensis* for 'anticipations of what is going on in Corfinium' seems strange Latin; for some account of how things were going on at Corfinium see Att. viii. 3. 7 (333). [I suppose it is the fact that *expectatio* is a word describing the feelings of the mind, which makes this expression look different from a hundred others, such as *pulsatio Puteolana*; but I think it is hardly possible to set limits to the usage whereby an adjective is substituted for a noun dependent on a preposition. The best collection of examples is in a pamphlet, 'Ueber den Gebrauch des adjectivischen Attributs, &c,' by Wichert (Berlin: Weidmann, 1875).—J. S. R.]

velim] On this word depend *cures*,

commendes, roges, with the common ellipse of *ut* in each case.

1. *ista*] This word, which ought in strictness to mean 'that letter of yours,' here means 'that letter to you,' on the principle on which *Cassii litterae* means a 'a letter to Cassius,' in Att. vii. 24, 1 (323), where see note.

2. *ut ego non scribam*] 'without a word from me.'

3. *Magnum*] 'I hope Magnus will be a great source of terror to his foes when he arrives.' *Terrorem* is used objectively as in Rep. i. 71, *duobus huius urbis terroribus depulsis*. The words *nomen imperatoris* are clearly a gloss on *Magnum*, the common designation of Pompey. See note on Att. vi. 1, 22 (252).

[nomen imperatoris] fore magnum in adventu terrorem. Spero etiam, quoniam adhuc nihil nobis obfuit, †nihil mutasset nec tegentia hoc quod cum fortiter et diligenter tum etiam mehercule†. 4. Modo enim audivi quartanam a te discessisse. Moriar, si magis gauderem, si id mihi accidisset. Piliae dic non esse aequum eam diutius habere nec id esse vestrae concordiae. 5. Tironem nostrum ab altera relictum audio. Sed eum video in sumptum ab aliis mutuatum. Ego autem Curium nostrum, si quid opus esset, rogaram. Malo Tironis verecundiam in culpa esse quam illiberalitatem Curii.

CCCXXXVIII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. VIII. 7).

FORMIAE; FEBRUARY 23 OR 24; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

De Pompeio fugam meditante, de incerta condicione sua, de viatico sibi per Philotimum curando.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Unum etiam restat amico nostro ad omne dedecus, ut Domitio non subveniat. 'At nemo dubitat quin subsidio venturus sit.' Ego non puto. 'Deseret igitur talem civem et eos, quos una scis esse, cum habeat praesertim et ipse cohortes xxx.?' Nisi me omnia fallunt, deseret. Incredibiliter pertimuit. Nihil

nihil . . . mehercule] It seems better to present to the reader here the corrupt words of the mss than to put before him any of the attempts which have been made to correct it. The meaning seems to be 'I hope Pompey has not changed his plan, and is not neglecting a course (namely, the relief of Domitius), which should be carried out vigorously.' But no doubt several words have been lost here. See Adn. Crit.

4. *concordiae*] 'it is not in conformity with the usual harmony that subsists between you, that she should still have the ague that has left you.'

5. *altera*] 'the second (lighter) attack'; see Att. vii. 2, 2 (320).

Malo] 'I hope it is Tiro's modesty, not the stinginess of Cassius, that is to be blamed for this.'

1. *ad omne dedecus*] 'to crown (complete) his infamy.'

quos una scis esse] *Erant quinque senatorii ordinis L. Domitius, P. Lentulus Spintther, L. Vibullius Rufus, Sex. Quintilius Varusquaestor, L. Rubrius; praeterea filius Domitii aliique complures adulescentes, et magnus numerus equitum Romanorum et decurionum, quos ex municipiis Domitius evocaverat.* Caes. B. C. i. 23.

cum habeat praesertim] 'and that too though he (Pompey) has 30 cohorts.' Madvig would omit the *et*, but though we learn from Caes. B. C. i. 17 that Domitius had *cohortes amplius xxx.*, the word *ipse* plainly refers to Pompey here; and though we read in Att. viii. 12 A, 2 (331), and C, 2 (329) of 16 cohorts and 14 cohorts, there is no reason to doubt that Pompey may at this time have had (or may have been

spectat nisi fugam, cui tu—video enim quid sentias—me comitem putas debere esse. 2. Ego vero quem fugiam habeo : quem sequar non habeo. Quod enim tu meum laudas et memorandum dicis, malle quod dixerim me cum Pompeio vinci quam cum istis vincere, ego vero malo, sed cum illo Pompeio, qui tum erat aut qui mihi esse videbatur, cum hoc vero, qui ante fugit quam scit aut quem fugiat aut quo, qui nostra tradidit, qui patriam reliquit, Italiam reliquit, si malui, contigit, victus sum. Quod superest, nec ista videre possum, quae numquam timui ne viderem, nec mehercule istum, propter quem mihi non modo meis, sed memet ipso carendum est. 3. Ad Philotimum scripsi de viatico, sive a Moneta — nemo enim solvit — sive ab Oppiis, tuis contubernalibus. Cetera appositae tibi mandabo.

CCCXXXIX. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. VIII. 8).

FORMIAE; FEBRUARY 24; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

De Domitio a Pompeio turpiter deserto.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. O rem turpem et ea re miseram! Sic enim sentio, id demum aut potius id solum esse miserum, quod turpe sit. Aluerat

believed by Atticus to have had) 30 cohorts at his command. The words *ipse* or *et ipse* could not refer to Domitius.

2. *Ego vero*] 'yes! I have a foe to fly from, but no friend to follow'; here, and a little below, *ego vero* points as usual to the answer to a question really asked by, or rhetorically put into the mouth of, a correspondent or interlocutor.

Quod enim tu meum laudas] 'as to that sentiment of mine which you quote and call so memorable, that I should rather have defeat with Pompey than victory with your Caesarians—well, I do prefer defeat with Pompey, but it must be Pompey as he once was, or as I believed him to be; but as to the present Pompey, who flies before he knows from whom he is flying or whither he is going, who has betrayed us, has abandoned his country's cause, and is preparing to abandon her shores—if I have chosen defeat with him,

I have got my wish—my defeat is already complete.'

ista . . . istum] the cause of Caesar and Caesar himself.

memet ipso] all the traditions of my past career.

3. *a Moneta*] the temple of Moneta on the Capitoline Hill, where the mint was. Here apparently bullion could be exchanged for money, according to weight.

nemo enim solvit] none of Cicero's debtors would pay.

Oppiis] See on Att. vii. 13 b (308). They are called *contubernales*, or 'mates,' of Att. as being money-lenders.

apposita] 'requisite instructions,' that is, instructions with reference to his approaching journey.

1. *ea re*] 'for that reason.' Then he goes on to explain why he uses the words *ea re*, 'because I hold disgrace to be the

Caesarem, eundem repente timere coeperat, condicionem pacis nullam probarat, nihil ad bellum pararat, urbem reliquerat, Picenum amiserat culpa, in Apuliam se compegerat, ibat in Graeciam, omnes nos ἀπροσφωνήτους, expertes sui tanti, tam inusitati consilii relinquebat. 2. Ecce subito litterae Domitii ad illum, ipsius ad consules. Fulsisse mihi videbatur τὸ καλὸν ad oculos eius et exclamasse ille vir qui esse debuit:

Πρὸς ταῦθ' ὅ τι χρὴ καὶ παλαμάσθων
Καὶ πάντ' ἐπ' ἐμοὶ τεκταινέσθων·
Τὸ γὰρ εὔ μετ' ἐμοῦ.

At ille tibi πολλὰ χαίρειν τῷ καλῷ dicens pergit Brundisium. Domitium autem aiunt re audita et eos, qui una essent, se tradidisse. O rem lugubrem! Itaque intercludor dolore, quo minus ad te plura scribam. Tuas litteras exspecto.

CCCXL. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. VIII. 9).

FORMIAE; FEBRUARY 25; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

De epistola sua de pace ad Caesarem scripta et a se et ab aliis vulgata, de villis suis prope Arpinum visendis, de fuga ex Italia, de Balbi minoris ad se adventu et mandatis a Caesare ad Lentulum consulem ab eo perferendis, de litteris Balbi maioris, de Pompeii profectioe Brundisium.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Epistolam meam quod pervulgatam scribis esse, non fero moleste. Quin etiam ipse multis dedi describendam. Ea enim et

crown of misery, or indeed the only real misery'; a case cannot be said to be really wretched till it involves disgrace, and nothing else can make it truly wretched. Vere the conj. of Gronovius is needless.

se compegerat] cp. coartatus Att. vii. 10 (303).

2. ille vir qui esse debuit] 'his old self, the ideal Pompey.'

Πρὸς ταῦθ'] These are the words of Euripides which appear in a modified form in a parody of them by Aristophanes in Acharn. 659.

πολλὰ χαίρειν] 'bidding a long farewell to honour': cp. Eur. Hipp. 113, τῇν

σὴν δὲ Κύπριν πόλλ' ἐγὼ χαίρειν λέγω. The Latin expression is multam salutem dicere; cp. ego vero multam salutem et foro dicam et curiae, Fam. vii. 33, 2 (474).

1. pervulgatam] The reference here is plainly to a letter written by Cicero to Caesar. In Att. ix. 11 A (366), are found the expressions here quoted. But there is reason to think that that letter was written after March 18 (because it is not mentioned in Att. ix. 10 (365), which was written on March 18). Now this letter is dated February 25; probably therefore all the earlier portion of this letter (§§ 1, 2)

acciderunt iam et impendent, ut testatum esse velim de pace quid senserim. Cum autem ad eam hortarer, eum praesertim hominem, non videbar ullo modo facilius moturus, quam si id, quod eum hortarer, convenire eius sapientiae dicerem. Eam si 'admirabilem' dixi, quoniam eum ad salutem patriae hortabar, non sum veritus ne viderer adsentari, cui tali in re libenter me ad pedes abiecissem. Qua autem est 'aliquid impertias temporis,' non est de pace, sed, de me ipso et de meo officio ut aliquid cogitet. Nam quod testificor me expertem belli fuisse, etsi id re perspectum est, tamen eo scripsi, quo in suadendo plus auctoritatis haberem, eodemque pertinet, quod causam eius probo. 2. Sed quid haec nunc? Utinam aliquid profectum esset! Ne ego istas litteras in contione recitari velim, si quidem ille ipse ad eundem scribens in publico proposuit epistolam illam, in qua est 'pro tuis rebus gestis amplissimis.' Amplioribusne quam suis, quam Africani? Ita tempus ferebat. Si quidem etiam vos duo tales ad quintum miliarium, quid nunc ipsum de se recipienti, quid agenti, quid acturo?

should be detached from the succeeding part, and included in the collection as a substantive letter coming after Att. ix. 11A (366). Cicero here defends the expressions used in the letter to Caesar which became public; these had been criticised as being too adulatory, but Cicero defends himself from this charge with his usual skill and success. However, as Mr. Watson remarks, 'a more serious charge might be based on the difference of its language from that of the two letters to Pompey, Att. viii. 11 B and D' (327, 343).

Qua] sc. *epistulae parte*. 'When I used the phrase *spare some time*, I did not mean *to the consideration of peace*, but *to the consideration of myself and my obligations to Pompey*.' A reference to the letter, Att. ix. 11 A, 3 (366), will at once show that the explanation of the words *aliquid imp. temporis* here given is the natural and right one; but it will be seen that the other way of understanding the words, 'spare a little time to the thoughts of peace,' was not impossible. Now, the latter expression would be a grovelling one, implying that Caesar was such a great man that it would be a favour on his part to devote a few minutes of his precious time even to the consideration of so precious a thing as peace. The explanation of the words given by Cicero involves no derogation from a dignified

tone. His contention is not quite so successful when he urges that he dwelt on his own neutrality, and allowed that Caesar had a good deal of right on his side, only to increase the weight of his own recommendations of peace.

2. *ille ipse]* Pompey. The letter referred to seems to be that mentioned in a similar way in Att. vii. 17, 2 (315).

Ita tempus ferebat] 'this is what the exigency of the occasion demanded,' the supposed plea of Pompey in defence of the laudatory expressions used in his letter.

vos duo tales] Atticus and Sex. Peducaeus, who were going to meet Caesar on his return to Rome at the fifth milestone from the city.

quid nunc ipsum de se recipienti] Some such words as *obvianituri estis* must be understood. 'You are going to meet him, and at this very juncture what course does he pledge himself to, what is his present conduct, what are his designs for the future?' Boot by the simple correction of *de* for *unde* has restored this passage. With the reading *unde se recipienti* we should have to render *quid* 'why,' the first time it occurs, and 'what' in the next two cases of its use; besides, Caesar returning in triumph to Rome, could not be said *se recipere* 'to slink home.' *Nunc ipsum* is 'this instant.'

Quanto autem ferocius ille causae suae confidet, cum vos, cum vestri similes non modo frequentes, sed laeto vultu gratulantes viderit? ‘Nunc igitur peccamus?’ Minime vos quidem. Sed tamen signa conturbantur, quibus voluntas a simulatione distingui posset. Quae vero senatus consulta video? Sed apertius quam proposueram. 3. Ego Arpini volo esse pridie Kal., deinde circum villulas nostras errare, quas visurum me postea desperavi. Εὐγενῆ tua consilia et tamen pro temporibus non incauta mihi valde probantur. Lepido quidem—nam fere συνδιημερεύομεν, quod gratissimum illi est—numquam placuit ex Italia exire, Tullo multo minus. Crebro enim illius litterae ab aliis ad nos commeant. Sed me illorum sententiae minus movebant: minus multa dederant illi rei publicae pignora: tua mehercule auctoritas vehementer movet: adfert enim et reliqui temporis recuperandi rationem et praesentis tuendi. Sed, obsecro te, quid hoc miserius quam alterum plausus in foedissima causa quaerere, alterum offensiones in optima? alterum existimari conservatorem inimicorum, alterum desertorem amicorum? Et mehercule quamvis amemus Gnaeum nostrum, ut et facimus et debemus, tamen hoc, quod talibus viris non subvenit, laudare non possum. Nam sive timuit, quid ignavius? sive, ut quidam putant, meliorem suam causam illorum caede fore putavit, quid iniustius? Sed haec omittamus: augemus enim dolorem retractando. 4. vi. Kal. vesperi Balbus minor ad me venit, occulta via currens ad Lentulum consulem, missu Caesaris, cum litteris, cum mandatis, cum promissione provinciae, Romam ut redeat, cui persuaderi posse non arbitror nisi erit conventus. Idem aiebat nihil malle Caesarem quam ut Pompeium adsequeretur—id credo

apertius quam prop.] sc. *scripsi*.

3. *Lepido]* M'. Aemilius Lepidus, cons. 66.

Tullo] probably L. Volcatius Tullus, cons. 66.

Sed me minus movebant] The opinions of Lepidus and Tullus had not so much weight with him as applicable to his own case, for they had never given so many pledges as Cicero, in their past services, for their future conduct. But the advice of Atticus, not to leave Italy, was accompanied by a scheme for making the present secure and retrieving the past. Advice of Atticus on this point will be found in Att. ix. 10, 6 (365), but it does not justify the description of it here given by Cicero.

quid hoc miserius quam] For this pleonasm, whereby the comparative both governs the ablative and is followed by *quam*, see on Att. iv. 8 b, 2 (118).

quaerere] here = *acquirere* ‘to earn.’

talibus viris] the senators and others shut up with Domitius in Corfinium.

illorum caede] if Caesar should put them to death.

4. *ut redeat]* ‘on condition of his returning.’

nisi erit conventus] sc. *Lentulus*. The words literally mean ‘Lentulus will not be persuaded to transfer his allegiance to Caesar unless he has an interview with Balbus’: cp. Att. viii. 11, 5 (342), and ix. 6, 1 (360).

—et rediret in gratiam—id non credo et metuo ne omnis haec clementia ad Cinneam illam crudelitatem colligatur. Balbus quidem maior ad me scribit nihil malle Caesarem quam principe Pompeio sine metu vivere. Tu, puto, haec credis. Sed, cum haec scribebam v. Kalend., Pompeius iam Brundisium venisse poterat. Expeditus enim antecesserat legiones XI. K. Luceria. Sed hoc *τέρας* horribili vigilantia, celeritate, diligentia est. Plane quid futurum sit nescio.

CCCXLI. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. VIII. 10).

FORMIAE; FEBRUARY 26; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

De Dionysio a se ipsius voluntate dimisso.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Dionysius cum ad me praeter opinionem meam venisset, locutus sum cum eo liberalissime: tempora exposui: rogavi ut diceret quid haberet in animo, me nihil ab ipso invito contendere. Respondit se, quod in nummis haberet, nescire quo loci esset: alios non solvere, aliorum diem nondum esse. Dixit etiam alia quaedam de servulis suis, qua re nobiscum esse non posset. Morem gessi: dimisi a me, ut magistrum Ciceronum non lubenter, ut hominem ingratum non invitus. Volui te scire, et quid ego de eius facto iudicarem.

Cinneam] For *unam* of the mss. *Sullanam* and *Cinnanam* have been suggested, but *Cinneum* is the form which Cicero uses in Fam. i. 9, 11 (153), and would have been exposed to corruption as being a rare form.

colligatur] 'is being stored up' with a view to be drawn on afterwards. Watson compares *benevolentiam coll.* Lael. 61; *rumorem bonum coll.* Legg. i. 50.

Dionysius] See on Att. vii. 18, 3 (316).

tempora] 'the nature of the crisis.'

contendere] 'to demand, require'; frequently in this sense followed by *ab*, and ablative of person in Cicero, e.g. Quinct. 77; Fam. ii. 6, 1; xiii. 7, 3; 2 Verr. ii. 131; De Or. i. 166.

quod in nummis haberet] 'how his balance stood.' Boot shows that this

phrase refers not only to ready money, but to money out at interest (2 Verr. iii. 199; Rosc. Com. 22). Some of his debtors were insolvent; in the case of others the money was not yet due.

quo loci] The adverb *quo* in the sense of 'where' is rare, but classical: cp. Div. ii. 135; *rosa quo locorum sera moretur*, Hor. Od. i. 38, 3. *Quo* is not necessarily an adverb.

nobiscum esse] to remain in Cicero's house.

Morem gessi] 'I gave in.'

ut magistrum] Boot compares *ut in tantis iniuriis non invita ut a viro non libenter*, Cluent. 14: cp. Att. ii. 18, 3 (45), and iv. 1, 8 (90).

Volui . . . iudicarem] 'I wished you to know (this), and my opinion of his conduct.'

CCCXLII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. VIII. 11).

FORMIAE; FEBRUARY 27; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

De omni statu rei publicae dissidentibus Pompeio et Caesare et de misera condicione sua, quippe cui uterque timendus esse videatur, de Caesaris litteris et mandatis ad se datis, de epistolarum commercio inter se et Pompeium, de Caesaris per Apuliam ad Brundisium cursu et de sermonibus bonorum, de Demetrii libro *περὶ δημοκρατίας* ad se mittendo.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Quod me magno animi motu perturbatum putas, sum equidem, sed non tam magno quam tibi fortasse videor. Levatur enim omnis cura, cum aut constitit consilium aut cogitando nihil explicatur. Lamentari autem licet. Illud tamen totos dies. Sed vereor ne, nihil cum proficiam, etiam dedecori sim studiis ac litteris nostris: consumo igitur omne tempus considerans quanta vis sit illius viri, quem nostris libris satis diligenter, ut tibi quidem videmur, expressimus. Tenesne igitur moderatorem illum rei publicae quo referre velimus omnia? Nam sic quinto, ut opinor, in libro loquitur Scipio: '*Ut enim gubernatori cursus secundus, medico salus, imperatori victoria, sic huic moderatori rei publicae beata civium vita proposita est, ut opibus firma, copiis locuples, gloria ampla, virtute honesta sit. Huius enim operis maximi inter homines atque optimi illum esse perfectorem volo.*' 2. Hoc Gnaeus noster cum antea numquam tum in hac causa minime cogitavit. Dominatio quaesita ab utroque est, non id actum, beata et honesta civitas ut esset. Nec vero ille urbem reliquit, quod eam tueri non

1. *constitit consilium*] 'a fixed resolve has been made.' Lehmann (p. 8), comparing this and other passages, introduces *consistere* before or after *consilium* in Att. xi. 25, 1 (436).

tamen] 'that, in spite of what I have implied (about its uselessness), I do all day.' This is a use of *tamen* sometimes found in the letters, e.g. Q. Fr. ii. 9 (11), 3 (132), and common in the comic drama, as in Ter. Ad. i. 2, 30 (85), *alieniore aetate post faciet tamen*, 'after all, all the same.' Boot's conjecture,

lamentari autem licet illud quidem totos dies, is very pretty; *illud quidem* is a thoroughly Ciceronian idiom; but we are not justified in leaving the tradition of the mss when they present us with a reading which is itself consistent with the context and with Latinity.

illius viri quem expressimus] 'the ideal statesman delineated in the Republic.'

Tenesne . . . omnia?] 'you catch, do you not, the standard by which I would have the ideal statesman regulate all his acts?'

posset, nec Italiam, quod ea pelleretur, sed hoc a primo cogitavit, omnes terras, omnia maria movere, reges barbaros incitare, gentes feras armatas in Italiam adducere, exercitus conficere maximos. Genus illud Sullani regni iam pridem appetitur, multis, qui una sunt, cupientibus. An censes nihil inter eos convenire, nullam pactionem fieri potuisse? Hodie potest. Sed neutri σκοπὸς est ille, ut nos beati simus: uterque regnare vult. 3. Haec a te invitatus breviter exposui. Voluisti enim me quid de his malis sentirem ostendere. Προθεσπίζω igitur, noster Attice, non hariolans, ut illa, cui nemo credidit, sed coniectura prospiciens:

Iamque mari magno

non multo, inquam, secus possum vaticinari: tanta malorum impendet Ἰλιάς. Atque hoc nostra gravior est causa, qui domi sumus, quam illorum, qui una transierunt, quod illi quidem alterum †manuunt† nos utrumque. 4. Cur igitur, inquis, remansimus? Vel tibi paruimus vel non occurrimus vel hoc fuit rectius. Conculcari,

2. *movere*] 'to plunge in war,' as in Virgil's *flectere si nequeo superos Acheronta movebo*.

3. *hariolans*] is here used as opposed to προθεσπίζω, *coniectura prospiciens*; it means 'talking at random,' *nugas agens*. This use is found in Terence (e.g. *Phorm.* iii. 2, 7 (491); *Ad.* ii. 1, 48 (202)), but is never found in Plautus, or in the old Latin of Ennius or Pomponius, with whom *hariolari* always means 'to prophesy truly.'

Iamque mari] He uses the words of Cassandra in the *Alexander* of Ennius, but declares that in his case it is a prophecy, while the utterance of Cassandra was only wild raving. The whole passage, as restored from this and other passages, especially *Orat.* 155, where it is cited as preserving an example of *exitium* for *exitiorum*, is in dactylic tetrameters—

*Iamque mari magno classis cita
Texitur, exitiū examen^o rapit;
Adveniet, fera velivolantibus
Navibu' complebit manu' litora.*

malorum Ἰλιάς] = Ἰλιάς κακῶν, 'a whole Iliad of disasters: cp. *odiorum Ilias*, *Plaut. Mil.* iii, 1, 148 (743); *tunc vero longas condimus Iliadas*, *Prop.* ii. 1, 14.

hoc] 'for this reason.'

†*manuunt*†] We have thought it better to exhibit the *vox nihili* of the mss than to print a word so unlikely to be corrupted as *metuunt*. That word would of course suit the sense completely: 'those who joined in Pompey's flight have only one person (Caesar) to fear; we who refused to do so have to fear Caesar and Pompey as well.' A less common word than *metuunt* would have been far more likely to give rise to the corrupt *manuunt*. Such a word might have been *amentant*, 'drive to fury': cp. *periculum* in utriusque iracundia positum est, *Att.* viii. 15, 2 (350); *illum sibi iratum*, *Att.* x. 14, 1 (400); *quae istorum ira esset*, *Att.* xi. 18, 2 (434); or perhaps *infamant*, a word used in *Fam.* ix. 12, 2, or *inaniunt* = *debilitant*, that is 'weaken' (by not joining his side and espousing his cause); palaeographically *inaniunt* would be very likely to give rise to the corrupt *manuunt*. Or could the corruption have arisen, as it so often does, from some Greek word, such as μὴνύοντα habent?

4. *non occurrimus*] If this reading is sound it must convey the same meaning as *obire non potui*, *Att.* viii. 12, 3 (345), 'I did not effect a meeting with him on his departure from Italy.' A conjecture mentioned by Boot, *non erat cur iremus*, is very tempting.

inquam, miseram Italiam videbis proxima aestate †aut utriusque in mancipiis† ex omni genere collectis, nec tam *proscriptio* pertimescenda, quae Luceriae multis sermonibus denuntiata esse dicitur, quam universorum interitus: tantas in configendo utriusque vires video futuras. Habes coniecturam meam. Tu autem consolationis fortasse aliquid expectasti: nihil invenio, nihil fieri potest miserius, nihil perditius, nihil foedius. 5. Quod quaeris quid Caesar ad me scripserit, *scripsit* quod saepe, gratissimum sibi esse quod quierim, oratque in eo ut perseverem. Balbus minor haec eadem mandata. Iter autem eius erat ad Lentulum consulem cum litteris Caesaris praemiorumque promissis, si Romam revertisset. Verum, cum habeo rationem dierum, ante puto tramissurum quam potuerit conveniri. 6. Epistolarum Pompeii duarum, quas ad me misit, negligentiam meamque in rescribendo diligentiam volui tibi notam esse. Earum exempla ad te misi. 7. Caesaris hic per Apuliam ad Brundisium cursus quid efficiat exspecto. Utinam aliquid simile Parthicis rebus! Simul aliquid audiero, scribam ad te: tu ad me velim bonorum sermones: Romae frequentes esse dicuntur. Scio equidem te in publicum non prodire, sed tamen audire te multa necesse est. Memini librum tibi adferri a Demetrio Magnete ad te missum [scio] *περὶ ὁμολίας*. Eum mihi velim mittas. Vides quam causam mediter.

†aut utriusque in mancipiis†] It is very unlikely that Cicero should have described the forces of Caesar and Pompey by the word *mancipiis*, 'slaves'; perhaps he wrote *manu*, *copiis*. The *in* might have been a mere dittography of *m*. Probably *aut alterius utriusque* fell out after *aut utriusque*.

5. *rationem dierum*] 'when I count the days it will take Balbus to reach Lepidus, I think Lepidus will cross the sea with Pompey before the interview can take place.'

6. *Earum exempla*] These are the letters usually printed after this, as Att. viii. 11, *a, b, c, d*; in this edition they are respectively 322, 327, 334, 343.

7. *cursus*] 'his dash on Brundisium.'

Parthicis rebus] He recurs to the aspiration already expressed in Att. vii. 26, 3 (336), that some unexpected stroke of luck, like the sudden retirement of the Parthians from the province of Bibulus, might now occur. He seems to enjoy

referring to this incident as a pure stroke of luck, whereas there is good reason to believe that it was brought about by the diplomacy of Bibulus, who fomented dissension between the rival Parthian chiefs, Pacorus and his father Orodes. Cicero's jealousy of Bibulus will not allow him to accept any explanation of the incident but that it was a piece of unheard-of luck, *incredibili felicitate*, Att. vi. 6, 3 (276).

Memini librum] 'I remember a book, *De Concordia*, being brought to you by Demetrius of Magnesia, a book dedicated to you by him. I wish you would let me have it. You see what rôle I am studying.' Cicero mentions in Att. iv. 11, 2 (124), a book by Demetrius which he then sends to Atticus. This was probably another work, perhaps that *περὶ ὁμωνύμων*, also ascribed to Demetrius. *Mittere* is applied to the *dedication* of a book in De Sen. 3, Fin. i. 8. The part he is studying is the reconciliation of Caesar and Pompey.

CCCXLIII. CICERO TO POMPEY (ATT. VIII. 11 D).

FORMIAE; FEBRUARY 27; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

M. CICERO IMP. S. D. CN. MAGNO PROCOS.

1. Cum ad te litteras misissem, quae tibi Canusii redditae sunt, suspicionem nullam habebam, te rei publicae causa mare transiturum, eramque in spe magna fore ut in Italia possemus aut concordiam constituere, qua mihi nihil utilius videbatur, aut rem publicam summa cum dignitate defendere. Interim nondum meis litteris ad te perlatis ex his mandatis, quae D. Laelio ad consules dederas, certior tui consilii factus, non exspectavi, dum mihi a te litterae redderentur, confestimque cum Quinto fratre et cum liberis nostris iter ad te in Apuliam facere coepi. 2. Cum Teanum Sidicinum venissem, C. Messius, familiaris tuus, mihi dixit aliquae complures Caesarem iter habere Capuam et eo ipso die mansurum esse Aeserniae. Sane sum commotus, quod, si ita esset, non modo iter meum interclusum, sed me ipsum plane exceptum putabam. Itaque tum Cales processi, ut ibi potissimum consisterem, dum certum nobis ab Aesernia de eo, quod audieram, referretur. 3. At mihi, cum Calibus essem, adfertur litterarum tuarum exemplum, quas tu ad Lentulum consulem misisses. Hae scriptae sic erant: litteras tibi a L. Domitio a. d. XIII. Kal. Martias adlatas esse, earumque exemplum subscripseras, magnique interesse rei publicae scripseras, omnes copias primo quoque tempore in unum locum convenire, et ut praesidii quod satis esset Capuae relinqueret. His ego litteris lectis in eadem opinione fui qua reliqui omnes, te cum omnibus copiis ad Corfinium esse ven-

1. *misissem*] Boot, Wesenberg, and others would change *misissem* to *misi eas*, on the ground that it was at the time of his sending the letter, and not afterwards, that Cicero had no suspicion of Pompey's intention to leave Italy. But may not *misissem* be regarded as an instance of an *epistolary* tense, and so conveying no more past signification than *misi*? cp. *audissem*, Att. viii. 16 fin. (352). The change would be very violent.

2. *certum . . . referretur*] 'certain news should be brought'; literally, 'it should be reported for certain, like *certum scire*, *nescire*.'

3. *in eadem opinione fui qua reliqui*] When the verb in both clauses is the same, and the same preposition governs both antecedent and relative, the preposition need not be repeated: see on Q. Fr. i. 4, 4 (72).

turum, quo mihi, cum Caesar ad oppidum castra haberet, tutum iter esse non arbitrabar. Cum res in summa expectatione esset, utrumque simul audiimus, et quae Corfinii acta essent et te iter Brundisium facere coepisse, cumque nec mihi nec fratri meo dubium esset quin Brundisium contenderemus, a multis, qui e Samnio Apuliaque veniebant, admoniti sumus ut caveremus ne exciperemur a Caesare, quod is in eadem loca, quae nos petebamus, profectus, celerius etiam, quam nos possemus, eo, quo intenderet, venturus esset. Quod cum ita esset, nec mihi nec fratri meo nec cuiquam amicorum placuit committere, ut temeritas nostra non solum nobis, sed etiam rei publicae noceret, cum praesertim non dubitarem quin, si etiam tutum nobis iter fuisset, te tamen iam consequi non possemus. 4. Interim accepimus tuas litteras Canusio a. d. x. Kal. Martias datas, quibus nos hortaris, ut celerius Brundisium veniamus, quas cum accepissemus a. d. iii. Kal. Martias, non dubitabamus quin tu iam Brundisium pervenisses, nobisque iter illud omnino interclusum videbamus neque minus nos esse captos quam qui Corfinii fuissent. Neque enim eos solos arbitrabamur capi, qui in armatorum manus incidissent, sed eos nihilo minus, qui regionibus exclusi inter praesidia atque intra arma aliena venissent. 5. Quod cum ita sit, maxime vellem primum semper tecum fuisset, quod quidem tibi ostenderam, cum a me Capuam reiiciebam: quod feci non vitandi oneris causa, sed quod videbam teneri illam urbem sine exercitu non posse, accidere autem mihi nolebam, quod doleo viris fortissimis accidisse. Quoniam autem tecum ut essem non contigit, utinam tui consilii certior factus essem! Nam suspicione adsequi non potui, quod omnia prius arbitratus sum fore, quam ut haec rei publicae causa in Italia non posset duce te consistere. Neque vero nunc consilium tuum reprehendo, sed fortunam rei publicae lugeo, nec, si ego quid tu sis secutus non perspicio, idcirco minus existimo te nihil nisi summa ratione fecisse. 6. Mea quae semper fuerit sententia, primum de pace vel iniqua condicione retinenda, deinde de urbe—nam de Italia quidem nihil mihi umquam ostenderas—meminisse te arbitror. Sed mihi non sumo, ut meum consilium valere debuerit:

5. *Capuam reiiciebam*] see on Att. viii. 11 B, 3 (327).

6. *condicione*] The use of the singular here suggests that the change of *condicione*

to *condicionibus* recommended by Boot in Att. vii. 15, 3 (311) is not necessary.

mihi non sumo] 'I do not make any claim.'

secutus sum tuum, neque id rei publicae causa, de qua desperavi, quae et nunc adflicta est nec excitari sine civili perniciosissimo bello potest, sed te quaerebam, tecum esse cupiebam, neque eius rei facultatem, si quae erit, praetermittam. 7. Ego me in hac omni causa facile intellegebam pugnandi cupidis hominibus non satis facere. Primum enim prae me tuli me nihil malle quam pacem, non quin eadem timerem quae illi, sed ea bello civili leviora ducebam. Deinde suscepto bello, cum pacis condiciones ad te adferri a teque ad ea honorifice et large responderi viderem, duxi meam rationem, quam tibi facile me probaturum pro tuo in me beneficio arbitrabar. Memineram me esse unum, qui pro meis maximis in rem publicam meritis supplicia miserrima et crudelissima pertulissem, me esse unum, qui, si offendissem eius animum, cui, cum iam in armis essemus, consulatus tamen alter et triumphus amplissimus deferrebat, subiicerer eisdem proeliis, ut mea persona semper ad improborum civium impetus aliquid videretur habere populare. Atque haec non ego prius sum suspicatus, quam mihi palam denuntiata sunt, neque ea tam pertimui, si subeunda essent, quam declinanda putavi, si honeste vitare possem. 8. Quam brevem illius temporis, dum in spe pax fuit, rationem nostram vides, reliqui facultatem res ademit. Iis autem, quibus non satis facio, facile respondeo: neque enim ego amicior C. Caesari umquam fui quam illi, neque illi amiciores rei publicae quam ego. Hoc inter me et illos interest, quod, cum et illi cives optimi sint et ego ab ista laude non absim, ego condicionibus, quod idem te intellexeram velle, illi armis disceptari maluerunt. Quae quoniam ratio vicit, perficiam profecto ut neque res publica civis a me animum neque tu amici desideres.

7. *duxī meam rationem*] 'I began to consider seriously what my own interests demanded': see on Att. vii. 9, 4 (300).

eius . . . cui . . . deferrebat] Cicero constantly recurs to the offer of a second consulship and a triumph made by Pompey to Caesar.

subiicerer eisdem proeliis] 'I reflected that I was the one person who would be subjected to the same struggle as I had to face before, so that my very personality now seems to have something which attracts and concentrates on it the violence of the ill-affected' (an attack on me being regarded as a road to popularity):

see on Att. viii. 3, 5 (333). Many editors change *proeliis* to *procellis*, but *periculis* would be a less violent alteration if any were requisite.

8. *Quam brevem*] For the use of *quam* with the positive see on Att. vii. 15, 2 (311). *Quam* might not possibly here be the accusative of the relative. The meaning is 'you have now my policy put very briefly, as long as peace was hoped for; circumstances have precluded my carrying it to a completion.'

non absim] 'am not without claim to the same honourable designation' of *optimus civis*.

CCCXLIV. CAELIUS TO CICERO (FAM. VIII. 15).

NORTH ITALY; END OF FEBRUARY; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET.
CIC. 57.

M. Caelius Cn. Pompeium vituperat, C. Caesarem laudat, ut firmiorem; tum significat de desiderio conveniendi Ciceronis, de itinere ad Alpes et Domitio dimisso.

CAELIUS CICERONI S.

1. Ecquando tu hominem ineptiorem quam tuum Cn. Pompeium vidisti, qui tantas turbas, qui tam nugax esset, commorit? Ecquem autem Caesare nostro acriorem in rebus gerendis, eodem in victoria temperatiorem aut legisti aut audisti? Quid est? num tibi nostri milites, qui durissimis et frigidissimis locis, teterima hieme, bellum ambulando confecerunt, malis orbiculatis esse pasti videntur? 'Quid iam?' inquis; 'gloriose omnia.' Immo si scias quam sollicitus sim, tum hanc meam gloriam, quae ad me nihil pertinet, derideas. Quae tibi exponere nisi coram non

1. *Ecquando . . . commorit?*] 'Did you ever see a sillier man than your Gnaeus Pompeius for creating such a disturbance, and he such a good-for-nothing' (or 'trifler')? *qui . . . esset* = *cum is . . . esset*. Ernesti and Baier read *cum tam nugax esset*.

locis] about Corfinium.

teterrima] 'biting.'

ambulando] 'by a mere parade.' This usage of the modal ablative of the gerund belonged at this time to the language of ordinary life. Livy is the first writer who used it extensively in formal literature: cp. vol. III., Introduction, p. cviii; also Becher, p. 36; Schmalz, Syntax, p. 278.

malis orbiculatis] 'round apples.' These are mentioned in lists of apples in Varro and Columella: from this passage we may infer that they were a delicacy. We should say 'on plovers' eggs,' or 'on the fat of the land.'

'*Quid iam?*' inquis; '*gloriose omnia.*' Immo si scias] So we punctuate, making '*gloriose omnia*' (sc. *facta sunt*) part of what Cicero is supposed to say—"why go on?" (or "why all this?") you ask.

"Everything is glorious." Nay, if you only knew how anxious I am, then you would laugh at all this glorying of mine, which has no reference to *me*.' We supply *Immo*, with Wesenberg, after *omnia*; though perhaps it would be simpler to read *sed*, which might have fallen out before *si*. Lambinus read *Immo* for *omnia*. Wesenberg reads '*Quid? tam?*' inquis '*gloriose omnia?*' supplying *dicis*; and C. F. Hermann has *Quid? tam?* inquis '*gloriose?*' *Somnia!*

derideas] Wesenberg, after Gronovius, reads *non derideas*, for, says he, you do not laugh at a friend when in anxiety. But if one were in anxiety you might very well say that it was ridiculous for him to boast.

Quae tibi] Wesenberg (*Em. Alt.* 24) wishes to read *quod*, as the relative refers only to one thing, viz. the victory of Caesar. It may, however, very well refer to the many anxieties which Caelius was beginning to feel lest Caesar might not carry out the usual practices of victors in civil wars, such as wiping out the debts of his own partisans (cp. vol. III., p. lvi).

possum : idque celeriter fore spero. Nam me, cum expulisset ex Italia Pompeium, constituit ad urbem vocare: id quod iam existimo confectum, nisi si maluit Pompeius Brundisii circumsederi. 2. Peream, si minima causa est properandi isto mihi, quod te videre et omnia intima conferre discupio. Habeo autem quam multa! Hui vereor, quod solet fieri, ne, cum te videro, omnia obliviscar. Sed tamen quod ob scelus iter mihi necessarium retro ad Alpes versus incidit? Ideo, quod Intimelii in armis sunt, neque de magna causa. Bellienus, verna Demetrii, qui ibi cum praesidio erat, Domitium quemdam, nobilem illi Caesaris hospitem, a contraria factione nummis acceptis comprehendit et strangulavit. Civitas ad arma iit: eo nunc cum . * . cohortibus mihi per nives eundum est. Usque quaque, inquis, se Domitii male dant. Vellem quidem Venere prognatus tantum animi habuisset in vestro Domitio, quantum Psecade natus in hoc habuit. Ciceroni f. s. d.

Nam me] Wesenberg wishes to read *Caesar* after *me*. The addition would no doubt be better from a strictly literary point of view, but it is quite plainly *Caesar* that is referred to, and *Caelius* is often careless.

nisi si] a pleonasm, probably used in the ordinary language of conversation, found in Varro, Cornificius, and Cicero's Epistles, Fam. xiv. 2, 1 (79): cp. Schmalz, Antib. ii. 136.

2. *isto*] 'to that place of which I spoke to you': sc. Rome—a frequent use in Ovid, e. g. Pont. i. 2, 54, *Peior ab admonitu fit status iste boni*.

discupio] 'I am dying to see you,' a colloquial expression: cp. Plaut. Trin., iv. 2, 87 (932); Catull. 105, 2.

Sed tamen] 'but what have I done to deserve that I must needs turn back again to the Alps.' Note that it is incorrect to write *Alpes versus*; a preposition must be added before the substantive: cp. Fam. iv. 12, 1, *in Italiam versus navigaturus*; Caes. Bell. Gall. vi. 33, 1, *Labienum . . . ad Oceanum versus . . . proficisci iubet*; Kritz on Sall. Cat. 56, 3.

Ideo] So we read with Lambinus, for *Adeo*, which gives no adequate sense. 'The reason is that the Intimelii are in arms.' This answer does not exactly correspond to the question 'What have I done to deserve having to make this backward march?' but the inconsequence is not at all obtrusive in the case of such a

rhetorical question in a letter from Caelius. Lehmann (p. 41) suggests *immo*, which makes excellent sense, 'nay, no fault of mine, but because the Intimelii, &c.'; but this is very far from the mss reading.

Intimelii] a canton in Liguria. Its chief town was *Albium Intimelum*, now *Vintimiglia*.

illi] for *illic*, as often in Plautus.

*cum * cohortibus*] The number is omitted: perhaps it was *iiii.*, which might have fallen out after *cū*, and which is actually read by H₃: see Adn. Crit.

Usque quaque . . . dant] 'all along the line you say the Domitii are going to the bad.' For *se dare*, cp. Ter. Eun. ii. 1, 24, *Mirum ni ego me turpiter hodie hic dabo*; Cic. N. D. iii. 66, *Qui volt esse quod volt ita dat se res ut operam dabit*, 'where there's a will there's a way.'

Venere prognatus] Caesar.

vestro Domitio] Domitius Ahenobarbus, who was taken by Caesar at Corfinium, but who was at once released, and allowed to repair to the camp of Pompeius.

Psecade natus] i.e. Bellienus, the slave, son of Psecas, a common name for a tire-woman: cp. Juv. 6, 491. The name also appears as applied to one of Diana's nymphs (Ov. Met. iii. 172). The text is the brilliant emendation of Pantagathus for *ipse cadenatus* of the mss.

Ciceroni f. s. d.] = *filio salutem da*.

CCCXLV. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. VIII. 12).

FORMIAE; FEBRUARY 28; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero Attico scribit se hanc epistolam propter lippitudinem dictare, sed tamen scribere, ut Atticus sibi plane consilium suum explicet, quid sibi in summo rerum discrimine faciendum putet, sibi omnia integra esse pluribus verbis ostendit, etiam quid Lentulus, quid Domitius agat et acturus sit, scire vult et Demetrii librum de concordia ad se mitti. Adiuncta huic epistolae sunt exempla litterarum Pompeii ad consules et ad Domitium missarum.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Mihi molestior *lippitudo* erat etiam quam ante fuerat. Dictare tamen hanc epistolam malui quam Gallo Fadio, amantissimo utriusque nostrum, nihil ad te litterarum dare. Nam pridie quidem quoquo modo potueram, scripseram ipse eas litteras, quarum vaticinationem falsam esse cupio. Huius autem epistolae non solum ea causa est, ut ne quis a me dies intermittatur quin dem ad te litteras, sed etiam haec iustior, ut a te impetrarem ut sumeres aliquid temporis, quo quia tibi perexiguo opus est, explicari mihi tuum consilium plane volo, ut penitus intellegam.

2. Omnia sunt integra nobis. Nihil praetermissum est quod non habeat sapientem excusationem, non modo probabilem. Nam certe neque tum peccavi, cum imparatam Capuam, non solum ignaviae delictum, sed etiam perfidiae suspicionem fugiens, accipere nolui, neque cum post condiciones pacis per L. Caesarem et Fabatam adlatas cavi ne animum eius offenderem, cui Pompeius

1. *Gallo Fadio*] This is the usual order in Cicero. When a person is designated by *nomen* and *cognomen*, the *cognomen* is put first.

vaticinationem] see Att. viii. 11, 3 (342).

impetrarem] The change of mood involved in *impetrarem* after *intermittatur* is to be accounted for by the peculiar usage of the epistolary style. *Impetrarem* is an epistolary tense, and depends on *scripsi* understood: 'this letter is not solely to prevent a day passing without a letter to you, but it [here Cicero remembers that the etiquette of letter-writing projects the writer into the time when the letter will be read] was to beg you to

give yourself time when you write, and (as it will not take you long) I hope you will thoroughly explain your view, and make it completely intelligible to me.'

2. *Omnia sunt integra*] 'I have not committed myself to any course.'

non modo] 'not merely.' For *non modo* used in much the same way as *nedum*, cp. *nullum meum minimum dictum non modo factum*, Fam. i. 9, 21 (153).

imparatam . . . nolui] 'when I refused to take on myself the charge of Capua, which was unprepared to resist attack, because I wished to avoid not only the sin of incompetence, but the suspicion of treachery.' If he had accepted the charge of Capua, and had failed (as he knew he

iam armatus armato consulatum triumphumque deferret. 3. Nec vero haec extrema quisquam potest iure reprehendere, quod mare non transierim. Id enim, etsi erat deliberationis, tamen obire non potui. Neque enim suspicari debui, praesertim cum ex ipsius Pompeii litteris, idem quod video te existimasse, non dubitarim quin is Domitio subventurus esset. Et plane quid rectum et quid faciendum mihi esset diutius cogitari malui. 4. Primum igitur haec qualia tibi esse videantur, etsi significata sunt a te, tamen accuratius mihi perscribas velim, deinde aliquid etiam in posterum prospicias fingasque, quem me esse deceat et ubi me plurimum prodesse rei publicae sentias, ecquae pacifica persona desideretur an in bellatore sint omnia. 5. Atque ego, qui omnia officio metior, recordor tamen tua consilia, quibus si paruissem, tristitiam illorum temporum non subissem. Memini quid mihi tum suaseris per Theophanem, per Culleonem, idque saepe ingemiscens sum recordatus. Qua re nunc saltem ad illos calculos revertamur, quos tum abieci, ut non solum gloriosis consiliis utamur, sed etiam paulo salubrioribus. Sed nihil praescribo. Accurate velim perscribas tuam ad me sententiam. 6. Volo etiam exquiras quam diligentissime poteris—habebis autem per quos possis—quid Lentulus noster, quid Domitius agat, quid acturus sit, quem ad modum nunc se gerant, num quem accusent, num cui suscenseant—quid dico, num cui? num Pompeio? Omnino culpam omnem Pompeius in Domitium confert, quod ipsius litteris cognosci potest, quarum exemplum ad te misi. Haec igitur videbis, et, quod ad te ante scripsi, Demetrii Magnetis librum, quem ad te misit de concordia, velim mihi mittas.

must) to hold it against Caesar, he would have been accused of incompetence or treachery.

3. *erat deliberationis*] The insertion of *res* is not necessary, though we have *consilii res est* in reference to the same question in Att. vii. 10 (303); for we find *est tui consilii*, Att. ix. 12, 4 (368); *maioris consilii esset*, Att. x. 1, 3 (378): so also in Fam. ix. 6, 2 (470); iv. 6, 3.

obire non potui] *obire* is the word used for 'keeping an appointment,' as in *obire diem*, *comitia*. The meaning is that he could not join Pompey in his flight, because he could not reach him before he sailed. The same meaning is expressed by *non occurrimus* in Att. viii. 11, 4 (342).

4. *fingasque . . . omnia*] 'give me a sketch of what you think would be the most graceful attitude for me to assume, where you think I could serve the State best, and whether the rôle of a man of peace is required at all, or everything depends on a man of war.' For the last clause see note on Att. viii. 2 fin. (332).

5. *illorum temporum*] 'that crisis in my life,' his exile.

ad illos calculos] 'let us go over the old calculation afresh.'

gloriosus] a distinct instance of the usage of this word, which Milton condemned in Salmasius, 'glorious,' not 'boastful.'

6. *quarum*] sc. Epp. 325, 329, 330, 331.

CCCXLVI. BALBUS TO CICERO (ATT. VIII. 15 A).

ROME; END OF FEBRUARY; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

BALBUS CICERONI IMP. SAL.

1. Obsecro te, Cicero, suscipe curam et cogitationem dignissimam tuae virtutis, ut Caesarem et Pompeium perfidia hominum distractos rursus in pristinam concordiam reducas. Crede mihi Caesarem non solum fore in tua potestate, sed etiam maximum beneficium te sibi dedisse iudicaturum, si huc te reiicis. Velim idem Pompeius faciat, qui ut adduci tali tempore ad ullam conditionem possit magis opto quam spero. Sed, cum constiterit et timere desierit, tum incipiam non desperare tuam auctoritatem plurimum apud eum valituram. 2. Quod Lentulum consulem meum voluisti hic remanere, Caesari gratum, mihi vero gratissimum medius fidiis fecisti. Nam illum tanti facio, ut non Caesarem magis diligam: qui si passus esset, nos secum, ut consueveramus, loqui et non se totum etiam atque etiam ab sermone nostro avertisset, minus miser, quam sum, essem. Nam cave putes hoc tempore plus me quemquam cruciari, quod eum, quem ante me diligo, video in consulatu quidvis potius esse quam consulem. Quod si voluerit tibi obtemperare et nobis de Caesare credere et consulatum reliquum Romae peragere, incipiam sperare etiam consilio senatus, auctore te, illo relatore, Pompeium et Caesarem

1. *virtutis*] *Dignus* with genitive is unciceronian, but is perhaps found in Pl. Trin. v. 2, 29 (1153): see I², p. 71.

Crede mihi] see note on Att. viii. 14, 1 (349).

fore in tua potestate] 'will meet your wishes.'

huc te reiicis] 'if you throw yourself into this matter,' an unusual expression for *si huic rei operam das maximam*. The use of the future perfect *reieceris* would have been far more in accordance with Ciceronian usages.

magis opto quam spero] 'it is rather a dream of mine than a hope': see Reid on Balb. 9, where he shows that *sperare* is to look forward to what is practicable, and may be expected to happen in the ordinary course of events, while *optare* is

to look forward to what can happen only by an extraordinary stroke of good fortune. Hence *optare* is 'to indulge in wild dreams,' as in Acad. ii. 121.

constiterit] 'when he becomes settled, and recovers from his panic.'

2. *meum*] If this word is right, and should not be changed to *mecum*, it points to the fact that this Balbus received the Roman citizenship from Lentulus, from whom he took the name of *L. Corneius*.

ante me] 'more than myself.' Cicero would have written *plus quam me*. A little below *illo relatori* should have been *illo referente*, and in § 3 *confieret* would have been *conficeretur* in a letter of Cicero's. *Confieret* is used by Balbus both here and in Att. ix. 7 A, 1 (351), and *confieri* by Sulpicius, Fam. iv. 5, 1.

coniungi posse. Quod si factum erit, me satis vixisse putabo. 3. Factum Caesaris de Corfinio totum te probaturum scio; quo modo in eius modi re, commodius cadere non potuit quam ut res sine sanguine confieret. Balbi mei tuique adventu delectatum te valde gaudeo. Is quaecumque tibi de Caesare dixit quaeque Caesar scripsit, scio, re tibi probabit, quaecumque fortuna eius fuerit, verissime scripsisse.

CCCXLVII. CAESAR TO OPPIUS AND BALBUS
(Att. ix. 7 c).

ARPI; ABOUT MARCH 1; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

CAESAR OPPIO CORNELIO SAL.

1. Gaudeo mehercule vos significare litteris quam valde probetis ea, quae apud Corfinium sunt gesta. Consilio vestro utar libenter et hoc libentius, quod mea sponte facere constitueram ut quam lenissimum me praeberem et Pompeium darem operam ut reconciliarem. Temptemus, hoc modo si possumus omnium voluntates recuperare et diuturna victoria uti, quoniam reliqui crudelitate odium effugere non potuerunt neque victoriam diutius tenere

3. *quo modo in eius modi re*] 'taking all the circumstances into account.' A verb is usually supplied in this phrase, as *quomodo nunc se res habet*, Fam. xiv. 14, 1 (309); but we have *quomodo in tanta insania*, Att. ix. 7, 3 (362).

Balbi mei tuique] Balbus the younger, nephew of the writer of the letter.

Is . . . scripsisse] 'whatever he (Balbus junior) has said to you about Caesar, and whatever Caesar has said to you in his letters, Caesar (I am persuaded) will prove himself by his acts, whatever position Balbus was in, to have been perfectly sincere.' This is so wretchedly expressed that to avoid its awkwardness either by emendation or translation would be to misrepresent it. What Balbus wishes to say is 'Caesar will make good in his acts the promises made by him in his letters, as well as those conveyed to you in conversation by Balbus junior'; but in fact he only vouches

for the sincerity of the assurances conveyed in the letters of Caesar, though by his awkward introduction of the fortunes of Balbus, he shows that he thinks he has also vouched for the trustworthiness of his personal interviews with Cicero. It is possible, however, that the nominative to *probabit* is Balbus; but this still leaves the sentence very awkward.

scio] For *scio* parenthetical cp. *memento*, Att. ix. 7, 4 (362).

1. *facere ut*] 'to see that,' a method of strengthening the verb common in Ciceronian speech.

si possumus] The change to *possimus* is not necessary. The earlier Latin writers (whom Caesar here follows) use indicative after *si*. Besides, it is not certain that *si possumus* is not parenthetical, and independent of *temptemus*.

reliqui] especially Marius and Cinna.

praeter unum L. Sullam, quem imitaturus non sum. Haec nova sit ratio vincendi, ut misericordia et liberalitate nos muniamus. Id quem ad modum fieri possit, non nulla mihi in mentem veniunt et multa reperiri possunt. De his rebus rogo vos ut cogitationem suscipiatis. 2. N. Magium, Pompeii praefectum, deprehendi. Scilicet meo instituto usus sum et eum statim missum feci. Iam duo praefecti fabrum Pompeii in meam potestatem venerunt et a me missi sunt. Si volent grati esse, debebunt Pompeium hortari, ut malit mihi esse amicus quam iis, qui et illi et mihi semper fuerunt inimicissimi, quorum artificiis effectum est ut res publica in hunc statum perveniret.

CCCXLVIII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. VIII. 13).

FORMIAE; MARCH 1; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero Attico scribit sibi omnem expectationem in nuntiis Brundisinis esse. Caesaris acumen, vigilantiam, prudentiam laudat eique iam plurimos confidere dicit.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Lippitudinis meae signum tibi sit librarii manus et eadem causa brevitatis, etsi nunc quidem quod scriberem nihil erat. Omnis expectatio nostra erat in nuntiis Brundisinis. Si nactus hic esset Gnaeum nostrum, spes dubia pacis, sin ille ante transisset, exitiosi belli metus. Sed videsne in quem hominem inciderit res publica? quam acutum, quam vigilantem, quam paratum? Si mehercule neminem occiderit nec cuiquam quidquam ademerit, ab iis, qui eum maxime timuerant, maxime diligetur. 2. Multum mecum municipales homines loquuntur, multum rustici. Nihil prorsus aliud curant nisi agros, nisi villulas, nisi nummulos suos. Et vide, quam conversa res est; illum, quo antea confidebant,

2. *N. Magium*] Numerius Magius and Vibullus Rufus were *praefecti fabrum* under Pompey. Magius is mentioned again in ix. 13 A (370) and 13, 8 (171).

1. *manus*] 'handwriting.'
spes dubia pacis] sc. *erat*, an epistolary tense.

inciderit] 'what kind of a man he is

into whose hands the Republic has fallen.'

2. *municipales homines*] 'the inhabitants of the country towns.' The *rustici* are the 'country farmers.'

villulas] 'farmhouses.'

quam conversa res est] *Est* is the reading of the mss. There does not appear to be any sufficient reason for changing *est* to *sit*, as most editors have done.

metuunt, hunc amant, quem timebant. Id quantis nostris peccatis vitiisque evenerit non possum sine molestia cogitare. Quae autem impendere putarem scripseram ad te et iam tuas litteras expectabam.

CCCXLIX. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. VIII. 14).

FORMIAE; MARCH 2; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

Non quod novi aliquid scribere possit, sed ut in scribendo requiescat, Cicero has litteras ad Atticum se ait mittere, expectatione se torqueri, quod Caesar citius ad Brundisium accessurus esse videatur: iam labare suum consilium: cupere se scire quid Domitius acturus sit et Lentulus.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Non dubito quin tibi odiosae sint epistolae cotidianae, cum praesertim neque nova de re aliqua certiore te faciam neque novam denique iam reperiam scribendi ullam sententiam. Sed, si dedita opera, cum causa nulla esset, tabellarios ad te cum inanibus epistolis mitterem, facerem inepte: euntibus vero, domesticis praesertim, ut nihil ad te dem litterarum, facere non possum, et simul—crede mihi—requiesco paullum in his miseriis, cum quasi tecum loquor; cum vero tuas epistolas lego, multo etiam magis. Omnino intellego nullum fuisse tempus post has fugas et formidines nostras quod magis debuerit mutum esse a litteris, propterea

1. *odiosae*] 'bore you,' Cp. *quod erat odium? quae superbia?* Cluent. 109. *Odiosus* is the regular word for a bore in the comic drama, as in *mihi odiosus es quisquis es*, Pl. Mil. ii. 5, 19 (427); and the feeling he excites is *odium*, as in the common phrase *odio me enecas*, 'you are boring me to death.' So *non res sed actor mihi cor odio sauciat*, Bacch. ii. 2, 35 (213); *iam hic me abegerit suo odio*, As. ii. 4, 40 (446); *odiorum Ilias*, Mil. iii. 1, 148 (743); *tundendo atque odio*, 'by incessant boring,' Ter. Hec. i. 2, 48.

inanibus epistolis] It would be foolish to send special messengers with letters devoid of news.

ut nihil . . . facere non possum] 'I cannot help writing to you.'

crede mihi] Except here and in Att. v.

10, 1 (198), Cicero always writes *mihi crede*; but *crede mihi* is the order adopted by many of his correspondents, Brutus, Fam. xi. 26; Cassius, Fam. xii. 12, 4; Caelius, Fam. viii. 17, 1 (408).

mutum a litteris] 'no time when our correspondence has been so small,' lit. 'no time so silent on the score of letters.' For this use of *a* see on Att. v. 18, 2 (218). Professor Palmer by means of this passage restored Ov. Her. xiii. 110,

Cur venit a verbis muta querella latens,

where the best MS gave *a verbis multa querella tens*, and the vulgate is *a verbis multa querella tuis*. But *querella venit a verbis* is not Latin. Hence the verse should run

Cur venit, a verbis muta, querella latens?

quod neque Romae quidquam auditur novi nec in his locis, quae a Brundisio absunt propius [quam tu] biduum aut triduum. Brundisii autem omne certamen vertitur huius primi temporis. Quae quidem expectatione torqueor. Sed omnia ante Non. sciemus. Eodem enim die video Caesarem [a] Corfinio post meridiem profectum esse, id est, Feralibus, quo Canusio mane Pompeium. Eo modo autem ambulat Caesar et iis congiariis militum celeritatem incitat, ut timeam ne citius ad Brundisium quam opus sit accesserit. 2. Dices: 'Quid igitur proficis, qui anticipes eius rei molestiam, quam triduo sciturus sis?' Nihil equidem. Sed, ut supra dixi, tecum perlibenter loquor, et simul scito labare meum consilium illud, quod satis iam fixum videbatur. Non mihi satis idonei sunt auctores ii, qui a te probantur. Quod enim umquam eorum in re publica forte factum exstitit? aut quis ab iis ullam rem laude dignam desiderat? Nec mehercule laudandos existimo, qui trans mare belli parandi causa profecti sunt—quamquam haec ferenda non erant, video enim quantum id bellum et quam pestiferum futurum sit—sed me movet unus vir, cuius fugientis comes, rem publicam recuperantis socius videor esse debere. 'Totiensne

a Brundisio . . . triduum] 'which is less than two or three days' journey from Brundisium.' We quite agree with Boot in bracketing the *quam tu*, which was doubtless inserted by some copyist who did not understand the use of *propius*, which is, however, perfectly paralleled by Legg. ii. 61, *propius sexaginta pedes*. There would have been no point in Cicero's mentioning that Formiae, from which he wrote, was not so far from Brundisium as Rome, where Atticus was; besides such a meaning would require *biduo aut triduo*.

Non.] Again we gladly accept Boot's conjecture, *Non.* = *Nonas* for *nos*, which arose from the false reading and mistaken interpretation of the foregoing words.

Feralibus] February 21.

congiariis] 'largess, bounties.' The MSS have *diariis*, but there is no reason to believe that *diariis* could mean anything but 'daily rations,' which would not be so efficacious as money for stimulating the energy of the forces. Still less would Caesar have been likely to trust to words, however well chosen, at such a crisis: hence the conjectures *dictis* and *dicteris* have not found much favour.

citius quam opus sit] 'sooner than we want.'

2. *qui anticipes*] 'what good will you do by forestalling the unpleasant business which you will know all about in three days.'

auctores ii] M. Lepidus and L. Volcutius, Att. ix. 10, 7 (365).

desiderat] This word is here used in a very unusual sense, 'who looks for, expects any good deed from them?' The same words would better express the very opposite sentiment, 'who misses any service on their part?' that is, 'do they ever fail to do their duty?' *Desiderare* means—(1) to miss, or regret the absence of; (2) to long for, desire; (3) apparently only here, to look for, expect. (1) is frequent; (2) is found Arch. 28, Phil. v. 35, and elsewhere. We do not know of any other passage except this one which *must* be translated 'expect,' and *cannot* be translated 'desire.' This latter translation can be given to such passages as Lael. 82, Fin. v. 13.

quamquam] The conjunction depends on an ellipse: '[I say merely *nec laudandos existimo*] though in reality their conduct is intolerable.'

comes . . . socius] This passage well

igitur sententiam mutas?' Ego tecum tamquam mecum loquor. Quis autem est tanta quidem de re quin varie secum ipse disputet? Simul et elicere cupio sententiam tuam: si manet, ut firmior sim, si mutata est, ut tibi adsentiar. 3. Omnino ad id, de quo dubito, pertinet me scire quid Domitius acturus sit, quid noster Lentulus. De Domitio varia audimus, modo esse in Tiburti haud lepide modo cum Lepidis accessisse ad urbem, quod item falsum video esse. Ait enim Lepidus eum nescio quo penetrasse itineribus *occultis*, occultandi sui causa an maris adipiscendi? ne is quidem scit. Ignorat etiam de filio. Addit illud, sane molestum: pecuniam Domitio satis grandem, quam is Corfinii habuerit, non esse redditam. De Lentulo autem nihil audiemus. Haec velim exquiras ad meque perscribas.

illustrates the difference in meaning between these two words, *comes* indicating merely community of space and circumstances, *socius* participation in action.

Ego tecum] We have prefixed this as a motto to the whole correspondence, as accurately and pointedly describing the character of the letters to Atticus and his other most intimate friends, letters which constitute by far the largest and most valuable part of the correspondence.

3. *haud lepide*] Cicero nearly always plays on a name when a name is susceptible of such treatment. It is as if an Englishman, playing on the names of friends named Gay, should write 'sometimes we hear he is in his place at Tivoli, where, however, he is far from gay: then that he has joined the Gays, and gone to Rome, which last report, as well as the first, I can see is false.' The word *item* shows that two reports are spoken of, both of which are repudiated by Cicero. The easiest way to obtain this sense is to accept the conjecture which gives *modo cum* for *quo cum*; but the reading is very doubtful. *Lepide esse*, 'to enjoy oneself,' represents a fashion of speech which is common in the comic drama.

occultis] would have easily fallen out before *occultandi*: cp. *occultum iter*, Att. viii. 16, 1 (352).

an] 'or is it': see note on Att. i. 3, 2 (8).

adipiscendi] It would be rash to ascribe to Cicero the use of the old form *apiscendi* here, and here only; it rests only on the authority of M¹, M² giving *adipiscendi*. M¹, however, is the more valuable evidence on a point like this, as it represents the unedited tradition.

de filio] We learn from Att. ix. 3, 1 (358) that on March 8 the son of Domitius passed Formiae on his way to his mother (Porcia, the sister of Cato) at Naples.

non esse redditam] Caes. B. C. i. 23 says that a sum of 6,000,000 sesterces was brought to him by the *duumviri* of Corfinium, which had been left behind by Domitius. Although this was clearly ascertained to be public money assigned by Pompey for the payment of the troops, Caesar restored it to Domitius, *ne continentior in vita hominum quam in pecunia fuisse videatur*, 'to show that he was as scrupulous about taking money as about taking life.'

CCCL. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. VIII. 15).

FORMIAE; MARCH 3; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero ad Attici epistolas respondet, quid ipse agat dubitat, transeatne an maneat, aliorum dissimilem esse condicionem. Adiungit exemplum litterarum Cornelii Balbi ad se datarum, quibus Balbus Ciceronem exhortatur ad pacem inter Caesarem atque Pompeium conciliandam.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. A. d. v. Non. Martias epistolas mihi tuas Aegypta reddidit, unam veterem, IIII. Kal. quam te scribis dedisse Pinario, quem non vidimus, in qua exspectas quidnam praemissus agat Vibullius, qui omnino non est visus a Caesare—id altera epistola video te scire ita esse—et quem ad modum redeuntem excipiam Caesarem, quem omnino vitare cogito, †et authemonis fugam tendis commutationemque vitae tuae, quod tibi puto esse faciendum, et ignoras Domitius cum fascibusne sit, quod cum scies, facies ut sciamus. Habes ad primam epistolam. 2. Secutae sunt duae, pridie Kal. ambae datae, quae me convellerunt de pristino statu,

1. *quidnam praemissus agat Vibullius*] ‘You are waiting to hear how speeds the mission of Vibullius, who was sent by Pompey with proposals to Caesar—he never had any interview with Caesar at all. I see you have ascertained this fact from another letter.’ We learn from Caes. B. C. i. 34, that Caesar let Vibullius leave Corfinium, and that he returned with proposals to Caesar from Pompey. As we know from B. C. iii. 10, that Caesar did afterwards entrust to this Vibullius a message to Pompey, it is not likely that (as Manutius thought) on this occasion too Caesar had charged Vibullius with a commission to which he proved false. Had this been so, Caesar was not the man to trust him again. Moreover, the words *non est visus a Caesare* could not bear the meaning assigned to them by Manutius, ‘Caesar never saw him again’; that is, ‘he never returned to Caesar.’ The fact was, Caesar permitted Vibullius to depart from Corfinium, and when he joined Pompey the latter sent him with proposals to Caesar, with whom, however, he never had an interview.

†*et authemonis fugam*] No attempt

worth mentioning has been made to correct these words, which probably nothing will ever explain but the discovery of the letter of Atticus to which this is a reply. *Tendis* should probably be corrected to *intendis*, the *in* dropping out easily after the *m* of *fugam*. As Cicero is still describing the contents of Atticus’s first letter, *intendis* means ‘(you say) you contemplate,’ and *ignoras* ‘(you say) you don’t know.’ *Commutationemque vitae tuae* probably refers to some new *diaeta* recommended to Atticus for the cure of his quartan ague.

cum fascibusne sit] The senate had conferred on Domitius the province of Gaul. Atticus wanted to know whether Domitius still retained the *insignia* of *imperium*; the answer to that question might afford a clue to his attitude towards Pompey. Cicero says ‘when you learn the truth about this let me know.’ As Domitius was appointed to Gaul in supersession of Caesar his retaining his *fascēs* would be a defiance of Caesar, and his foregoing them would be a token of submission.

2. *convellerunt*] ‘hurled me from my

iam tamen, ut ante ad te scripsi, labantem. Nec me movet, quod scripsisti: 'Iovi ipsi iniquum.' Nam periculum in utriusque iracundia positum est, victoria autem ita incerta, ut deterior causa paratior mihi esse videatur. Nec me consules movent, qui ipsi pluma aut folio facilius moventur. Officii me deliberatio cruciat cruciavitque adhuc. Cautior certe est mansio, honestior existimatur traiectio. Malo interdum multi me non caute quam pauci non honeste fecisse existiment. De Lepido et Tullo quod quaeris, illi vero non dubitant quin Caesari praesto futuri in senatumque venturi sint. 3. Recentissima tua est epistola Kal. data, in qua optas congressum pacemque non desperas. Sed ego, cum haec scribebam, nec illos congressuros nec, si congressi essent, Pompeium ad ullam condicionem accessurum putabam. Quod videris non dubitare, si consules transeant, quid nos facere oporteat, certe transeunt vel, quo modo nunc est, transierunt. Sed memento praeter Appium neminem esse fere, qui non ius habeat transeundi. Nam aut cum imperio sunt, ut Pompeius, ut Scipio, Sufenas, Fannius, Voconius, Sestius, ipsi consules, quibus more maiorum concessum est vel omnes adire provincias, aut legati sunt eorum. Sed nihil decerno. Quid placeat tibi et quid propemodum rectum sit intellego. Plura scriberem, si ipse possem. Sed, ut mihi videor, potero biduo. Balbi Cornelii litterarum exemplum, quas eodem die accepi quo tuas, misi ad te, ut meam vicem doleres, cum me derideri videres.

old position,' a strengthening of the phrase (common in Livy) *movere de statu*. Atticus's letter seems to have suggested to him that to join Pompey was the more honourable course.

Iovi ipsi iniquum] that Pompey would pursue vindictively anyone who opposed him, would spare no one, however distinguished.

periculum in utriusque iracundia] Cicero says he is not greatly influenced by Atticus's remark, that Pompey will be as angry with those who stay in Rome as with those who join Caesar, because there will be peril from the conqueror, whichever side wins, and at present the worse cause (Caesar's) seems to have the better chance of success.

Lepido et Tullo] Atticus's chosen advisers: see Att. viii. 14, 2 (349).

3. *praeter Appium*] Except Appius, who was censor, and was not invested with the imperium, and therefore was confined to Rome, not one of those who had joined Pompey were forbidden by law to visit the provinces if they pleased, being all either invested with the imperium, or lieutenants to those who were: cp. Mommsen, St. R. i. 51, note 2:

ipse] 'without an amanuensis.'

litterarum] i.e. Ep. 346.

ut meum . . . videres] 'so that you might sympathise with me on seeing me mocked' by the pretence that I still possess an influence which I have lost long ago.

CCCLI. BALBUS AND OPPIUS TO CICERO

(ATT. IX. 7 A).

ROME; ABOUT MARCH 3; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

BALBUS ET OPPIUS S. D. M. CICERONI.

1. Nedum hominum humilium, ut nos sumus, sed etiam amplissimorum virorum consilia ex eventu, non ex voluntate a plerisque probari solent: tamen freti tua humanitate, quod verissimum nobis videbitur, de eo, quod ad nos scripsisti, tibi consilium dabimus, quod si non fuerit prudens, at certe ab optima fide et optimo animo proficiscetur. Nos, si id quod nostro iudicio Caesarem facere oportere existimamus, ut, simul Romam venerit, agat de reconciliatione gratiae suae et Pompeii, id eum facturum ex ipso cognovissemus, *non desineremus* te hortari, velles iis rebus interesse, quo facilius et maiore cum dignitate per te, qui utrique es coniunctus, res tota confieret, aut, si ex contrario putaremus Caesarem id non facturum et eum velle cum Pompeio bellum gerere sciremus, numquam tibi suaderemus, *ut* contra hominem optime de te meritum arma ferres, sicuti te semper oravimus ne contra Caesarem pugnares. 2. Sed cum etiam nunc quid facturus Caesar sit magis opinari quam scire *possimus*, non possumus nisi hoc: non videri eam tuam esse dignitatem neque fidem omnibus cognitam, ut contra alterutrum, cum utrique sis maxime necessarius, arma feras, et hoc non dubitamus quin Caesar pro sua humanitate maxime sit probaturus. Nos tamen, si tibi videbitur, ad Caesarem scribemus, ut nos certiores

1. *Nedum*] The use of this word in the same sense as *non modo* is quite unciceronian, and has not the authority of any good writers. The meaning shows it to be corrupt in Att. x. 16 fin. (402); but there is no reason why Balbus should not have fallen into this inelegance.

verissimum . . . consilium] 'the best, soundest advice.'

ut . . . agat] This is the explanatory subjunctive, for which see on Ep. xii. 47, 'if we were certain that Caesar would do what in our opinion he ought, namely, treat

with Pompey for peace immediately on arriving at Rome, we should not cease to urge you to take part in the negotiations.' We have inserted *non desineremus* immediately after *cognovissemus*, as the *homoeoteleuton* would then go far to account for the loss of the words from the mss. Some word like *deberemus* would do quite as well, or even the change of *hortari* to *hortaremur*.

2. *non possumus nisi*] The ellipse of *scribere* or *dicere* is redolent of the *Vulgarismus* of colloquial communication.

faciat quid hac re acturus sit: a quo si erit nobis rescriptum, statim, quae sentiemus ad te scribemus et tibi fidem faciemus nos ea suadere, quae nobis videntur tuae dignitati, non Caesaris rationi esse utilissima, et hoc Caesarem pro sua indulgentia in suos probaturum putamus.

CCCLII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. VIII. 16).

FORMIAE; MARCH 4; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero Attico scribit se iter ad mare superum, ut transeat, quaerere, sed tamen non tam Pompeii auctoritate quam sermone hominum ut proficiscatur adduci.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Omnia mihi provisa sunt praeter occultum et tutum iter ad mare superum. Hoc enim mari uti non possumus hoc tempore anni. Illuc autem, quo spectat animus et quo res vocat, qua veniam? Cedendum enim est celeriter, ne forte qua re impediatur atque adliger. Nec vero ille me ducit, qui videtur, quem ego hominem ἀπολιτικώτατον omnium iam ante cognoram, nunc vero etiam ἀστρατηγητότατον. Non me igitur is ducit, sed sermo hominum, qui ad me a Philotimo scribitur. Is enim me ab optimatibus ait conscindi. Quibus optimatibus, di boni? qui nunc quo modo occurrunt! quo modo autem se venditant Caesari! Municipia vero ut deo, nec simulant, ut cum de illo aegroto vota faciebant.

hac re] 'things being as they are.' For the ablative see on Ep. cxxxi. 4.

rationi] This is Boot's correction of *actioni*. The meaning required is 'what may suit Caesar's interests,' which would be expressed by *rationi*, 'policy,' not by *actioni*, which would mean 'negotiation,' as in Att. ix. 9, 2 (364).

1. *mare superum*] the Adriatic.

hoc] i.e. *mare inferum*.

Illuc] to Brundisium.

qua] 'by what route.'

ducit] 'attracts.'

Philotimo] Terentia's steward, at whose dishonesty he often hints in Att. vi.

conscindi] 'torn to pieces' with abuse: cp. *sibilis conscissi*, Att. ii. 19, 3 (46).

Municipia vero ut deo] The common reading *municipia vero deum*, understand some such verb as *faciunt* or *ducunt*, but broad as are the limits of ellipse in these letters, it is difficult to see how such an ellipse could possibly be justified, as there is no word whatever from which *faciunt* or *ducunt* might be inferred. It seems probable that Cicero wrote something like *municipia vero ut deo*, with which the words *se venditant*, or some word or words implied by these words might be understood.

vota faciebant] When Pompey was ill in Naples there were public prayers for his recovery, a circumstance alluded to in the celebrated passage of Juvenal already quoted from Sat. x. 283: cp. vol. iii., p. lxxxviii.

2. Sed plane, quidquid mali hic Pisistratus non fecerit, tam gratum est quam si alium facere prohibuerit. Propitium *hunc* sperant, illum iratum putant. Quas fieri censes ἀπαντήσεις ex oppidis! quos honores! Metuunt, inquires. Credo, sed mehercule illum magis. Huius insidiosa clementia delectantur, illius iracundiam formidant. Iudices de ccclx., qui praecipue Gnaeo nostro delectabantur, ex quibus cotidie aliquem video, nescio quas eius Lucerias horrent. Itaque quaero qui sint isti optimates qui me exturbent, cum ipsi domi maneant. Sed tamen, quicumque sunt, αἰδέομαι Τρώας. Etsi qua spe proficiscar video, coniungoque me cum homine magis ad vastandam Italiam quam ad vincendum parato, dominumque exspecto. Et quidem, cum haec scribebam IIII. Nonas, iam exspectabam aliquid a Brundisio. Quid autem aliquid? quam inde turpiter fugisset et victor hic qua se referret et quo. Quod ubi audissem, si ille Appia veniret, ego Arpinum cogitabam.

2. *fecerit*] 'did not in their opinion commit.' Such is the force of the subjunctive.

hunc] is Caesar, *illum* is Pompey throughout.

Quas . . . ἀπαντήσεις] 'what an ovation' (newspaper slang, answering to Cicero's use of Greek).

Iudices de ccclx.] 'those who are on the jury list of 360' judges enrolled by Pompey: cp. note on Fam. viii. 8, 5 (223).

Lucerias] 'they shudder at vague Lucerias which they conjure up,' that is, 'they fancy proscriptions are impending such as were threatened at Luceria,' as we read in Att. viii. 11, 4 (342): cp. *una collocutio nostra pluris erit quam omnes Samarobrivae*, 'than all the Samarobrivas in the world' (that is, 'than all you might gain by being with Caesar at Amiens'), Fam. vii. 11, 2 (167).

qui me exturbent] 'who are there to hunt me out of Italy?'

αἰδέομαι Τρώας] Hom. Il. vi. 442. This is his constant way of expressing his fear of public opinion.

dominumque exspecto] so Klein for *domum quem*. Perhaps *Deum num quem exspecto*? for which cp. Att. ix. 6, 5, *quid tu autem possis? aut quid homo quisquam? vix iam deus*.

aliquid?] 'why do I say *some news*, when I expect the (definite) information of Pompey's disgraceful flight, and the

route by which Caesar is returning, and the direction in which he is moving.'

Quod . . . cogitabam] 'on hearing which I think of going to Arpinum if Caesar returns by the Appian Way,' Arpinum being much further than Formiae from the Appian Way. The alternative road was the *Via Minucia* mentioned Att. ix. 6, 1 (360), and Hor. Ep. i. 18, 20, where Wilkins writes: 'By comparing Caes. B. C. i. 24 with c. 15 of the same book, it is clear that the cohorts (mentioned ad Att. ix. 6, 1, *cohortes sex quae Albae fuissent ad Curium Minucia transisse*) were not at Alba Longa, but at Alba, on the Fucine Lake. The *Via Minucia* must have been either another name for the *Via Valeria*, which led through Tibur to Alba and Corfinium, and so on to the sea at Aternum, or (perhaps more probably) for a part of it. From Strabo, vi. p. 283, we learn that there were two roads from Beneventum to Brundisium—one the Appian, passing through Tarentum, and better suited for carriages; the other fit only for mules, and passing through Herdonia, Canusium, and Egnatia. The latter was that taken by Maecenas and Horace on the journey to Brundisium. Mr. Bunbury (Dict. Geog. ii. 1282) thinks it not improbable that this was the *Via Minucia*. Professor Palmer suggests that the road from Beneventum to Canusium was a cross-road, connecting the two great roads. This

CCCLIII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. IX. 1).

FORMIAE; MARCH 6; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero Attico scribit se expectare nuntium, quid Brundisii actum sit, se nescire ubi P. Lentulus, ubi Domitius sit, multos optimatum iam in urbe esse, alios fore, se tamen cogitare, quod cunctatio sua a bonis non probetur, Arpinum proficisci, inde ad mare superum, ut Pompeium sequatur vel potius causam publicam, quam is suscepisse videatur.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Etsi, cum tu has litteras legeres, putabam fore ut scirem iam quid Brundisii actum esset—nam Canusio viii. Kal. profectus erat Gnaeus, haec autem scribebam pridie Nonas, xiiii. die postquam ille Canusio moverat,—tamen angebar singularum horarum expectatione mirabarque nihil adlatum esse ne rumoris quidem. Nam erat mirum silentium. Sed haec fortasse *κενόσπουδα* sunt, quae tamen iam sciantur necesse est. 2. Illud molestum, me adhuc investigare non posse ubi P. Lentulus noster sit, ubi Domitius. Quaero autem, quo facilius scire possim quid acturi sint, iturine ad Pompeium, et, si sunt, qua quandove ituri sint. Urbem quidem iam refertam esse optimatum audio. Sosium et Lupum, quos Gnaeus noster ante putabat Brundisium venturos esse quam se, ius dicere. Hinc vero vulgo vadunt. Etiam M'. Lepidus, quocum diem conterere solebam, cras cogitabat. 3. Nos autem in Formiano morabamur, quo citius audiremus: deinde Arpinum volebamus. Inde, iter qua maxime *ἀναπάντητον* esset, ad mare superum, remotis sive omnino missis

last view is the only one which I can reconcile with the words of Cicero, taken in connexion with Caesar's account. The nature of the country does not admit of a road straight from Alba to Beneventum, and there is no indication of such a road in the Itineraries.'

1. *moverat*] used absolutely and intransitively both by Cicero and Livy.

singularum horarum expectatione] 'hourly expectation.'

κενόσπουδα] 'questions of mere curiosity, and we must soon know the answers.'

2. *Sosium et Lupum . . . ius dicere*] These have both been already mentioned as praetors—C. Sosius in Att. viii. 6, 1 (337); P. Rutilius Lupus in Att. viii. 12 A, 4 (331).

Hinc vero vulgo vadunt] 'there is a general move from here.'

3. *Nos . . . lictoribus*] 'I am still lingering at Formiae, to be more in the way of news; I think of going to Arpinum next: then I will make my way to the Adriatic, choosing the route by which I am least likely to fall in with anyone, dispensing with or absolutely dismissing my lictors.' He again avoids

lictoribus. Audio enim bonis viris, qui et nunc et saepe antea magno praesidio rei publicae fuerunt, hanc cunctationem nostram non probari multaque in me et severe in conviviiis, tempestivis quidem, disputari. Cedamus igitur et, ut boni cives simus, bellum Italiae terra marique inferamus et odia improborum rursus in nos, quae iam extincta erant, incendamus et Luceii consilia ac Theophani persequamur. 4. Nam Scipio vel in Syriam proficiscitur, sorte, vel cum genero, honeste, vel Caesarem fugit iratum. Marcelli quidem, nisi gladium Caesaris timuissent, manerent. Appius et eodem timore et inimicitiarum recentium etiam: praeter hunc et C. Cassium reliqui legati, Faustus pro quaestore: ego unus, cui utrumvis liceret: frater accedit, quem socium huius fortunae esse non erat aequum, cui magis etiam Caesar irasceretur. Sed impetrare non possum ut maneat. Dabimus hoc Pompeio, quod debemus. Nam me quidem alius nemo movet: non sermo bonorum,

mentioning Caesar. The lictors are said 'to be dispensed with' (*remotis*) when they are not required to be in attendance; *sive* has a corrective force, which Boot illustrates by *pueri sive iam adolescentis*, Att. vi. 2, 2 (256); *haec scripsi seu dictavi*, xiv. 21, 4. Sometimes *sive potius* or *sive etiam* is used; *omnino* here goes with *missis*.

conviviis, tempestivis] 'at their entertainments, wild and extravagant ones too': *tempestivis* is literally 'early,' that is, beginning before the customary hour of three or so in the afternoon, and therefore protracted, so that Cicero says 'early ones too' in *exactly* the same sense in which a modern writer would say 'late ones too.'

Luceii ac Theophani] These were the chosen advisers of Pompey. The *-i* form of the genitive of proper names in *-es* is preferred by Cicero, who writes *Themistocli, Alcibiadi*.

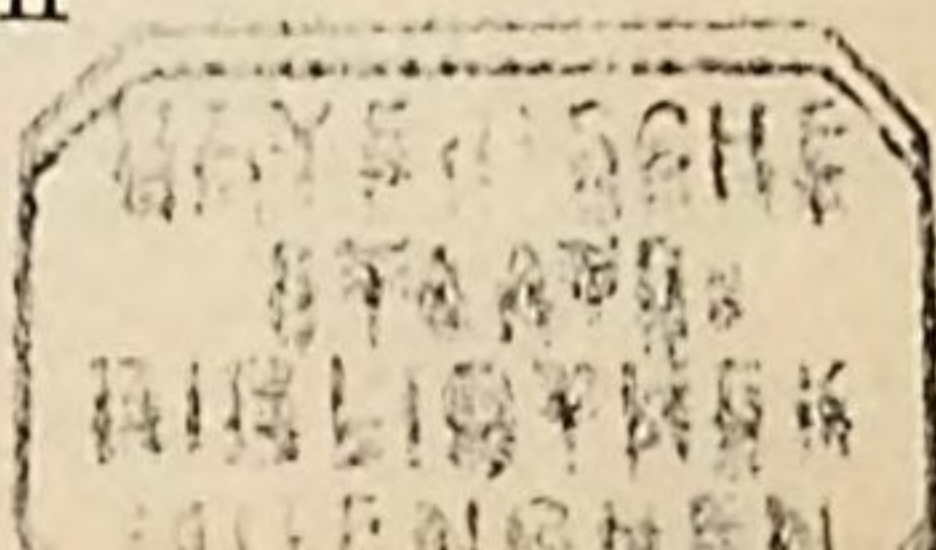
4. *Nam*] explains *odia improborum rursus in nos accendamus*, '(I will incur their hatred by being the only one who deliberately and without excuse joined Pompey) for others have good special reasons for joining him, I only am completely free to go or stay as I choose.'

Scipio] Pompey had married Cornelia, the daughter of this Q. Metellus Scipio, on the death of Julia. Scipio could therefore plead both his provincial government and his relationship as an excuse for not remaining in Rome, as well as his fear of Caesar's vengeance.

Appius . . . etiam] 'Appius has the same fear of Caesar's vengeance, and has incurred recent enmities besides' (with Dolabella, Caelius, and Curio). *Timore* is an ablative of quality, and *inimicitiarum recentium* is the genitive expressing the same relation, for which cp. Fam. x. 19, 1, where an act of Plancus is said by Cicero to be *fortissimi animi summique consilii*. Cp. also *leporum Disertus puer ac facetiarum*, Catull. xii. 9, where there is no ground for making *disertus* govern the genitive, as Ellis does. It seems to have been characteristic of early Latin to extend the limits of the genitive of quality, as Catullus did in this passage, and a similar tendency is found, as so often happens, in Cicero's letters, which are clearly tinged with the archaism of early Latin. It is possible of course to take *inimicitiarum* as an objective genitive depending on *timore*; but it is more likely that the genitive is one of quality.

praeter hunc] 'save Appius and Cassius, all the rest hold military commands, Faustus being proquaestor: I am the only one who could go or stay as I pleased.'

frater accedit] 'to this is added the consideration of my brother's case, whom it is not fair to involve in my own difficulties, thus exposing him still more to the resentment of Caesar.' M has *liceret . . . accederet . . . irasceretur*; the verb intervening between the two imperfect subjunctives was wrongly assimilated to



qui nulli sunt, non causa, quae acta timide est, agetur improbe. Uni, uni hoc damus, ne id quidem roganti, nec suam causam, ut ait, agenti, sed publicam. Tu quid cogites de transeundo in Epirum scire sane velim.

CCCLIV. BALBUS TO CICERO (ATT. IX. 7 B).

ROME; MARCH 6; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

BALBUS CICERONI IMP. SAL.

1. S. V. B. E. Postea quam litteras communes cum Oppio ad te dedi, ab Caesare epistolam accepi, cuius exemplum tibi misi, ex quibus perspicere poteris quam cupiat concordiam *suam* et Pompeii reconciliare, et quam remotus sit ab omni crudelitate: quod eum sentire, ut debeo, valde gaudeo. De te et tua fide et pietate idem mehercule, mi Cicero, sentio quod tu, non posse tuam famam et officium sustinere, ut contra eum arma feras, a quo tantum beneficium te accepisse praedices. 2. Caesarem hoc idem probaturum exploratum pro singulari eius humanitate habeo, eique cumulatissime satis facturum te certo scio, cum nullam partem belli contra eum suscipias neque socius eius adversariis fueris. Atque hoc non solum in te, tali et tanto viro, satis habebit, sed etiam mihi ipse sua concessit voluntate, ne in iis castris essem, quae contra Lentulum aut Pompeium futura essent, quorum beneficia maxima haberem, sibi que satis esse dixit, si togatus urbana officia sibi praestitisssem, quae etiam illis, si vellem, praestare possem. Itaque nunc Romae omnia negotia Lentuli procuro, sustineo, meumque officium, fidem, pietatem iis praesto. Sed mehercule rursus iam

them by the copyists, and there is no reason why we should write *licet* and *irascetur*, as many editors do.

ne id quidem] 'though he does not even ask me for that proof of my fidelity, and though (as he professes) the battle he is fighting is not his own, but his country's.'

1. *exemplum*] i.e. Ep. 347.

ex quibus] He forgets that the letter

he speaks of has been called by him *epistolam*, not *litteras*, though he had already written *cuius*. This shows that we are not to be too ready to correct this person's letters.

sustinere ut] 'to allow of': see on Att. ix. 7, 5 (362).

2. *certo scio*] 'I have certain knowledge'; *certe scio* below is 'I am sure I know.'

quorum beneficia] Balbus owed his citizenship to Pompey and Lentulus.

abiectam compositionis spem non desperatissimam esse puto, quoniam Caesar est ea mente qua optare debemus. Hac re mihi placet, si tibi videtur, te ad eum scribere et ab eo praesidium petere, ut petisti a Pompeio, me quidem approbante, temporibus Milonianis. Praestabo, si Caesarem bene novi, eum prius tuae dignitatis quam suae utilitatis rationem habiturum. 3. Haec quam prudenter tibi scribam nescio, sed illud certe scio me ab singulari amore ac benevolentia quaecumque scribo tibi scribere: quod te—ita incolumi Caesare moriar!—tanti facio, ut paucos aequae ac te caros habeam. De hac re cum aliquid constitueris, velim mihi scribas. Nam non mediocriter laboro *ut* utrique, ut vis, tuam benevolentiam praestare possis, quam mehercule te praestaturum confido. Fac valeas.

CCCLV. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. IX. 2).

FORMIAE; MARCH 7; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

Quod Atticus epistola quadam scripserat se gaudere Ciceronem mansisse, iam quaerit Cicero utrum ipse eius sententiam parum meminerit an ille sententiam mutaverit.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Etsi Nonis Martiis die tuo, ut opinor, expectabam epistolam a te longiorem, tamen ad eam ipsam brevem, quam *ἱΙΙΙ. Nonas ὑπὸ τὴν λῆψιν* dedisti, rescribendum putavi. Gaudere ais te mansisse me, et scribis in sententia te manere. Mihi autem superioribus litteris videbare non dubitare quin cederem, ita, si et Gnaeus bene comitatus conscendisset et consules transissent. Utrum hoc tu parum commeministi an ego non satis intellexi an mutasti sententiam? Sed aut ex epistola, quam exspecto, perspiciam quid sentias aut alias abs te litteras eliciam. Brundisio nihildum erat adlatum.

Hac re] see on cxxxi. 4.

3. *ab singulari amore*] Boot maintains that this use of the preposition with nouns not signifying animated beings, though common in Livy and found in Sallust, is not Ciceronian. Whenever an apparent case occurs he regards it as due to the fact that the noun is more or less personified, and so assimilated to a personal agent. So he explains *ab ipso more maiorum*, Fam. xiii. 10, 1; *a ratione*, Off. i. 2. To these may be added *a beta et*

a malva, Fam. vii. 26, 2 (94).

die tuo] ‘the day of your attack,’ ‘the day on which the intermittent fever occurs’: *ὑπὸ τὴν λῆψιν* is ‘just as the attack was coming on’: cp. *sub* in such phrases as *sub noctem*.

eam ipsam brevem] We have a large quotation from this short letter in Att. ix. 10, 8 (365).

ita si] ‘only if.’

CCCLVI. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. IX. 2 A).

FORMIAE; MARCH 8; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero dubitare se scribit de consilio ab Attico sibi dato, exponit de misera condicione sua, si Caesaris partes sequatur, apud Pompeium se in offensa esse non posse, cum ille se potius neglexerit, de adventu Postumi Curtii, de nuntio Brundisio nondum adlato.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. O rem difficilem planeque perditam! quam nihil praetermittis in consilio dando! quam nihil tamen quod tibi ipsi placeat explicas! Non esse me una cum Pompeio gaudes, ac proponis quam sit turpe me adesse, cum quid de illo detrahatur. Nefas esse approbare. Certe. Contra igitur? Di, inquis, averruncent! Quid ergo fiet, si in altero scelus est, in altero supplicium? Impetrabis, inquis, a Caesare ut tibi abesse liceat et esse otioso. Supplicandum igitur? Miserum. Quid, si non impetraro? Et de triumpho erit, inquis, integrum. Quid, si hoc ipso premar? Accipiam? Quid foedius? Negem? Repudiari se totum, magis etiam quam olim in xxviratu putabit. Ac solet, cum se purgat, in me conferre omnem illorum temporum culpam: ita me sibi fuisse inimicum, ut ne honorem quidem a se accipere vellem. Quanto nunc hoc idem accipiet asperius? Tanto scilicet, quanto et honor hic illo est amplior et ipse robustior. 2. Nam quod negas te dubitare quin magna in offensa sim apud Pompeium hoc tempore, non video causam cur ita sit, hoc quidem tempore. Qui enim amisso Corfinio denique certiore me sui consilii fecit, is queretur Brundisium me non venisse, cum inter me et Brundisium Caesar esset? Deinde etiam scit ἀπαρρησίαστον esse in ea causa querellam suam. Me putat de municipiorum imbecillitate, de dilectibus, de

1. *adesse*] sc. *in senatu*.

xxviratu] In the year 695 (59) Cicero had offended both Caesar and Pompey by declining a place among the twenty commissioners appointed under the Julian law for the division of the Campanian land.

2. ἀπαρρησίαστον] 'his expostulation is estopped,' because he is now of opinion that Cicero's forecast of the whole

situation was more accurate than his own. Cicero had seen that the municipal towns could not hold out against Caesar, that men would not answer the call of Pompey to arms, that peace on any terms was preferable to war, that the public funds were not safe in the treasury, and that Picenum should be occupied by Pompey.

pace, de urbe, de pecunia, de Piceno occupando plus vidisse quam se. Sin, cum potuero, non venero, iure erit inimicus; quod ego non eo vereor ne mihi noceat—quid enim faciet?

Τίς δ' ἐστὶ δοῦλος τοῦ θανεῖν ἄφροντις ὢν ;—

sed quia ingrati animi crimen horreo. Confido igitur adventum nostrum illi, quoquo tempore fuerit, ut scribis, ἀσμενιστὸν fore. Nam quod ais, si hic temperatius egerit, consideratius consilium te daturum, qui hic potest se gerere non perdit? Vetant mores, ante facta, ratio suscepti negotii, socii, vires bonorum aut etiam constantia. 3. Vixdum epistolam tuam legeram, cum ad me currens ad illum Postumus Curtius venit, nihil nisi classes loquens

cum potuero] Caesar was not now stopping the way to Brundisium.

iure] 'he will be justly hostile to me if I refuse to join him when there is nothing to prevent me.' Boot corrected *tum* of the mss to *iure*.

Τίς δ' . . . ὢν] quoted by Plutarch as from Euripides.

ἀσμενιστὸν] 'acceptable'; this is a verbal adjective in the positive degree from ἀσμενίζω, and should be accented as in text, not ἀσμένιστον, which is usually, but wrongly, taken as a superlative of ἄσμενος; for, in the first place, the word could then only mean 'very glad,' not 'very welcome,' which latter sense the passage demands; and secondly, the superlative of ἄσμενος used by Cicero is ἀσμεναίτατος. See Att. xiii. 22, 1, where ἀσμεναίτατα means, as it ought to mean, 'most gladly.'

temperatius] This, not *temperantius*, is the right reading, for *temperate* is often used by Cicero, *temperanter* never. The difference between the two words would be infinitesimal in a ms, the *n* being indicated only by a horizontal stroke over the *a*, which was often omitted.

qui] = *quomodo*.

hic] Caesar.

Vetant] This is the probable correction by Boot of the ms *vita*. The influences which forbid him to adopt any but a desperate course are—'his character, his previous history, the nature of the enterprise on which he has embarked, the material strength or even the moral firmness of the Pompeian party.' *Ante facta* is probably an allusion to the complicity of

Caesar in the Catilinarian conspiracy (see vol. i. pp. 17-19), which is more clearly recognised in a subsequent letter: see Att. x. 8, 8 (392), *non est committendum ut iis paream quos contra me senatus, ne quid resp. detrimenti caperet, armavit*. (Observe the strange ambiguity introduced into this sentence by the anastrophe of *contra*, a figure which Cicero affects: cp. *quem contra* = 'against whom,' Mur. 9; 2 Verr. v. 153.) Boot does not seem justified in giving to *constantia* the bad sense of 'obstinacy': we cannot find that Cicero ever uses the word except in a good sense. Indeed, it is contrasted with 'obstinacy' in Mur. 31, *quae enim pertinacia quibusdam, eadem aliis constantia videri potest*. In this passage, however, we believe that both *vires* and *constantia*, though bearing their natural meaning, are used ironically by Cicero, who does not in his letters seriously ascribe either material or moral strength to the partisans of Pompey. Lehmann (p. 111) suggests that we should read *vetant vita mores*, &c., and supposes *vetant* to have been lost from the text of the mss through its similarity to *vita*, which followed it in the archetype; or else he would add *cogent* at the end of the sentence for which he compares *cogor ut velim*, Att. v. 21, 3 (250); also Tusc. ii. 5; Att. ii. 19, 3 (46). He compares *quid acta tua vita . . . flagitet*, Fam. iv. 13, 4 (483); *et vita et fortuna tua . . . invitet*, Phil. x. 3; *mores ipsius et vita*, Sull. 71; *usus vita mores civitas ipsa respuit*, Mur. 74.

3. *currens ad illum*] 'hurrying to join Caesar.'

et exercitus, eripiebat Hispanias, tenebat Asiam, Siciliam, Africam, Sardiniam, confestim in Graeciam persequabatur. Eundum igitur est nec tam ut belli quam ut fugae socii simus. Nec enim ferre potero sermones istorum, quicumque sunt: non sunt enim certe, ut appellantur, boni. Sed tamen id ipsum scire cupio, quid loquantur, idque ut exquiras meque certiore facias, te vehementer rogo. Nos adhuc quid Brundisii actum esset plane nesciebamus: cum sciemus, tum ex re et ex tempore consilium capiemus, sed utemur tuo.

CCCLVII. CAESAR TO CICERO (ATT. IX. 6 A).

ON JOURNEY TO BRUNDISIUM; ABOUT MARCH 7; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49;
AET. CIC. 57.

CAESAR IMP. S. D. CICERONI IMP.

Cum Furnium nostrum tantum vidissem, neque loqui neque audire meo commodo potuissem, properarem atque essem in itinere, praemissis iam legionibus, praeterire tamen non potui quin et scriberem ad te et illum mitterem gratiasque agerem: etsi hoc et

eripiebat . . . persequabatur] 'he talked of Caesar's wresting the Spains from Pompey, occupying Asia, and pursuing Pompey into Greece.' This use of the verb is very rare in Latin, but not so unusual in Greek, e.g. σὺ δ' ἦσθα Θεβῶν . . . ἄναξ, Eur. Herc. Fur. 462, means 'you (he used to say) are king of Thebes'; πλουτεῖς ἐν οὐ πλουτοῦσι, 'you talk of yourself as an heiress among beggars,' Andr. 211. So Ar. Thesm. 616, τί καρδαμίζεις = 'cress me no cresses,' i.e. 'don't talk to me about cresses'; Vesp. 652, μὴ πατέριζε, 'father me no fathers.' Not unlike is *voto . . . mittit in hortos*, Pers. ii. 36, for 'she prays that he may come to those pleasure-grounds.'

quicumque sunt] 'whatever they are.' He will not allow that they deserve the name *boni*, which he generally applies to the Pompeian party. This shows that he is using language ironically above when he speaks of their *vires* and *constantia*.

Cum Furnium] 'Having merely had a glimpse of our friend Furnius, and not having been able conveniently to speak with, or hear what he had to say, being in a hurry and on a journey, yet I could not let slip the opportunity of writing to you.' *Praeterire quin* is a rare construction; but it occurs in Sall. Cat. 53, 4. It is to be observed that the word *praeterire* might be omitted (R omits it) without injury to the sentence, *non possum quin* being good colloquial Latin, and common in the comic drama. Perhaps the nearest parallel in Cicero to *praeterire quin* is *praetermisi quin* in Q. Fr. iii. 3, 1 (151): cp. Phil. ii. 23. We have *expectari quin*, Caes. B. G. iii. 24.

meo commodo] *abl. modi*: cp. *tuo commodo*, Fam. iv. 2, 4 (389); *reip. comm.* Fam. i. 1, 3 (95); *comm. valetudinis tuae*, Fam. xvi. 1, 2 (285).

properarem] The omission of *cum* is not unusual.

feci saepe et saepius mihi factururus videor : ita de me mereris. In primis a te peto, quoniam confido me celeriter ad urbem venturum, ut te ibi videam, ut tuo consilio, gratia, dignitate, ope omnium rerum uti possim. Ad propositum revertar : festinationi meae brevitatiue litterarum ignosces. Reliqua ex Furnio cognosces.

CCCLVIII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. IX. 3).

FORMIAE ; MARCH 9 ; A. U. C. 705 ; B. C. 49 ; AET. CIC. 57.

De Domitii filii adventu et nuntio de patre, de itinere ad mare superum intercluso, de rebus Brundisinis nuntium nondum adlatum esse.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Domitii filius transiit Formias VIII. Idus currens ad matrem Neapolim mihi nuntiari iussit patrem ad urbem esse, cum de eo curiose quaesisset servus noster Dionysius. Nos autem audieramus eum profectum sive ad Pompeium sive in Hispaniam. Id cuius modi sit scire sane velim. Nam ad id, quod delibero, pertinet, si ille certe nusquam discessit, intellegere Gnaeum non esse faciles nobis ex Italia exitus, cum ea tota armis praesidiisque teneatur, hieme praesertim. Nam, si commodius anni tempus esset, vel infero mari liceret uti. Nunc nihil potest nisi supero tramitti, quo iter interclusum est. Quaeres igitur et de Domitio et de Lentulo. 2. A Brundisio nulla adhuc fama venerat, et erat hic dies VII. Idus, quo die suspicabamur aut pridie Brun-

ita de me mereris] 'such are your services to me.' Watson well compares Fam. ii. 5, 2 (176), *ne cum veneris non habeas iam quod cures : ita sunt omnia debilitata*.

ad urbem] Neither Caesar nor Cicero could go into the city without laying down the *imperium*.

ope] In a subsequent letter (374), Cicero complains that Caesar speaks of looking forward to Cicero's *opes*, not his *opem*, his *resources*, not his *resource*.

propositum] 'I will now return to what I began with,' namely, my apology for the shortness of this hasty note. This is the meaning of *propositum* in Att. xiv. 1, 2, and other places. If the words

meant 'I will return to this subject' (what subject?), as Boot understands, we should prefer to read *ad propositum tum* (when we meet at Rome) *revertar*; but the only subjects in the letter are—(1) apologies; (2) a request that Cicero should repair to Rome, and it is hard to see why Caesar should promise to recur to either of these subjects on a future occasion.

1. *matrem*] Porcia, the sister of M. Cato.

ad id . . . pertinet intellegere] 'to help me to make up my mind, it is important that Pompey should understand that I cannot easily leave Italy.'

disium venisse Caesarem. Nam Kal. Arpis manserat. Sed si Postumum audire velles, persecuturus erat Gnaeum. Transisse enim iam putabat coniectura tempestatum ac dierum. Ego nautas eum non putabam habiturum, ille confidebat et eo magis, quod audita naviculariis hominis liberalitas esset. Sed tota res Brundisina iam quo modo habeat se diutius nescire non possum.

CCCLIX. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. IX. 5).

FORMIAE; MARCH 10; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

Gratias agit de epistola ab Attico eius die ad se data, de incerta condicione sua et de summis difficultatibus consilii capiendi.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. [Natali] die tuo scripsisti epistolam ad me plenam consilii summaeque cum benevolentiae tum etiam prudentiae. Eam mihi Philotimus postridie, quam a te acceperat, reddidit. Sunt ista quidem, quae disputas, difficillima, iter ad superum, navigatio infero, discessus Arpinum, ne hunc fugisse, mansio Formiis, ne obtulisse nos gratulationi videamur, sed miserius nihil quam ea videre, quae tamen iam, iam, inquam, videnda erunt. Fuit apud me Postumus: scripsi ad te quam gravis. Venit ad me etiam Q. Fufius, quo vultu, quo spiritu! properans Brundisium, scelus accusans Pompeii, levitatem et stultitiam senatus. Haec qui in mea villa non feram, Curtium in curia potero ferre? 2. Age,

2. *audire*] 'to listen to,' that is, 'to give heed to' what he says.

tempestatum] 'the state of the weather.'

1. [Natali] We have followed Sternkopf in regarding *natali* here as the gloss of some copyist or early editor who was not very familiar with the diction of Cicero's letters, in which *dies* so often means 'the day on which your ague is due to recur.' This is the meaning it bears at the end of 361, and again in 363, 2. It is not likely that once, and once only in this corre-

spondence, extending over so many years, Cicero should allude to his friend's birthday.

discessus] 'my departure to Arpinum involves the difficulty, that I might be suspected of trying to avoid Caesar, while my staying at Formiae involves another difficulty, that I might be suspected of throwing myself in the way of an acknowledgment from him.'

Postumus] Curtius Postumus, mentioned immediately afterwards as Curtius. *gravis*] 'tiresome': cp. *Helenius vir gravissimus*, Att. v. 12, 2 (202).

spiritu] 'arrogance.'

finde me quamvis εὐστομάχως haec ferentem, quid illa, DIC M. TULLI, quem habebunt exitum? Et omitto causam rei publicae, quam ego amissam puto cum vulneribus suis tum medicamentis iis, quae parantur, de Pompeio quid agam? cui plane—quid enim hoc negem?—suscensui. Semper enim me causae eventorum magis movent quam ipsa eventa. Haec igitur mala—quibus maiora esse quae possunt?—considerans vel potius iudicans eius opera accidisse et culpa, inimicior eram huic quam ipsi Caesari: ut maiores nostra funestiorum diem esse voluerunt Alliensis pugnae quam urbis captae, quod hoc malum ex illo:—itaque alter religiosus etiam nunc dies, alter in vulgus ignotus—sic ego, decem annorum peccata recordans, in quibus inerat ille etiam annus, qui nos hoc *non* defendente, ne dicam gravius, afflixerat, praesentisque temporis cognoscens temeritatem, ignaviam, negligentiam, suscensebam. 3. Sed ea iam mihi exciderunt. Beneficia eiusdem cogito, cogito etiam dignitatem. Intellego, serius equidem quam vellem propter epistolas sermonesque Balbi, sed video plane nihil aliud agi, nihil actum ab initio nisi ut hunc occideret. Ego igitur, si quidem apud Homerum, cui et mater et dea dixisset,

Αὐτίκα γάρ τοι ἔπειτα μεθ' Ἑκτορα πότμος ἔτοιμος,

matri ipse respondit,

Αὐτίκα τεθναίην, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμελλον ἑταίρω

Κτεινομένῳ ἐπαμῦναι . . .

quid, si non ἑταίρω solum, sed etiam εὐεργέτη? adde, tali viro talem causam agenti—ego vero haec officia mercanda vita puto. Optimatibus vero tuis nihil confido, nihil iam ne inservio quidem. Video ut se huic dent, ut daturi sint. Quidquam tu illa putas fuisse de valetudine decreta municipiorum prae his de victoria

2. εὐστομάχως] 'with sang froid.'

DIC M. TULLI] the words in which he would be asked for his vote in the senate.

3. exciderunt] 'but all this I have forgotten.' This might also mean 'but these words have but fallen from my pen,' or 'these are things of the past.' But cp. *non memini*, Att. ix. 9, 1 (364).

hunc] sc. *Pompeium*. He thinks he now sees that Caesar's object all along was the death of Pompey.

Ego igitur] The sentence, broken by a long parenthesis, is resumed by the words

ego vero: 'Accordingly I, imitating the answer given by Achilles to his mother, let me die since I have failed to save my friend—and in my case it was not only a friend, but a benefactor; ay, and what a man, and what a cause was his!—I, I say, hold that the kindnesses of him to me should be paid for by my life.'

huic] sc. *Caesari*.

Quidquam] 'do you think these decrees about Pompey's health were anything compared with these congratulatory addresses to Caesar?' *Aliquid* would

gratulationibus? 'Timent' inquires. At ipsi tum se timuisse dicunt. Sed videamus quid actum sit Brundisii. Ex eo fortasse *νέα* consilia nascentur aliaque litterae.

CCCLX. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. IX. 6).

FORMIAE; MARCH 11; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero Attico cum alia nuntiat tum significat se, postquam acceperit Pompeium et consules Italia exisse, summo dolore confici, quod non una tramiserit, et petit ab Attico ut aliquam sibi eius rei consolationem adferat. Caesarem Furnium ad se misisse cum epistola, cuius exemplum una misit.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Nos adhuc Brundisio nihil. Roma scripsit Balbus putare iam Lentulum consulem tramisisse nec eum a minore Balbo conventum, quod is hoc iam Canusii audisset, inde ad se eum scripsisse: cohortesque sex, quae Albae fuissent, ad Curium Minucia transisse id Caesarem ad se scripsisse et brevi tempore eum ad urbem futurum. Ergo utar tuo consilio, neque me Arpinum hoc tempore abdam, etsi Ciceroni meo togam puram cum dare Arpini vellem, hanc eram ipsam excusationem relicturus apud Caesarem. Sed fortasse in eo ipso offendetur, 'cur non Romae potius.' Ac

have been used, except for the negative idea conveyed in the meaning, though not in the form, of the sentence.

Timent] For *timere* used absolutely, cp. Att. viii. 5, 1 (336).

ipsi] 'These very municipal officers who drew up the resolutions about public prayers for the restoration of Pompey's health declare that they were under the influence of fear at the time.'

νέα] The mss have *ea*. Greek words are often corrupted, and they are often used when Latin would have been quite equally available. Here, however, he could not so well have written *nova*, which might mean 'dangerous,' and convey a bad meaning, as in *flagitia ingentia nova capitalia*, Ter. Ad. iv. 7, 3.

1. *Roma scripsit . . . ad urbem futurum*] 'Balbus, writing from Rome, tells me that he thinks Lentulus has crossed

the sea to Pompey, and that he has not had an interview with (his nephew) Balbus, because the latter had only heard of the fact at Canusium, from which town his nephew wrote to him. He adds that the six cohorts which had been at Alba had joined Curius by the Minucian road, that Caesar had written to him to that effect, and would soon be at Rome.' Some editors insert *se* after *putare*, but such omissions are not unusual in the letters. For the Minucian road, see on Att. viii. 16, 2 fin. (352). The ellipse of *via* is common, especially with *Appia*, as in Att. ii. 12, 2 (28); viii. 16 fin. (352); ix. 11, 1 (367).

Arpinum abdam] accusative of motion to, 'go and bury myself in Arpinum.'

apud Caesarem] The change of *ad* to *apud* here seems quite requisite: see *apud Appuleium*, Att. xii. 14, 1; 15, 1; 17, 1.

'*cur non Romae potius*'] 'but perhaps

tamen, si est conveniendus, hic potissimum. Tum reliqua videbimus, id est, et quo et qua et quando. 2. Domitius, ut audio, in Cosano est et quidem, ut aiunt, paratus ad navigandum: si in Hispaniam, non probo: si ad Gnaeum, laudo: quovis potius certe quam ut Curtium videat, quem ego patronus aspicere non possum: quid alios? Sed, opinor, quiescamus, ne nostram culpam coarguamus, qui, dum urbem, id est, patriam, amamus dumque rem conventuram putamus, ita nos gessimus, ut plane interclusi captique simus.

3. Scripta iam epistola Capua litterae sunt adlatae hoc exemplo: 'Pompeius mare transiit cum omnibus militibus quos secum habuit. Hic numerus est hominum milia xxx. et consules et duo tribuni pl. et senatores, qui fuerunt cum eo, omnes cum uxoribus et liberis. Conscendisse dicitur a. d. iiii. Nonas Martias. Ex ea die fuere septemtriones venti. Naves, quibus usus non est, omnes aut praecidisse aut incendisse dicunt.' De hac re litterae L. Metello tribuno pl. Capuam adlatae sunt ab Clodia socru, quae ipsa transiit. 4. Ante sollicitus eram et angebar, sicut res scilicet ipsa cogebat, cum consilio explicare nihil possem, nunc autem, postquam Pompeius et consules ex Italia exierunt, non angor, sed ardeo dolore:

οὐδέ μοι ἦτορ

"Εμπεδον, ἀλλ' ἀλαλύκτῃμαι . . .

this will give offence (and the question will be asked) "why should not this ceremony be performed at Rome?"

et quo et qua et quando] sc. *ibit*, 'whither he is going, by what route, and at what time.'

2. *Curtium videat*] 'It is better to go anywhere than to have to see Curtius (not to mention others), whom I, though I befriended him, cannot bear to look on.' Cicero had gained for Curtius a *tribunatus militum* from Caesar, Q. Fr. iii. 1, 10 (148). The construction of *quid alios* is *quid* dicam quovis potius eundem esse quam ut videat *alios* qui cum Caesare sunt.

3. *hoc exemplo*] Boot explains this to mean 'to the following purport,' and so L. S. But an examination of the places where the expressions *uno exemplo*, *eodem exemplo* occur, shows that the meaning of them is 'that the two letters referred to were duplicates, and not merely of the same

tenor': see Fam. ix. 16, 1 (472); x. 5, 1; and especially Fam. iv. 4, 1 (495), which last clearly proves that letters written *uno exemplo* were duplicates. Hence we think that *hoc exemplo* here and in Att. ix. 16, 1 (374) means 'of which this is a copy.'

Pompeius mare transiit] This was a false rumour, for this letter of Cicero's was written on March 11. Now we learn from the letter 15 A of this book (373), that Pompey did not leave Italy till March 17.

duo tribuni] One of these was C. Cassius, as we learn from Att. vii. 21, 2 (319).

septemtriones] Northerly winds would be favourable for a voyage from Brundisium to Greece.

praecidisse] 'disabled,' by cutting away the fore parts, and so rendering them useless to the enemy.

4. οὐδέ μοι ἦτορ] Il. x. 91.

Non sum, inquam, mihi crede, mentis compos, tantum mihi dedecoris admisisse videor. Mene non primum cum Pompeio qualicumque consilio uso, deinde cum bonis esse, quamvis causa temere instituta? praesertim cum ii ipsi, quorum ego causa timidius me fortunae committebam, uxor, filia, Cicerones pueri, me illud sequi mallent, hoc turpe et me indignum putarent. Nam Quintus quidem frater, quidquid mihi placeret, id rectum se putare aiebat, id animo aequissimo sequebatur. 5. Tuas nunc epistolas a primo lego. Hae me paullum recreant. Primae monent et rogant, ne me proiciam. Proximae gaudere te ostendunt me remansisse. Eas cum lego, minus mihi turpis videor, sed tam diu, dum lego: deinde emergit rursum dolor et αἰσχροῦ φαντασία. Quam ob rem obsecro te, mi Tite, eripe mihi hunc dolorem aut minue saltem aut consolatione aut consilio aut quacumque re potes. Quid tu autem possis? aut quid homo quisquam? vix iam deus. 6. Equidem illud molior, quod tu mones sperasque fieri posse, ut mihi Caesar concedat ut absim, cum aliquid in senatu contra Gnaeum agatur. Sed timeo ne non impetrem. Venit ab eo Furnius. Ut quidem scias quos sequamur, Q. Titinii filium cum Caesare esse nuntiat, sed illum maiores mihi gratias agere quam vellem. Quid autem me roget, paucis ille quidem verbis, sed ἐν δυνάμει, cognosce

Non sum, inquam, mentis compos] A rough translation of the Greek quotation: cp. *multa, inquam, mala cum dixisset*, Att. viii. 5, 1 (336).

illud] sc. *cum Pompeio fuisse*.

hoc] sc. *domi mansisse*.

Nam] (I do not mention Quintus), 'for he acquiesced in the course I should prefer, whatever it might be.'

5. *a primo*] 'from the very beginning.' Such is always the meaning of this expression in the letters. We would perhaps say *ab initio*; he means 'from the beginning of our correspondence touching this point.' The change to *a prima* is unnecessary, and therefore bad.

ne me proiciam] 'not to rush into danger': cp. Att. ix. 10, 8 (365).

eripe mihi hunc dolorem] cp. 'Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow.'—Macbeth.

vix iam deus] sc. *posset aliquid*.

6. *Ut quidem scias*] 'to give you an idea as to what side we should follow

(Caesar or Pompey), let me tell you that Furnius reports that the son of Titinius is with Caesar, but that Caesar expresses obligations to me more than I care for.' Cicero gives the *pros* and the *cons* of the question; *pro* is Caesar's courtesy; *contra* that he should have with him such creatures as the son of Titinius, of whom he again speaks in a similar manner and context in Att. ix. 18, 2 (376). Thus can *sed* be explained, of which Boot writes *defendi non potest*. It might be defended also by reading *sed illum . . . quam vellem!* and interpreting the passage differently, thus: 'To give you an idea what kind our leader is, Furnius reports that he has the son of Titinius with him. But to think of Caesar's expressing such gratitude to me, more even than I care for!' For the exclamatory infinitive cp. *me . . . copias ad eum adducere*, Att. ix. 10, 3 (365).

ἐν δυνάμει] 'authoritative.' This is Caesar's request that Cicero should meet him at Rome.

contra
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ex ipsius epistola. Me miserum, quod tu non valuisti! Una fuisset, consilium certe non defuisset.

Σύν τε δὴ ἐρχομένῳ

Sed acta ne agamus, reliqua paremus. 7. Me adhuc haec duo fefellerunt, initio spes compositionis, qua facta volebam uti populari vita, sollicitudine senectutem nostram liberari; deinde bellum crudele et exitiosum suscipi a Pompeio intellegebam. Melioris medius fidius civis et viri putabam quovis supplicio adfici quam illi crudelitati non solum praeesse, verum etiam interesse. Videtur vel mori satius fuisse quam esse cum his. Ad haec igitur cogita, mi Attice, vel potius excogita. Quemvis eventum fortius feram quam hunc dolorem.

CCCLXI. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. IX. 4).

FORMIAE; MARCH 12; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero Attico significat *θέσεις*, quibus animum hoc tempore ab aegritudine parumper abducere studeat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Ego etsi tam diu requiesco, quam diu aut ad te scribo aut tuas litteras lego, tamen et ipse egeo argumento epistolarum et tibi idem accidere certo scio. Quae enim soluto animo familiariter scribi solent, ea temporibus his excluduntur, quae autem sunt horum temporum, ea iam contrivimus. Sed tamen, ne me totum aegritudini dedam, sumpsì mihi quasdam tamquam *θέσεις*, quae

non valuisti] Atticus was suffering from fever.

Σύν τε δὴ ἐρχομένῳ] καὶ τε πρὸς τὸ ἐνόησεν Ὅπως κέρδος ἔη, Il. x. 224. These are the words which in Cicero's letters take the place of our proverb 'two heads are better than one.'

acta ne agamus] a phrase common in the comic drama: see I², p. 60, and cp. *puerum perditum perdamus*, Fam. xiv. 1, 5 (82).

7. *uti*] 'to put up with,' a common meaning of *utor*, well illustrated by the

Horatian

Si quid novisti rectius istis,
Candidus imperti, si non, his *utere* mecum.
Hor. Ep. i. 6, 67.

1. *quae autem sunt horum temporum*] 'topics connected with the present crisis we have already exhausted.' *Conterere* is the word used for 'to thumb' a book, Fam. ix. 25, 1 (246).

θέσεις] Cic. Top. 79 explains *θέσις* to be the discussion of a general principle, *ὑπόθεσις* being the discussion of a particular case.

et πολιτικάι sunt et temporum horum, ut et abducam animum ab querellis et in eo ipso, de quo agitur, exercear. Eae sunt huius modi.

2. Εἰ μενετέον ἐν τῇ πατρίδι τυραννουμένη; Τυραννουμένης δὲ αὐτῆς, εἰ παντὶ τρόπῳ τυραννίδος κατάλυσιν πραγματευτέον, καὶ μέλλῃ διὰ τοῦτο περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἢ πόλις κινδυνεύσειν ἢ εὐλαβητέον τὸν καταλύοντα, μὴ αὐτὸς αἴρηται; Εἰ πειρατέον ἀρήγειν τῇ πατρίδι τυραννουμένη καιρῷ καὶ λόγῳ μᾶλλον ἢ πολέμῳ; Εἰ πολιτικὸν τὸ ἡσυχάζειν ἀναχωρήσαντά ποι τῆς πατρίδος τυραννουμένης, ἢ διὰ παντὸς ἰτέον κινδύνου τῆς ἐλευθερίας πέρι; Εἰ πόλεμον ἐπακτέον τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ πολιορκητέον αὐτὴν τυραννουμένην; Εἰ καὶ μὴ δοκιμάζοντα τὴν διὰ πολέμου κατάλυσιν τῆς τυραννίδος, συναπογραπτέον ὅμως τοῖς ἀρίστοις; Εἰ τοῖς εὐεργέταις καὶ φίλοις συγκινδυνευτέον ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς, καὶ μὴ δοκῶσιν εὖ βεβουλευσθαι περὶ τῶν ὅλων; Εἰ ὁ μέγала τὴν πατρίδα εὐεργετήσας, δι' αὐτό τε τοῦτο ἀνήκεστα παθὼν καὶ φθονηθείς, κινδυνεύσειεν ἂν ἐθελοντῆς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, ἢ ἐφετέον αὐτῷ ἑαυτοῦ ποτε καὶ τῶν οἰκειοτάτων ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν ἀφεμένῳ τὰς πρὸς τοὺς ἰσχύοντας διαπολιτείας;

3. In his ego me consultationibus exercens et disserens in utramque partem tum Graece tum Latine et abduco parumper animum a molestiis et τῶν προὔργου τι delibero. Sed vereor ne tibi ἄκαιρος sim. Si enim recte ambulavit is, qui hanc epistolam tulit, in ipsum tuum diem incidit.

πολιτικάι] see on Fam. viii. 1, 5 (192). The word should no more be given in Latin characters than θέσεις, which in M appears as *thesis*.

2. ἢ εὐλαβητέον] 'or must we be on our guard against the overthrower of the despotism, to prevent his effecting his own elevation.' Here, and again before διὰ παντὸς and ἐφετέον, we have followed Wesenberg in correcting εἰ to ἢ, distinct alternatives being in these cases proposed.

πόλεμον ἐπακτέον] The accusative

is governed by the verbal, as κατάλυσιν by πραγματευτέον above. Boot strangely reads πόλεμος ἐπακτέος, adding *accusativi causam non intellego*.

συναπογραπτέον] 'may be enrolled among.' This verbal adjective differs slightly from the others in this respect, that it stands for συναπογράφεσθαι δεῖ, not for συναπογράφειν δεῖ.

ἐφετέον] 'may be permitted to take thought for himself and his dear ones, giving up political struggles with powerful opponents.'

CCCLXII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. IX. 7).

FORMIAE; MARCH 13; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero Attico gratias agit de litteris uberioribus ad se datis, quibus se ait aegritudine levatum esse eiusque consilio se velle obtemperare, quo ei suadet ut a Caesare petat, ut sibi idem Pompeio quod ipsi tribuere liceat. Sin id ei Caesar non concedat, pacificationem vult suscipere et quantum fieri potest abesse a partium studio et negotiis publicis. Petit ut Atticus, etiam si desit argumentum ad se scribat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Scripseram ad te epistolam, quam darem IIII. Idus, sed eo die is, cui dare volueram, non est profectus. Venit autem eo ipso die ille 'celeripes,' quem Salvius dixerat: attulit uberrimas tuas litteras, quae mihi 'quiddam' quasi 'animulae stillarunt.' Re-creatum enim me non queo dicere. Sed plane τὸ συνέχον effecisti. Ego enim non iam id ago, mihi crede, ut prosperos exitus consequar. Sic enim video, nec duobus his vivis nec hoc uno nos umquam rem publicam habituros. Ita neque de otio nostro spero iam nec ullam acerbitatem recuso. Unum illud extimescebam, ne quid turpiter facerem vel dicam iam fecissem. 2. Sic ergo

1. *celeripes*] It is strange that Cicero should use this ironical nickname for a 'slow-coach,' and we are disposed to agree with the view kindly communicated to us by Dr. Reid, that the word is here a corruption of *Callipides*, the proverbial 'slow-coach.' This passage would then be exactly like Att. xiii. 12, 2, where Cicero calls Varro Καλλιπιδης. If here, as there, the word was written in Greek letters, *celeripes* would be an explanation of Καλλιπιδης, and would have usurped its place in the text. It is difficult to say whether or not allusion is made to the tragic actor Callipides, who lived in the time of Alcibiades and Agesilaus, and who was notorious for giving himself airs (Plut. Alc. 32, Ages. 21: cp. Kock, Frag. Aristoph. 474).

Salvius] a freedman of Atticus.

stillarunt] 'put just a drop of life into me.' The words probably belong to some play, but *quiddam* should be included in the quotation.

τὸ συνέχον] This certainly does not mean 'the next best thing,' as Manutius explains it. The meaning is 'the important thing,' 'the thing of chief moment.' In Polybius and other writers of Hellenistic Greek τὸ συνέχον always means 'the chief point, chief reason for, chief means of'; the verb may often be Englished by 'keystone,' as when Aristotle, Pol. ii. 1270 B, says of the Ephorality, that it is the keystone of (συνέχει) the constitution. 'The next best thing' would be τὸ ἐχόμενον. The 'really important' benefit which Atticus had conferred on Cicero was to teach him that a happy ending to the whole business was no longer possible, and that all hopes for it might be dismissed—the Republic was now a memory, not a hope.

recuso] 'refuse to contemplate as possible.'

vel dicam] 'or perhaps I should say': see Madv. on Fin. i. 10, and cp. especially *a plerisque vel dicam ab omnibus*, Fam. iv. 7, 3 (486).

habeto, salutare te mihi litteras misisse, neque solum has longiores, quibus nihil potest esse explicatius, nihil perfectius, sed etiam illas breviores, in quibus hoc mihi iucundissimum fuit, consilium factumque nostrum a Sexto probari, pergratumque mihi tu fecisti . . . a quo et diligere me et quid rectum sit intellegi scio. Longior vero tua epistola non me solum, sed meos omnes aegritudine levavit. Itaque utar tuo consilio et ero in Formiano, ne aut ad urbem ἀπάντησις mea animadvertatur aut, si nec hic nec illic eum videro, devitatum se a me putet. 3. Quod autem suades, ut ab eo petam ut mihi concedat ut idem tribuam Pompeio, quod ipsi tribuerim, id me iam pridem agere intelleges ex litteris Balbi et Oppii, quarum exempla tibi misi. Misi etiam Caesaris ad eos sana mente scriptas, quo modo in tanta insania. Sin mihi Caesar hoc non concedat, video tibi placere illud, me πολίτευμα de pace suscipere, in quo non extimesco periculum. Cum enim tot impendeant, cur non honestissimo depecisci velim? Sed vereor ne Pompeio quid oneris imponam :

Μή μοι γοργεῖν κεφαλὴν δεινοῖο πελώρου

intorqueat. Mirandum enim in modum Gnaeus noster Sullani regni similitudinem concupivit. Εἰδώς σοι λέγω. Nihil ille

2. *Sexto*] Peducaeo.

a quo et diligere] 'of whose affection and keen sense of honour I am always sure,' Jeans. But it is nearly certain that the text here has suffered a lacuna, for *a quo* should naturally refer to Peducaeus, not to Atticus, about whom he would not here use words which would be just as appropriate in any other letter. Lehmann would read *pergratumque mihi fecisti* < quod me de eius iudicio certiore fecisti > *a quo*; the verb *fecisti* occurring twice, all the words between the two fell out, according to Lehmann, by *corruptio ex homoeoteleuto*. For *fecisti . . . fecisti*, cp. *fecisti . . . fecisti*, Fam. xiv. 8 (410); *feceris . . . feceris*, Att. x. 3 (380), Fam. xiii. 64, 1 (235).

3. *idem tribuam Pompeio*] 'pay to Pompey the homage which I did to him,' that of not taking up arms against him.

quo modo in] see on Att. viii. 15 A, 3 (346).

hoc] permission not to oppose Pompey.

illud πολίτευμα] 'the others' policy,' the attempt to bring about a composition.

honestissimo depecisci] 'compound by taking the most respectable,' Jeans; that is, 'escape other dangers by voluntarily exposing myself to that danger which involves least personal humiliation': cp. *depecisci morte*, Ter. Phorm. i. 3, 14 (166). This is an ablative of price.

Sed vereor ne] 'I fear I may embarrass Pompey, and be gorgonised by the glare of his angry eye.' He quotes Od. xi. 633, where Odysseus expresses his fear lest he should be horrified by the apparition of some dreadful shape sent by Persephone to appal him, just as the friends of Hamlet are alarmed lest the ghost should 'assume some other horrible form.' The embarrassment which Cicero thinks he might bring on Pompey is the necessity which a peace would bring about of breaking his promises to his followers, whom he had encouraged with the prospect of a proscription like that of Sulla.

Nihil minus obscure tulit] 'he made no secret' of his intention to revive the Sullan proscriptions.

umquam minus obscure tulit. 'Cum hocine igitur' inquires 'esse vis?' Beneficium [sequor, mihi crede, non causam [ut in Milone, ut in . . . Sed hactenus]. 4. 'Causa igitur non bona est?' Immo optima, sed agetur, memento, foedissime. Primum consilium est suffocare urbem et Italiam fame, deinde agros vastare, urere, pecuniis locupletium *non* abstinere. Sed cum eadem metuum ab hac parte, si illum beneficium non sit, rectius putem quidvis domi perpeti. Sed ita meruisse illum de me puto, ut ἀχαριστίας crimen subire non audeam. Quamquam a te eius quoque rei iusta defensio est explicata. 5. De triumpho tibi adsentior, quem quidem totum facile et libenter abiecero. Egregie probō 'fore ut, dum vagamur, ὁ πλόος ὥραϊος obrepāt.' Si modo, inquis, satis ille erit firmus. Est firmior etiam quam putabamus. De isto licet bene speres. Promitto tibi, si valebit, tegulam illum in Italia nullam relicturum. 'Tene igitur socio?' Contra mehercule meum iudicium et contra omnium antiquorum auctoritatem, nec tam ut illa adiuvem quam ut haec ne videam, cupio discedere. Noli enim putare tolerabiles horum insanias nec unius modi fore. Etsi quid te horum fugit? Legibus, iudiciis, iudiciis, senatu sublato libidines, audacias, sumptus, egestates tot egentissimorum hominum nec privatas posse res nec rem publicam sustinere. Abeamus igitur inde qualibet navigatione, etsi id quidem, ut tibi videbitur, sed

Cum hocine] sc. *cum Pompeio*.

[*ut . . . hactenus*] These words are undoubtedly the note of some copyist. It is not true that in Milo's case he consulted, not his political connexions, but his private feeling of obligation; besides, *sed hactenus* is not the Ciceronian form, but *sed haec hactenus*: and, moreover, this phrase dismisses a subject; now here the subject is pursued.

4. *memento*] parenthetical: cp. *scio*. Att. viii. 15 A fin. (346).

suffocare . . . fame] 'to take Rome and Italy by the throat, and starve them,' Jeans.

ab hac parte] 'on Caesar's side'; *illum*, 'on Pompey's side.'

domi] 'while remaining at Rome.' For *domus* = *Roma*, see Lehmann, pp. 73 ff.; or vol. ii., p. xx.

5. *fore ut . . . obrepāt*] 'I like greatly your suggestion, that while I am moving about a favourable chance to sail may turn up unexpectedly': cp. Anth. Pal. x.

1, quoted in the note to Att. ix. 18, 3 (376).

Si . . . satis erit ille firmus] *Ille* refers to Pompey; so does *isto* immediately afterwards, unless it is better, with Boot, to take it as meaning *de illo quod tu dicis*, namely, 'si modo satis ille erit firmus.'

Tene igitur socio?] 'is it with you for an ally?' Mr. Housman (who has kindly communicated his view to us) thinks that the word *tene* should be brought to the help of a corrupt passage in Att. xvi. 7, 3, which he would emend thus: *tene igitur, qui εὐθυνασίαν, tene relinquere patriam!*

illa] Pompey's cause; *haec*, Caesar's. *sustinere*] 'hold up against,' that is, 'be enough to satisfy.' *Sustinere ut*, in Att. ix. 7 B, 1 (354), is 'to endure the shock (disgrace) of': *privatas res nec rem p.* are accusatives before the verbs *posse sustinere*.

id quidem] 'that too shall be as you decide.'

certe abeamus. Sciemus enim, id quod exspectas, quid Brundisii actum sit. 6. Bonis viris quod ais probari, quae adhuc fecerimus, scirique ab iis nos non profectos, valde gaudeo, si est nunc ullus gaudendi locus. De Lentulo investigabo diligentius: id mandavi Philotimo, homini forti ac nimium optimati. 7. Extremum est, ut tibi argumentum ad scribendum fortasse iam desit—nec enim alia de re nunc ulla scribi potest, et de hac quid iam amplius inveniri potest?—sed (quoniam et ingenium suppeditat—dico mehercule ut sentio—et amor, quo et meum ingenium incitatur), perge, ut facis, et scribe quantum potes. In Epirum quod me non invitas, comitem non molestum, subirascor, sed vale. Nam ut tibi ambulandum, ungendum, sic mihi dormiendum. Etenim litterae tuae mihi somnum attulerunt.

CCCLXIII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. IX. 8).

FORMIAE; MARCH 14; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero respondet ad Attici epistolam de L. et A. Torquatis profectis, de Reatinorum corona, senatores multos esse Romae, Formiis putari Caesarem a. d. xi. Kal. Apr. adfore.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Cenantibus ii. Idus nobis ac noctu quidem, Statius a te epistolam brevem attulit. De L. Torquato quod quaeris, non

6. *nimum optimati*] 'too good a conservative,' and therefore likely to take too sanguine a view of the prospects of the conservative cause.

7. *Extremum est*] 'the last thing I have to say is.'

ut tibi] 'supposing.' After the parenthesis *sed* as usual takes up the thread of the sentence, only to be broken again at once by another parenthesis, containing within itself a third.

Nam ut tibi] Atticus had probably made the necessity of attending to his doctor's orders an excuse for the shortness of his letter. Cicero retorts 'as you must have your exercise and anointing, so I must have my sleep.'

somnum attulerunt] by removing to a great extent the anxiety which kept him awake.

1. ii. *Idus*] *Pridie Idus* is the usual expression, but ii. *Idus* means exactly the same thing, 'the day before the Ides,' both days being included in the reckoning after the Roman fashion.

L. Torquato] L. Torquatus was an Epicurean; he first maintained that Pompey should not be followed in his flight from Italy, but afterwards changed his mind. He was praetor this year; in the following he surrendered Oricum to Caesar, and was killed in Africa. Aulus was his cousin, and is the Torquatus to whom Fam. vi. 1-4 was addressed. Some words must have dropped out to the effect that one of them had left before the other to join Pompey. If *alter* occurred twice the intervening words might have dropped out, and the passage might have run somehow thus—*alter* duos aliquos dies

modo Lucius, sed etiam Aulus profectus est, . . . alter multos. De Reatinorum corona quod scribis, moleste fero in agro Sabino sementem fieri proscriptionis. Senatores multos esse Romae nos quoque audieramus. Ecquid potes dicere cur exierint? 2. In his locis opinio est coniectura magis quam nuntio aut litteris, Caesarem Formiis a. d. xi. Kal. Apr. fore. Hic ego vellem habere Homeri illam Minervam simulatam Mentori, cui dicerem :

Μέντορ, πῶς τ' ἄρ' ἴω, πῶς τ' ἄρ' προσπύξομαι αὐτόν;

Nullam rem umquam difficiliorem cogitavi. Sed cogito tamen, nec ero, ut in malis, imparatus. Sed cura ut valeas. Puto enim diem tuum heri fuisse.

CCCLXIV. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. IX. 9).

FORMIAE; MARCH 17; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero ad tris Attici epistolas respondet de commoratione Formiana sua, de supero mari petendo, de ante factis et delictis Pompeii obliviscendis, se *θέσεις* suas commentari non desinere, Attici consilia sibi minime displicere, de numero militum non credendo, de animo consulum, non item consilio eorum probando, quorum discessu spes pacis sublata sit, de bello quod iam impendeat foedissimo, de Caesare conveniendo, de Bibulo, de Philotimo, de Domitio, de sententia eius perversa, qui dicat comitia consularia a praetore haberi posse, de re frumentaria, de Trebatio a se visendo, de Lanuvino Phameae mortui ab Attico emendo.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Tris epistolas tuas accepi postridie Idus. Erant autem IIII., III., pridie Idus datae. Igitur antiquissimae cuique primum

abest alter multos. Some word like *abest* is required to justify the accusative.

corona] no doubt a public sale of prisoners held by the victorious Caesarians at Reate.

sementem] 'that the seeds of a proscription should be sown'; that is, that a step would be taken which would probably lead to a proscription.

nos quoque] 'I too'; Atticus had heard the same report.

exierint] 'why did they ever leave it.'

2. *simulatam*] Μέντορι εἰδομένην. The verse is in Od. iii. 22.

ut in malis] 'as well as the hard case allows.'

diem tuum] 'the day of your attack.'

1. *Tris*] This is the form in which *tres* always appears in the Medicean ms.

Erant . . . datae] 'they were dated 12th, 13th, 14th (of March).

antiquissimae cuique primum] 'taking the first written first.' Madv. Fin. ii. 105 admirably explains Cicero's use of *primus quisque*, which in many passages has been misunderstood by editors. Briefly the phrase means 'one after the other'; e.g. *primum quidque consideremus* means

respondebo. Adsentio tibi, ut in Formiano potissimum commorer, etiam de supero mari, perlaboroque, ut antea ad te scripsi, ecquonam modo possim voluntate eius nullam rei publicae partem attingere. Quod laudas, quia oblivisci me scripsi ante facta et delicta nostri amici, ego vero ita facio. Quin ea ipsa, quae a te commemorantur, secus ab eo in me ipsum facta esse non memini, tanto plus apud me valere beneficii gratiam quam iniuriae dolorem volo. Faciamus igitur, ut censes, colligamusque nos. Σοφιστεύω enim, simul ut rus decurro, atque in decursu θέσεις meas commentari non desino. Sed sunt quaedam earum perdifficiles ad iudicandum. De optimatibus, sit sane ita, ut vis, sed nosti illud, Διονύσιος ἐν Κορίνθῳ. Titinii filius apud Caesarem est. Quod

‘let us take the points in order’; that is, ‘let us consider each thing as it becomes first by our having done with the one before it.’

Adsentio] There is a remarkable consent of the mss to this form here. The tendency to divest verbs of their deponent form is very characteristic of early Latin, or rather Latin, as it develops, has a tendency to give a deponent form to verbs: see on Att. iv. 16, 6 (149, § 3). It is the character of the letters, and apparently of all familiar communication, to have an archaic character. Accordingly, we have not hesitated to present here a form characteristic of the letters, and attested by ms tradition.

etiam de supero mari] ‘I also agree with you about the Adriatic, that I should make my journey by it, not by the *mare inferum*.’

perlaboroque] M has *plaboque*, I *perlabor*, from which *perlaboroque* may safely be inferred, especially as the verb is ἀπαξ εἰρημένον and therefore greatly exposed to corruption. *Laboro* is exactly the word which Cicero uses in sentences like this, and we know how fond he is of strengthening verbs and adjectives with the prefix *per*; see I², p. 69. *Pergaudeo* Q. Fr. iii. 1, 9 (148) is ἀπαξ εἰρ. like *perlaboro* here.

voluntate eius] ‘without offending Caesar,’ a modal ablative of the same kind as *pace*, *venia*, *periculo alicuius aliquid facere*; nearly similar is the use of *alicuius ductu*, *auspiciis*, *nomine*, *verbis aliquid facere*. *Madv.* 257, *Obs.* 5.

ante facta et delicta] Pompey’s ‘past and offences’; this must by no means be changed to *dicta*, cp. *peccata*, Att. ix. 6, 2 (360).

ego vero] ‘yes, that is what I am doing.’

non memini] cp. *exciderunt*, Att. ix. 5, 3 (359).

colligamusque nos] ‘I must pull myself together.’ For *colligere se*, cp. *Tusc.* iv. 78, *Quid est autem se ipsum colligere nisi dissipatas animi partes rursus in suum locum cogere*.

rus decurro] This would naturally mean ‘take a run down to the country’; but as he has now been in the country some time, and as he says he goes over θέσεις in *decursu*, it seems better to follow Watson and Metzger and render ‘in walking about my estate.’ We are not aware of any example of *decurrere* in Cicero = ‘to walk over,’ unless *decursa aetate* pro Quint. 99 is near enough, but the usage is common in the comic drama.

Διονύσιος] The story was that Dionysius, expelled by Timoleon, from the throne of Syracuse, set up a school at Corinth, like General Lee after the American War. The case of Dionysius was used by Greek and Latin writers (cp. *Diod.* xvi. 70; *Amm. Marc.* xiv. 11, 30, and especially *Val. Max.* vi. 9, extr. 10) as a signal instance of the commonplace that there are ‘ups and downs’ in this life; and this gives a very good sense to the passage. When Cicero again refers to this tale in *Fam.* ix. 18, 1 (473), it is to compare it with his own case in becoming a teacher of oratory after having been the king of the bar. In *Tusc.* iii. 27 Cicero gives a different application of the proverb, and Mr. Jeans holds that that passage determines Cicero’s application of it here. The passage is *Dionysius tyrannus*

autem quasi vereri videris ne mihi tua consilia displiceant, me vero nihil delectat aliud nisi consilium et litterae tuae. Qua re fac, ut ostendis: ne destiteris ad me quidquid tibi in mentem venerit scribere. Mihi nihil potest esse gratius. 2. Venio ad alteram nunc epistolam. Recte non credis de numero militum. Ipso dimidio plus scripsit Clodia. Falsum etiam de corruptis navibus. Quod consules laudas, ego quoque animum laudo, sed consilium reprehendo. Discessu enim illorum actio de pace sublata est, quam quidem ego meditabar. Itaque postea Demetrii librum de concordia tibi remisi et Philotimo dedi. Nec vero dubito quin exitiosum bellum impendeat, cuius initium ducetur a fame. Et me tamen doleo non interesse huic bello! in quo tanta vis sceleris futura est, ut, cum parentes non alere nefarium sit, nostri principes antiquissimam et sanctissimam parentem, patriam, fame necandam putent. Atque hoc non opinione timeo, sed interfui sermonibus. Omnis haec classis Alexandria, Colchis, Tyro, Sidone, Arado, Cypro, Pamphylia, Lycia, Rhodo, Chio, Byzantio, Lesbo, Zmyrna, Mileto, Coo ad intercludendos commeatus Italiae et ad occupandas

Syracasis expulsus Corinthi pueros docebat: usque eo imperio carere non poterat. As he could not rule men he must rule boys. So here he says 'Granted that the optimates are now well-disposed to me, but they will never rest till they are in power. This they will get even by going over to Caesar. And then what will they think of me? I shall be at the mercy of creatures like the son of Titinius.' This would be the train of thought if we suppose that Cicero here applies the proverb in the same sense in which he has used it in Tusc. iii. 27. However, while doing full justice to the acuteness of Mr. Jeans' remarks, we cannot but adhere to the ordinarily accepted view. Pompey and the party designated *boni* or *optimates* by Cicero had by no means the same interests or aims at this juncture. The *boni* would have preferred that Pompey should remain in Italy. In that case a victory over Caesar would have been a victory for them, and Pompey would merely have been the general under whom it was achieved. The senate and nobles would have been the dominant party, and would have acted as such. On the other hand, a victory in the East meant the personal supremacy of Pompey. We cannot agree with Cicero,

who represents his flight from Italy as the result of panic. No: it was part of a well-considered plan, which was on the whole the only plan likely to secure for Pompey a position like that which Caesar actually attained.

2. *Ipsa dimidio*] 'by just one-half.' Clodia, the mother-in-law of the tribune L. Metellus, had mentioned the number as 30,000: cp. Att. ix. 6, 3 (360). Cicero says there were only 20,000; she added half of the real number (10,000), and made it 30,000.

corruptis] 'disabled,' by cutting away the fore part: cp. Att. ix. 6, 3 (360).

animum] 'their spirit' in going to join Pompey.

consilium] 'their judgment,' because their departure made all attempts at a composition vain, as a sign of which Cicero returns *Dem. de concordia*.

cuius initium ducetur a fame] 'which will be ushered in by a famine.'

Colchis] ablative of *Colchi* 'the Colchians'; *Colchis-idis* is not found in Cicero.

Aradus] in northern Phœnicia, near Tripolis.

Coo] ablative of *Cous*, which is the form found in Livy for the nominative. The word is declined as if it were of the

frumentarias provincias comparatur. At quam veniet iratus! et iis quidem maxime, qui eum maxime salvum volebant, quasi relictus ab iis, quos reliquit. Itaque mihi dubitanti quid me facere par sit permagnum pondus adfert benevolentia erga illum, qua dempta perire melius esset in patria quam patriam servando evertere. De septemtrione, plane ita est. Metuo ne vexetur Epirus. Sed quem tu locum Graeciae non direptum iri putas? Praedicat enim palam et militibus ostendit se largitione ipsa superiorem quam hunc fore. Illud me praeclare admones, cum illum videro, ne nimis indulgenter et ut cum gravitate potius loquar. Plane sic faciendum. Arpinum, cum eum convenero, cogito, ne forte aut absim, cum veniet, aut cursem huc illuc via deterrima. Bibulum, ut scribis, audio venisse et redisse pridie Idus. 3. Philotimum, ut ais in epistola tertia, expectabas. At ille Idibus a me profectus est. Eo serius ad tuam illam epistolam, cui ego statim rescripseram, redditae sunt meae litterae. De Domitio, ut scribis, ita opinor esse, ut et in Cosano sit et consilium eius ignoretur. Iste omnium turpissimus et sordidissimus, qui consularia comitia a praetore ait haberi posse, est ille idem, qui semper in re publica fuit. Itaque nimirum hoc illud est, quod Caesar scribit in ea epistola, cuius exemplum ad te misi, se velle uti 'consilio' meo—age, esto: hoc commune est—'gratia,'—ineptum

second declension, accus. *Coum*. Greek *Kóws*, *Kῶs*.

frumentarias provincias] Sicily and Sardinia.

quam veniet iratus] sc. *Pompeius*.

septemtrione] We read above, Att. ix. 6, 3 (360), that Pompey had northerly winds with him. Atticus had expressed a fear that the north wind would take Pompey to Epirus, where Atticus had property. Cicero replies 'you are right; that wind will expose Epirus to being plundered; but what part of Greece will escape? He is already boasting that he will surpass Caesar even in the amount of his largess to his forces.'

illum] here means Caesar, who has just been referred to as *hunc*. Mr. Watson rightly accounts for this by the judicious comment that he is called *hunc* above as "locally nearer to the writer of the letter," and *illum* here "as more remote in idea and belonging to the other party."

Arpinum cogito] sc. *ire*, cp. *Aegyptum*

cogitare, Att. ix. 11, 4 (367). *Eum* is Caesar.

via deterrima] 'in the present wretched condition of the road.' For ablative see on Fam. v. 8, 4 (131).

venisse et redisse] 'to have arrived from Syria and gone back to join Pompey.'

3. *ita . . . ut*] 'I think the case stands thus—he is in his place at Cosa in Etruria, but what he is doing there is not known.' For *ita . . . ut* see I², p. 65, and cp. with this particular passage—*ita se domi ex tuis audisse ut nihil esset incommodi*, Att. vi. 9, 1 (282). The *consilium* of Domitius was to raise a small fleet and equip it at Cosa with a view to occupying Massilia.

Iste omnium turpissimus] M. Lepidus, who was now praetor, afterwards one of the second triumvirate.

hoc illud est quod Caesar scribit] 'This is the meaning of the passage in Caesar's letter.'

commune est] 'a general expression.'

id quidem, sed, puto, hoc simulat ad quasdam senatorum sententias—‘dignitate,’ fortasse sententia consulari. Illud extremum est, ‘ope omnium rerum.’ Id ego suspicari coepi tum ex tuis litteris aut hoc ipsum esse aut non multo secus. Nam permagni eius interest rem ad interregnum non venire. Id adsequitur, si per praetorem consules creantur. Nos autem in libris habemus non modo consules a praetore, sed ne praetores quidem creari ius esse, idque factum esse numquam: consules eo non esse ius, quod maius imperium a minore rogari non sit ius, praetores autem, cum ita rogentur, ut collegae consulibus sint, quorum est maius imperium. Aberit non longe quin hoc a me decerni velit, neque sit contentus Galba, Scaevola, Cassio, Antonio:

τότε μοι χάνοι εὐρεῖα χθών!

4. Sed quanta tempestas impendeat vides. Qui transierint senatores scribam ad te, cum certum habebo. De re frumentaria recte intellegis, quae nullo modo administrari sine vectigalibus potest: nec sine causa et eos, qui circum illum sunt, omnia postulantes et bellum nefarium times. Trebatium nostrum, etsi, ut scribis, nihil bene sperat, tamen videre sane velim: quem fac horteris ut properet. Opportune enim ad me ante adventum Caesaris venerit. De Lanuvino statim, ut audiui Phameam mortuum, optavi, si modo esset futura res publica, ut id aliquis emeret meorum, neque tamen de te, qui maxime meus es, cogitavi. Scio-bam enim te quoto anno et quantum in solo solere quaerere, neque

simulat ad] ‘he affects to want my influence with a view to the votes of certain senators’ who used to follow Cicero.

‘dignitate’] ‘when he says he wishes to have the advantage of my position I suppose he means my vote as that of an ex-consul.’

aut hoc ipsum esse] ‘either refers to this very point (the holding of the elections by Lepidus as praetor) or something not far from it.’

in libris] sc. *auguralibus*.

eo] ‘for this reason.’

consules eo non esse ius] = *non esse ius consules a praetore creari*: cp. on this constitutional question Messalla ap. Gell. xiii. 15, 4, and Mommsen, St. R. ii², 77, 118.

rogari] ‘to be proposed (for election).’

praetores autem] sc. *eo non esse ius a praetore creari*.

Aberit non longe quin] ‘it will soon come to this that.’

Galba] He and the others mentioned were now members of the augural body.

τότε] Hom. Il. iv. 182.

4. *sine vectigalibus*] ‘without regular supplies of revenue.’—Watson. ‘without special imposts.’—Metzger.

nec sine causa . . . times] ‘you have good reason to fear.’ This would be expressed by *non temere* in Plautus, and by οὐκ ἔτρός in Greek.

si . . . res p.] The same meaning is expressed in Att. ix. 13, 6 (369), by the words *si ullam spem fruendi viderem*.

quoto anno] ‘in how many years you would recoup yourself for the purchase-money.’

quantum in solo] ‘what was the value of the *res soli*’ (that is, of the estate with

solum Romae, sed etiam Deli tuum digamma videram. Verum tamen ego illud, quamquam est bellum, minoris aestimo, quam aestimabatur Marcellino consule, cum ego istos hortulos propter domum, Antii quam tum habebam, iucundiores mihi fore putabam et minore impensa, quam si Tusculanum refecissem. Volui HS Q. Egi per †praedum ille daret, Antii cum habere venale: noluit. Sed nunc omnia ista iacere puto propter numerorum caritatem. Mihi quidem erit aptissimum vel nobis potius, si tu emeris. Sed eius dementias cave contemnas. Valde est venustum. Quamquam mihi ista omnia iam addicta vastitati videntur. Respondi epistolis tribus, sed exspecto alias. Nam me adhuc tuae litterae sustentarunt. D. Liberalibus.

buildings, crops, plantations, and fixtures of all kinds).

digamma] It has been thought that this might mean the 'account book' in which Atticus kept a record of money out at interest, and that it might have been so called because Atticus might have written F (which is very like the digamma), signifying *Fenus*, on the back of that book. Other attempts to explain the word are even more improbable. Let us add a guess: Could Δ have been written originally in mistake for the closely-resembling Λ, which stands for *λοιπόν* or 'balance' in Att. xv. 17, 1. The meaning would then be, 'I did not think you would risk any money without seeing your way very clearly, as I had seen what your balance was both when I was with you at Rome and when I met you at Delos on my way to Cilicia.' But this is a passage which calls for emendation, and we think, with Malaspina, that Cicero wrote *διάγραμμα*, 'schedule,' 'inventory,' 'list,' in which sense the word is found in Demosthenes (De Symm. 183, 20, § 21; Adv. Euerg. et Mnesib. 1156, 4, § 36; 1152, 12, § 43) and elsewhere, e.g. C. I. G. 2556, 64; Dio Cass. xlv. 53, 3.

Marcellino cons.] 698 (56 B.C.).

istos hortulos] He tells us afterwards that he made a mistake; it was an estate

called *Troianum* that he had wished to buy in 56: cp. Att. ix. 13, 6 (369).

HS Q.] = *sestertiis quingentis* = 500,000 sesterces = about £4500.

Egi per] The name of the person through whom Cicero had negotiated for the purchase of the property has fallen out; *predum* probably represents *praedium*. Wesenberg reads *egi per* *[some proper name] *praedium ut ille venderet.*

omnia ista iacere] 'all landed property is depreciated on account of the scarcity of money.' *Iacere*, as we should say, 'are down': cp. Rose. Com. 33, *accepit agrum temporibus iis cum iacerent pretia praediorum.*

eius dementias] probably refers to some unusual features in the property, such as we should now call 'So-and-so's Folly.' Mr. Jeans renders 'insane hobbies': cp. *insanas substructiones*, Mil. 53. By *contemnas* Cicero seems to mean 'do not think too little of them,' do not regard them as worthless, and refuse to buy. Cicero thought more of these hobbies than he supposed his friend would.

addicta vastitati] 'sentenced to devastation' in the impending civil war.—Watson.

tuae litterae] 'your letters,' not 'your letter' as usual: cp. Att. xi. 5, 1, 3 (416).

D. Liberalibus] = *dedi*. The Liberalia were on March 17.

CCCLXV. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. IX. 10).

FORMIAE ; MARCH 18 ; A. U. C. 705 ; B. C. 49 ; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero Attico scribit se dolere, quod non a principio quasi manipularis miles Cn. Pompeium secutus sit, sed se genus belli refugisse et hanc quoque spem habuisse fore ut aliquid conveniret, summo opere autem se ipsius Attici auctoritate a profectione esse revocatum, et istud ipsum, quod Atticus sibi suaserit, ex multis eius epistolis demonstrat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Nihil habebam quod scriberem. Neque enim novi quidquam audieram et ad tuas omnes rescripseram pridie. Sed cum me aegritudo non solum somno privaret, verum ne vigilare quidem sine summo dolore pateretur, tecum ut quasi loquerer, in quo uno acquiesco, hoc nescio quid nullo argumento proposito scribere institui. 2. Amens mihi fuisse videor a principio et me una haec res torquet, quod non omnibus in rebus labentem vel potius ruentem Pompeium tamquam unus manipularis secutus sim. Vidi hominem XIII. Kal. Febr. plenum formidinis. Illo ipso die sensi quid ageret. Numquam mihi postea placuit, nec umquam aliud in alio peccare destitit. Nihil interim ad me scribere, nihil nisi fugam cogitare. Quid quaeris? Sicut ἐν τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς alienant viros immundae, insulae, indecorae, sic, sic me illius fugae neglegentiaeque deformitas avertit ab amore. Nihil enim dignum faciebat qua re eius fugae comitem me adiungerem. Nunc emergit amor, nunc desiderium ferre non possum, nunc mihi nihil libri, nihil litterae, nihil doctrina prodest: ita dies et noctes,

2. *labentem vel potius ruentem*] 'drifting, or rather rushing, to ruin.'—Jeans.

unus manipularis] 'a common private'; cp. *unus caprimulgus*, 'the merest bumpkin,' Catull. xxii. 10; *unus paterfamilias*, 'any ordinary citizen,' De Or. i. 132, and Wilkins' note there. We can hardly ascribe to *unus* as used by Cicero the function of a mere indefinite article, though it was so used in conversational Latin (Donatus in Ter. And. i. 1, 91). *Unus* with the superlative stands on a different footing. It then simply intensifies; *uno nequissimo* Phil. ii. 7 is 'the vilest of the vile.'

plenum formidinis] See, however, on

Att. ix. 9, 1 (364).

Numquam . . . destitit] 'since that time he has never had my approval, nor has he once ceased adding blunder to blunder.'—Jeans.

emergit] Boot well observes that there is a poetical complexion about this expression, 'my affection comes uppermost,' and others in this context; and it is not impossible that some verses of a lost drama lurk under the words *alienant . . . indecorae* and *nunc emergit . . . ferre non possum*. We have inserted a second *sic*, which we think is represented by *fit* in the mss.

tamquam avis illa, mare prospecto, evolare cupio. Do, do poenas temeritatis meae. *Etsi quae fuit illa temeritatis?* quid feci non consideratissime? Si enim nihil praeter fugam quaereretur, fugissem libentissime, sed genus belli crudelissimi et maximi, quod nondum vident homines quale futurum sit, perhorruui. Quae minae municipiis, quae nominatim viris bonis, quae denique omnibus, qui remansissent! quam crebro illud: 'Sulla potuit, ego non potero?' 3. Mihi autem haeserunt illa: male Tarquinius qui Porsenam, qui Octavium Mamilium *concitavit* contra patriam, impie Coriolanus, *qui* auxilium petiit a Volscis, recte Themistocles, qui mori maluit, nefarius Hippas, Pisistrati filius, qui in Marathoniam pugna cecidit arma contra patriam ferens. At Sulla, at Marius, at Cinna recte: immo iure fortasse: sed quid eorum victoria crudelius, quid funestius? Huius belli genus fugi et eo magis, quod crudeliora etiam cogitari et parari videbam. Me, quem non nulli conservatorem istius urbis, quem parentem dixerunt, Getarum et Armeniorum et Colchorum copias ad eam adducere? me meis civibus famem, vastitatem inferre Italiae? Hunc primum mortalem esse, deinde etiam multis modis posse exstingui cogitabam,

avis illa] mentioned in a letter of Plato's in the words *καθάπερ ὄρνις ποθῶν ποθὲν ἀναπτᾶσθαι* Ep. vii. 348 A.

temeritatis] 'my rash confidence' in staying in Rome, through my belief in the possibility of a compromise.

Sulla potuit] Pompey probably hoped to imitate Sulla's victorious return from the East.

3. *haeserunt*] 'these thoughts haunted me.'

concitavit] We have inserted this word with Lehmann (p. 95), who quotes *servitia concitaturum*, Fam. x. 33, 4; *plures etiam gentes contra imperatorem nostrum concitatae sunt*, De Imp. Pomp. 23; he would moreover supply *concitatio* before *compressa* in Fam. xii. 1, 1; the word *concitatio* is found in Brut. 56.

cecidit] Herodotus and Thucydides record that Hippas was at the battle of Marathon, but the only authority which supports the statement in the text that he was killed at that battle is Justin ii. 9. The treatise on the Athenian constitution by pseudo-Aristotle does not throw any light on the question.

recte . . . iure] We unhesitatingly agree with Boot that *recte* is a stronger word than *iure*. As opposed to *male*,

impie, nefarie, it is justified, but Cicero wishes to qualify the word when he thinks how badly Sulla, Marius, and Cinna used their victory. He therefore corrects his usage of *recte* 'well, rightly,' and says rather that they acted 'within their rights'; they were 'right in principle' because they did not levy foreign war against their country, but they cannot be said to have 'acted rightly' because their triumph was stained with cruelty.

Hunc primum mortalem esse] Does *hunc* here refer to Pompey or Caesar? We think it refers to Caesar. Cicero would not have used the word *exstingui* of Pompey; and it suits the train of thought better to understand Cicero to say:—'I could not join in the invasion of Italy by a foreign army. I reflected, if the worst should come, at all events time will eventually remove Caesar, and then there is the chapter of accidents to reckon on; the preservation of our country is our bounden duty above all others, and putting these considerations aside, yet (*et tamen*) I fostered a hope that a compromise might be effected before Caesar should commit the crime of establishing a tyrannis, or Pompey the sin of

urbem autem et populum nostrum servandum ad immortalitatem, quantum in nobis esset, putabam, et tamen spes quaedam me oblectabat fore ut aliquid conveniret potius quam aut hic tantum sceleris aut ille tantum flagitii admitteret. Alia res nunc tota est, alia mens mea. Sol, ut est in tua quadam epistola, excidisse mihi e mundo videtur. Ut aegroto, dum anima est, spes esse dicitur, sic ego, quoad Pompeius in Italia fuit, sperare non destiti. Haec, haec me fefellerunt, et, ut verum loquar, aetas iam a diuturnis laboribus devexa ad otium domesticarum me rerum delectatione mollivit. Nunc, si vel periculose experiundum erit, experiar certe, ut hinc avolem. Ante oportuit fortasse. Sed ea, quae scripsi, me tardarunt et auctoritas maxime tua. 4. Nam cum ad hunc locum venissem, evolvi volumen epistolarum tuarum, quod ego *sub* signo habeo servoque diligentissime. Erat igitur in ea, quam x. Kalend. Febr. dederas, hoc modo: 'Sed videamus et Gnaeus quid agat et illius rationes quorsum fluant. Quod si iste Italiam relinquet, faciet omnino male et, ut ego existimo, ἀλογίστως, sed tum demum consilia nostra commutanda erunt.' Hoc scribis post diem quartum quam ab urbe discessimus. Deinde viii. Kalend. Febr.: 'Tantum modo Gnaeus noster ne, ut urbem ἀλογίστως reliquit, sic Italiam relinquat.' Eodem die das alteras litteras, quibus mihi consulenti planissime respondes. Est enim sic 'Sed venio ad consultationem tuam. Si Gnaeus Italia cedit, in urbem redeundum puto: quae enim finis peregrinationis?' Hoc mihi plane haesit, et nunc ita video, infinitum bellum iunctum miserrima fuga, quam tu peregrinationem ὑποκορίζῃ. 5. Sequitur χρησμὸς vi. Kal. Februarias: 'Ego, si Pompeius manet in Italia nec res ad pactionem venit, longius bellum puto fore: sin Italiam

devastating Italy.' For *et tamen* cp. Madv. Fin. ii. 85, and Munro on Lucr. v. 1177.

mundo] the universe, of which the three divisions were *terra*, *caelum*, and *mare*, Lucr. v. 93: cp. Lael. 47, *solem enim e mundo tollere videntur ei qui amicitiam e vita tollunt*.

aetas . . . mollivit] 'The calm approach of the evening of life after my long day's work brought with it easeful thoughts of the pleasures of home life.'

4. *quod ego sub signo habeo*] It is a pity that these letters were not published. What a flood of light they would throw on some of the dark places in the corre-

spondence! And how certain each editor feels that they would prove the truth of his own emendations!

illius] sc. *Caesaris*. Immediately after *iste* is Pompey.

Tantum modo] 'provided that.' We cannot find a parallel for *tantum modo ne*, but *tantum modo* = 'provided that' occurs in Sall. Jug. 79, 8, and *tantum ne* and *modo ne* are common: cp. Liv. xxi. 19, 5; 52, 4.

consultationem tuam] 'the question on which you ask advice': cp. Att. viii. 4, 3 (335).

ὑποκορίζῃ] 'which you euphemistically call a tour'?

relinquit, ad posterum bellum ἄσπονδον strui existimo.' Huius igitur belli ego particeps et socius et adiutor esse cogor, quod et ἄσπονδον est et cum civibus. Deinde vii. Idus Februar., cum iam plura audires de Pompeii consilio, concludis epistolam quamdam hoc modo: 'Ego quidem tibi non sim auctor, si Pompeius Italiam relinquit, te quoque profugere. Summo enim periculo facies nec rei publicae proderis, cui quidem posterius poteris prodesse, si manseris.' Quem φιλόπατριν ac πολιτικὸν hominis prudentis et amici tali admonitu non moveret auctoritas? 6. Deinceps iii. Idus Februar. iterum mihi respondes consulenti sic: 'Quod quaeris a me fugamne suadeam an moram defendam [utiliorem putem] ego vero in praesentia subitum discessum et praecipitem profectionem cum tibi tum ipsi Gnaeo inutilem et periculosam puto et satius esse existimo vos dispartitos et in speculis esse. Sed medius fidius turpe nobis puto esse de fuga cogitare.' Hoc turpe Gnaeus noster biennio ante cogitavit: ita sullaturit animus eius et proscripturit iam diu. Inde, ut opinor, cum tu ad me quaedam γενικώτερον scripsisses et ego mihi a te quaedam significari putassem, ut Italia cederem, detestaris hoc diligenter xi. Kalend. Mart.: 'Ego vero nulla epistola significavi, si Gnaeus Italia cederet, ut tu una cederes, aut, si significavi, non dico fui inconstans, sed demens.' In eadem epistola alio loco: 'Nihil relinquitur nisi fuga, cui te socium neutiquam puto esse oportere nec umquam putavi.' 7. Totam autem hanc deliberationem evolvis accuratius in litteris viii. Kalend. Mart. datis: 'Si M.' Lepidus et L. Volcatius remanent, manendum puto, ita ut, si

5. ἄσπονδον] 'a war à outrance.'
non sim auctor] 'I should not advise you,' the subjunctive with *ut* would be more in accordance with Ciceronian usage after *auctor sim*.

6. *utiliorem putem*] We regard these words as a gloss on *defendam* which would require explanation inasmuch as *defendere* means not only 'to maintain, advocate,' but also to 'keep off, drive away.'

dispartitos et in speculis] 'separated and each on his watchtower.'

biennio ante cogitavit] Here Cicero takes the true view of Pompey's policy in leaving Italy. It was with a view to returning from the East victorious and playing the part of Sulla, and it was part of a plan long since conceived. He

usually attributes Pompey's departure from Italy to panic.

sullaturit . . . proscripturit] 'so eager is he for the rôle of Sulla and a proscription.' Cicero is very bold in his coinage of desideratives (cp. *mortuiri*, *petituiri*); but this can hardly be called boldness in a writer who has coined *facteon* in φιλοσοφητέον et *floci non facteon*, Att. i. 16, 13 (22): cp. in Greek μελλονικιᾶν.

detestaris] 'you protest emphatically against this interpretation of a letter of yours couched in general terms, in which I thought I detected a hint that I should leave Italy.'

Ego vero] usually 'Yes, I did'; when followed by a negative we must render 'No; I did not.'

7. *evolvis*] 'you develope.'

salvus sit Pompeius et constiterit alicubi, hanc νέκυιαν relinquo et te in certamine vinci cum illo facilius patiaris quam cum hoc in ea, quae perspicitur futura, colluvie regnare.' Multa disputas huic sententiae convenientia. Inde ad extremum: 'Quid si' inquis 'Lepidus et Volcatius discedunt? Plane ἀπορῶ. Quod evenierit igitur et quod egeris, id στερκτέον putabo.' Si tum dubitaras, nunc certe non dubitas, istis manentibus. 8. Deinde in ipsa fuga v. Kal. Martias: 'Interea non dubito quin in Formiano mansurus sis. Commodissime enim τὸ μέλλον ibi καταδοκήσεις.' Ad K. Martias, cum ille quintum iam diem Brundisii esset: 'Tum poterimus deliberare, non scilicet iam integra re, sed certe minus infracta, quam si una proieceris te.' Deinde III. Non. Martias ὑπὸ τὴν λῆψιν cum breviter scriberes, tamen ponis hoc: 'Cras scribam plura et ad omnia, hoc tamen dicam, non paenitere me consilii de tua mansione et, quamquam magna sollicitudine, tamen, quia minus mali puto esse quam in illa profectioe, maneo in sententia et gaudeo te mansisse.' 9. Cum vero iam angerer et timerem ne quid a me dedecoris esset admissum, III. Nonas Mart.: 'Tamen te non esse una cum Pompeio non fero moleste. Postea si opus fuerit, non erit difficile, et illi, quoquo tempore fiet, erit ἀσμενιστόν. Sed hoc ita dico, si hic, qua ratione initium fecit, eadem cetera aget, sincere, temperate, prudenter, valde videro et consideratius utilitati nostrae consulero.' 10. VII. Idus Martias scribis Peducaeo quoque nostro probari, quod quierim, cuius auctoritas multum apud me valet. His ego tuis scriptis me consolor, ut nihil a me adhuc delictum putem. Tu modo auctoritatem

νέκυιαν] Cicero applies this expression frequently to the political followers of Caesar alluding to the νεκύων ἀμνηστὰ κάρηνα of Od. xi. which was called the νέκυια. Another verse from Homer which Cicero might have quoted in reference to Caesar and his followers is οἷος πέπνυται τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ ἀίσσουσι. They are likened to the ghosts or mere shadows of real men. Mr. Jeans renders *Inferno*, but perhaps *âmes damnées* would go a little nearer to the thought.

8. *infracta*] keeps up the metaphor in *integra*; we should say 'though not with a free hand, yet with one far less hampered than if you had taken this leap in the dark with Pompey.'

quamquam magna soll.] 'though I feel

great anxiety.' This seems to be the kind of ablative illustrated on Ep. 131, 4. It can hardly be taken as if *mansisti* were to be supplied, 'though your remaining causes you great anxiety.'

9. ἀσμενιστόν] 'welcome, acceptable'; see on Att. ix. 2 a, 3 (356).

hoc ita dico si] 'when I say this it is with the reservation that if his rival (Caesar) goes on for the future like the beginning he has made of acting with good faith, moderation, and prudence, I shall have to make a thorough investigation and consider more closely what our interests advise.'—Jeans.

10. *consolor ut putem*] 'I comfort myself so far as to think that.'

tuam defendito : adversus me nihil opus est, sed consciis egeo aliis. Ego, si nihil peccavi, reliqua tuebor. Ad ea tute hortare et me omnino tua cogitatione adiuva. Hic nihildum de reditu Caesaris audiebatur. Ego his litteris hoc tamen profeci : perlegi omnes tuas et in eo acquievi.

CCCLXVI. CICERO TO CAESAR (ATT. IX. 11 A).

FORMIAE ; MARCH 19 OR 20 ; A. U. C. 705 ; B. C. 49 ; AET. CIC. 57.

CICERO IMP. S. D. CAESARI IMP.

1. Ut legi tuas litteras, quas a Furnio nostro acceperam, quibus mecum agebas ut ad urbem essem, te velle uti consilio et dignitate mea minus sum admiratus : de gratia et de ope quid significares mecum ipse quaerebam, spe tamen deducebar ad eam cogitationem, ut te pro tua admirabili ac singulari sapientia de otio, de pace, de concordia civium agi velle arbitrarer, et ad eam rationem existimabam satis aptam esse et naturam et personam meam. 2. Quod si ita est et si qua de Pompeio nostro tuendo et tibi ac rei publicae reconciliando cura te attingit, magis idoneum, quam ego sum, ad eam causam profecto reperies neminem : qui et illi semper et senatui, cum primum potui, pacis auctor fui, nec sumptis armis belli ullam partem attigi, iudicavique eo bello te violari, contra cuius honorem populi Romani beneficio concessum inimici atque invidi niterentur. Sed ut eo tempore non modo ipse fautor dignitatis tuae fui, verum etiam ceteris auctor ad te adiuvandum, sic me nunc Pompeii dignitas vehementer movet. Aliquot enim sunt anni, cum vos duo delegi quos praecipue co-

consciis egeo aliis] 'I want others to be my accomplices,' that is, to be persuaded by your arguments into endorsing my course of action.

tute hortare] 'you yourself keep on exhorting' people to that course which I have taken. *Tute* is a common form in the letters, and it is a mistake to read *tu te hortare*.

1. *cogitationem ut arbitrarer*] For the

pleonasm involved in this expression cp. *in ea opinione ut putarent* Att. ii. 24, 3 (51) and note there.

personam] 'my position.'

2. *tuendo*] 'maintaining in his proper position.'

cum primum potui] sc. on my return from Cilicia.

honorem pop. Rom. beneficio concessum] See on Att. vii. 7, 6 (298).

Pompeii dignitas] 'the just claims of Pompey.'

lerem et quibus essem, sicut sum, amicissimus. 3. Quam ob rem a te peto vel potius omnibus te precibus oro et obtestor, ut in tuis maximis curis aliquid impertias temporis huic quoque cogitationi, ut tuo beneficio bonus vir, gratus, pius denique esse in maximi beneficii memoria possim. Quae si tantum ad me ipsum pertinerent, sperarem me a te tamen impetraturum, sed, ut arbitror, et ad tuam fidem et ad rem publicam pertinet me et pacis et utriusque vestrum *amicum*, *ad vestram*, et ad civium concordiam per te quam accommodatissimum conservari. Ego, cum antea tibi de Lentulo gratias egissem, cum ei saluti, qui mihi fuerat, fuisses, tamen lectis eius litteris, quas ad me gratissimo animo de tua liberalitate beneficioque misit, eandem me salutem a te accepisse *putavi* quam ille: in quem si me intellegis esse gratum, cura, obsecro, ut etiam in Pompeium esse possim.

CCCLXVII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. IX. 11).

FORMIAE ; MARCH 20 ; A. U. C. 705 ; B. C. 49 ; AET. CIC. 57.

De Lentulo, qui Puteolis versetur, de Matio, qui Quinquatribus se viserit, eiusque de Caesare sententia, de Crassipede et iis, quae de Pompeio narraverit eiusque adseclis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Lentulum nostrum scis Puteolis esse? Quod cum e viatore quodam esset auditum, qui se diceret eum in Appia, cum is paullum lecticam aperuisset, cognosse, etsi vix veri simile *est*, misi tamen

3. *impertias temporis*] 'that you will devote some time to the consideration how I may be enabled by your kindness to show myself to be a man of honour, gratitude, and affection, when under a very strong sense of obligation' to Pompey.

amicum] So we read with Lehmann (pp. 96-100): cp. *pacis amatores*, Att. xiv. 10, 2. Bosius conjectured *me ex paucis et ad utriusque vestrum et ad civium concordiam*, &c. But *pacis* of M is almost surely right. Cicero was always a most earnest advocate of peace: cp. Att. viii. 9, 1 (340); Fam. ii. 16, 3 (394); iv. 1, 1 (287); xvi. 12, 2 (312).

qui mihi fuerat] sc. *saluti*; in promoting his restoration from exile. Caesar had

spared Lentulus on the capture of Corfinium.

in quem] This refers to Lentulus: 'if you observe my gratitude to him, give me the chance of showing my gratitude to Pompey too.'

1. *scis esse*] It seems better with Boot and Wesenberg to regard this as a question. Atticus would not have been likely to have heard this news in Rome before Cicero in Formiae.

Appia] sc. *via*: see note on Att. ix. 6, 1 (360).

est] must be inserted; the rule, which is also operative for *quamquam*, is that in Cicero, and the best writers when a clause

Puteolos pueros qui pervestigarent et ad eum litteras. Inventus est vix in hortis suis se occultans litterasque mihi remisit mirifice gratias agens Caesari: de suo autem consilio C. Caecio mandata ad me dedisse. Eum ego hodie expectabam, id est, XIII. Kal. April. 2. Venit etiam ad me Matius Quinquatribus, homo mercuriale, ut mihi visus est, temperatus et prudens; existimatus quidem est semper auctor otii. Quam ille hoc non probare mihi quidem visus est! quam illam *νεκρίαν*, ut tu appellas, timere! Huic ego in multo sermone epistolam ad me Caesaris ostendi, eam, cuius exemplum ad te antea misi, rogavi, ut interpretaretur quid esset quod ille scriberet, 'consilio meo se uti velle, gratia, dignitate, ope rerum omnium.' Respondit se non dubitare quin et opem et gratiam meam ille ad pacificationem quaereret. Utinam aliquod in hac miseria rei publicae *πολιτικὸν* opus efficere et navare mihi liceat! Matius quidem et illum in ea sententia esse confidebat et se auctorem fore pollicebatur. 3. Pridie autem apud me Crassipes fuerat, qui se pridie Nonas Martias Brundisio profectum atque ibi Pompeium reliquisse dicebat, quod etiam, qui VIII. Idus illinc profecti erant, nuntiabant: illa vero omnes, in quibus etiam Crassipes, qui pro sua prudentia potuit attendere, sermones minaces, inimicos optimatum, municipiorum hostes, meras proscriptiones, meros Sullas: quae Lucceium loqui, quae totam Graeciam, quae vero Theophanem! 4. Et tamen omnis spes salutis in illis est, et ego excubo animo nec partem ullam capio quietis, et, ut has pestes effugiam, cum dissimillimis nostri esse cupio. Quid enim tu illic Scipionem, quid autem Faustum, quid Libonem praetermissurum sceleris putas?—quorum creditores convenire dicuntur—, quid eos autem, cum vicerint, in cives

with *etsi* has not a verb of its own, the verb of the principal clause must be capable of being supplied in the secondary, *Madv. Fin. v. 68.*; *Reid, Acad. ii. 3.* In *Fam. ii. 7, 3 (227)* the *ms* reading must be corrected for other reasons as well.

gratias] 'in which he expressed himself as wonderfully grateful to Caesar' for allowing him to leave Corfinium in safety after the capitulation.

2. *Quinquatribus*] March 19, the day before the date of this letter.

quid esset quod] 'what did he mean by saying in his letter.'

3. *illa vero*] 'all of them, and among

the rest Crassipes, who being a sensible man was capable of observing how things went, gave the same account, that their words were threatening,' &c., *sermones* and the subsequent accusatives are explanatory of *illa*: *optimatum*, sc. those who were remaining behind.

totam Graeciam] 'all the Greeks there.'

4. *excubo*] 'I am on the watch': cp. *in speculis esse*, *Att ix. 10, 6 (365)*. For *excubo* cp. *Phil. vi. 18, excubabo vigilaboque pro vobis*; *Tusc. iv. 37 (Sapiens) semper animo sic excubat ut nihil ei improvisum accidere possit*.

in cives effecturos] Cicero uses *in* with

effecturos? quam vero μικροψυχίαν Gnaei nostri esse? Nuntiant Aegyptum et Ἀραβίαν εὐδαίμονα et Μεσοποταμίαν cogitare, iam Hispaniam abiecisse. Monstra narrant, quae falsa esse possunt: sed certe et haec perdita sunt et illa non salutaria. Tuas litteras iam desidero. Post fugam nostram numquam †iam nostrum earum intervallum fuit. Misi ad te exemplum litterarum mearum ad Caesarem, quibus me aliquid profecturum puto.

CCCLXVIII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. IX. 12).

FORMIAE; MARCH 20; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero queritur ad se nuntium adlatum esse circumvallatum esse Pompeium ratibus etiam exitus portus teneri, de consiliis Attici cum honestis tum cautis, de Dionysio, de desperata condicione sua.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Legeram tuas litteras XIII. Kalend., cum mihi epistola adfertur a Lepta, circumvallatum esse Pompeium, ratibus etiam exitus portus teneri. Non medius fidius prae lacrimis possum reliqua nec cogitare nec scribere. Misi ad te exemplum. Miseros nos! cur non omnes fatum illius una exsecuti sumus? Ecce autem a Matio et Trebatio eadem: quibus Minturnis obvii Caesaris tabellarii. Torqueor infelix, ut iam illum Mucianum exitum exoptem. At quam honesta, at quam expedita tua consilia, quam evigilata tuis cogitationibus qua itineris, qua navigationis, qua congressus sermonisque cum Caesare! Omnia cum honesta tum cauta. In Epirum vero invitatio quam suavis, quam liberalis, quam fraterna!

ablative after this verb in Lael. 41, but this is hardly a sufficient reason for reading *civibus* here. The two constructions are quite possible—in *cives* would mean 'against the citizens'; in *civibus*, 'in the case of the citizens.'

μικροψυχίαν] M has μακροψυχίαν, but this is, no doubt, an error, as μεγαλοψυχία is the form in use, and irony is out of place here.

cogitare] 'that he thinks of going to': cp. *Arpinum cogito*, Att. ix. 9, 2 (364).

†iam nostrum] Corradus suggested *tam longum earum* (or *nostrarum*). Qu. *tantum nostrarum*.

1. *Mucianum exitum*] Q. Mucius Scaevola was murdered in 82 by the orders of C. Marius the younger: see on Att. viii. 3, 6 (333).

evigilata tuis cogitationibus] 'thought out'; the genitives, *itineris*, *navigationis*, *congressus*, *sermonis*, depend on *consilia*, 'your plans for.'

2. De Dionysio sum admiratus, qui apud me honoratior fuit quam apud Scipionem Panaetius, a quo impurissime haec nostra fortuna despecta est. Odi hominem et odero: utinam ulcisci possem! Sed illum ulciscuntur mores sui. 3. Tu, quaeso, nunc vel maxime quid agendum nobis sit cogita. Populi Romani exercitus Cn. Pompeium circumsedet: fossa et vallo saeptum tenet, fuga prohibet; nos vivimus? Et stat urbs ista, praetores ius dicunt, aediles ludos parant, viri boni usuras perscribunt: ego ipse sedeo? Coner illuc ire, ut insanus? implorare fidem municipiorum? Boni non consequentur, leves irridebunt, rerum novarum cupidi, victores praesertim et armati, vim et manus adferent. 4. Quid censes igitur? ecquidnam est tui consilii ad finem huius miserrimae vitae? Nunc doleo, nunc torqueor, cum cuidam aut sapiens videor, quod una non ierim, aut felix fuisse. Mihi contra. Numquam enim illius victoriae socius esse volui, calamitatis malletm fuissem. Quid ego nunc tuas litteras, quid tuam prudentiam aut benevolentiam implorem? Actum est. Nulla re iam possum iuvare, qui ne quod optem quidem iam habeo nisi ut aliqua inimici misericordia liberemur.

2. *impurissime*] 'most foully,' & *μιαρῶτατα*, for Dionysius: see on Att. vii. 26, 3 (326).

3. *viri . . . perscribunt*] 'our friends the optimates are booking their profits.' The optimates, many of whom were in the habit of lending money like Atticus, were now engaged in their usual avocations, as if no public cataclysm had occurred. Just below, we have the broad division of *boni* or Pompeians, *leves* who have no politics, and *novarum rerum cupidi* or Caesareans.

4. *ecquidnam . . . consilii ad*] 'have you any advice as to the way I should end this utterly wretched existence.' This sentence is badly expressed, but not there-

fore necessarily un-Ciceronian. Again, as in the letters from exile, his style suffers from his mental distress. Boot proposes *ecquis*—*nam est tui consilii*—*finis huius miserrimae vitae*; but *finis* with pronouns is feminine, as in *quae enim finis*, Att. ix. 10, 5 (365); Cicero might, however, have used *ecquis* feminine, according to the example of the comic writers. We should insert *adest* before *finis* if we accepted Boot's correction. For *est tui consilii*, 'it is yours to advise,' see on *res erat deliberationis*, Att. viii. 12, 3 (345).

Mihi contra] 'I take a quite different view of myself': sc. *videor esse*.

aliqua] sc. *via*.

inimici] sc. *Caesaris*.

CCCLXIX. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. IX. 13, §§ 1-7).

FORMIAE ; MARCH 23 ; A. U. C. 705 ; B. C. 49 ; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero quod scripserat Pompeium circumvallatum portu occluso, iam non verum esse significat, tum de litteris Attici et Dolabellae, de causa, quam ob rem consilia Attici collegerit, de sua erga Pompeium benevolentia, de magnis Caesaris copiis et opibus, de praefectura sua, de viris bonis, de Lentulo, de misera Pompeii condicione.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Οὐκ ἔστ' ἔτυμος λόγος, ut opinor, ille de ratibus. Quid enim esset, quod Dolabella iis litteris, quas III. Idus Martias a Brundisio dedit, hanc quasi ἐνήμερίαν Caesaris scriberet, Pompeium in fuga esse eumque primo vento navigaturum? Quod valde discrepat ab iis epistolis, quarum exempla antea ad te misi. Hic quidem mera scelera loquuntur. Sed non erat nec recentior auctor nec huius rei quidem melior Dolabella. 2. Tuas XI. Kalend. accepi litteras, quibus omnia consilia differs in id tempus, cum scierimus quid actum sit. Et certe ita est, nec interim potest quidquam non modo statui, sed ne cogitari quidem. Quamquam hae me litterae Dolabellae iubent ad pristinas cogitationes reverti. Fuit enim pridie Quinquatrus egregia tempestas, qua ego illum usum puto. 3. Συναγωγὴ consiliorum tuorum non est a me collecta ad querellam, sed magis ad consolationem meam. Nec enim me tam haec mala angebant quam suspicio culpa ac temeritatis meae: eam nullam puto esse, quoniam cum consiliis tuis mea facta et consilia consentiunt. Quod mea praedicatione factum esse scribis magis quam illius merito, ut tantum ei debere viderer,

1. Οὐκ . . . λόγος] The first words of the celebrated *palinode* of Stesichorus, in which he withdrew his statements about Helen. But here it refers to no *palinode*, but merely means that the account which stated that Pompey was cooped up in Brundisium was a *canard*.

Quid enim esset quod] 'For what in that case (if Lepta's account were true) would be the meaning of Dolabella's calling it in his letter a kind of *bonne fortune* for Caesar that Pompey is meditating flight; and saying that he would set sail with the first wind?' The slight change of *est* to *esset* is indicated by the mood of *scriberet*.

mera scelera loquuntur] 'disaster is on every one's lips.' This construction of *loqui*, as well as that with accusative and infinitive, belongs chiefly to colloquial Latin: see Reid on De Senect. 59: cp. Mil. 63.

2. *pridie Quinquatrus*] March 18.

egregia tempestas] 'excellent weather.'

3. Συναγωγὴ] '*précis*' or 'digest.' Cicero had collected and classified the advice of Atticus, tendered in his various letters.

Quod mea praedicatione] 'when you say that my obligations to Pompey are, in my statement of them, represented as greater than his deserts warrant, you are right. I

est ita. Ego illa extuli semper et eo quidem magis, ne quid ille superiorum meminisse me putaret, quae si maxime meminissem, tamen illius temporis similitudinem iam sequi deberem. Nihil me adiuvit, cum posset: at postea fuit amicus, etiam valde: ecquam ob causam plane nescio: ergo ego quoque illi. Quin etiam illud par in utroque nostrum, quod ab eisdem illecti sumus. Sed utinam tantum ego ei prodesse potuissem, quantum mihi ille potuit! Mihi tamen quod fecit gratissimum. Nec ego nunc eum iuvare qua re possim scio nec, si possem, cum tam pestiferum bellum pararet, adiuvandum putarem. 4. Tantum offendere animum eius hic manens nolo. Nec mehercule ista videre, quae tu potes iam animo providere, nec interesse istis malis possem. Sed eo tardior ad discedendum fui, quod difficile est de discessu voluntario sine ulla spe reditus cogitare. Nam ego hunc ita paratum video peditatu, equitatu, classibus, auxiliis Gallorum—quos Matius ἐλάπιζεν, ut puto, sed certe dicebat *peditum, equitum sex polliceri sumptu suo annos decem—sed sit hoc λάπισμα. Magnas habet certe copias, et habebit non Italiae vectigal, sed civium bona. Adde confidentiam hominis, adde imbecillitatem bonorum virorum, qui quidem, quod illum sibi merito iratum putant, oderunt, ut tu scribis, ludum. Ac vellem quinam hi significasses. Sedet iste, quis plus ostenderat quam fecit, et vulgo

extolled those services the more, lest he should suppose that I remembered the past' (Pompey's treatment of him at the time of his exile). 'Indeed, though I did remember that occasion ever so well, I should feel bound to take that course of his as the model of my conduct now'; that is, as Pompey, though he at first neglected or opposed the interests of Cicero at that critical epoch, finally came to his aid and support; so Cicero is now bound to give his aid and support to Pompey at the crisis of his fortunes.

ergo ego quoque illi] sc. *ero amicus*.

etiam illud par] 'there is this further parallelism between the two cases: we were both cajoled by the same party'—the *boni* or optimates.

Mihi tamen . . . gratissimum] 'yet (though I can do so little to show it) I am truly grateful for what he did.' This clause would seem to stand more appositely after *nec ego . . . putarem*.

4. *Nam ego hunc . . . Gallorum]* The sentence is interrupted by a parenthesis

and resumed as usual by *sed*. But in meaning, though not in form, the letter is parenthetical till *ita paratum video* is resumed by *quare* (so) *ita paratus est*.

**peditum]* Some number has doubtless fallen out here; the *sex* before *polliceri* has been corrupted in the mss to *se*. The corruption probably arose from the fact that the symbol for the missing number was not understood, and so it was not seen that *sex* meant *sex milia*.

sed sit hoc λάπισμα] 'but even granting that this was a bit of gasconade.'

Italiae vectigal] Port dues, pasture tax, &c.

oderunt ludum] Some of the optimates, fearing the resentment of Pompey, 'have conceived an aversion for the whole game,' and are resolved to take no part on either side. War is often compared to a game, and the belligerents to players. These are they whom he classifies as *leves* in Att. ix. 12, 3 (368).

Ac vellem quinam hi significasses] He says he wishes Atticus had told who the

illum qui amarunt, non amant. Municipia vero et rustici Romani illum metuunt, hunc adhuc diligunt. Quare ita paratus est, ut, etiam si vincere non possit, quo modo tamen vinci ipse possit non videam. Ego autem non tam γοητείαν huius timeo quam πειθανάγκην. Αἱ γὰρ τῶν τυράννων δεήσεις, inquit Πλάτων, οἷσθ' ὅτι μεμιγμέναι ἀνάγκαις. 5. Illa ἀλίμενα video tibi non probari, quae ne mihi quidem placebant, sed habebam in illis et occultationem et ὑπηρεσίαν fidem, quae si mihi Brundisii suppeterent, mallet. Sed ibi occultatio nulla est. Verum, ut scribis, cum sciemus. 6. Viris bonis me non nimis excuso. Quas enim eos cenas et facere et obire scripsit ad me Sextus! quam lautas, quam tempestivas! Sed sint quamvis boni, non sunt meliores quam nos: moverent me, si essent fortiores. De Lanuvino Phameae erravi: Troianum somniaveram. Id ego volui Q. Sed pluris est. Istuc tamen cuperem emere, si ullam spem fruendi viderem. 7. Nos quae monstra cotidie legamus intelleges ex illo libello, qui in epistolam coniectus est. Lentulus noster Puteolis est, ἀδημονῶν is, ut Caecius narrat, quid agat. Διατροπὴν Corfiniensem reformidat. Pompeio nunc putat satis factum, beneficio Caesaris movetur, sed tamen movetur magis prospecta re.

very men were who wished to throw up their cards. Then he gives his own view of public feeling: 'Domitius (so Boot rightly), who made such promises, is doing nothing at all (*sedet*). There is a general cooling down of the feeling of devotion to Pompey. The municipal towns and suburban population are afraid of Pompey, and so far have a real affection for Caesar. In a word, so powerful is his support that I do not see how he could be defeated even though he should not be victorious.' *Quare ita paratus est* sums up the whole section. For *sedet* cp. *stante Pompeio vel etiam sedente*, Att. vi. 3, 4 (264), and cp. Att. ii. 17, 2 (44), where see note. For *ostendere* = 'to promise' cp. Fam. ix. 8, 1, *Etsi munus* (gladiatorial show) *flagitare quamvis quis ostenderit ne populus quidem solet nisi concitatus*.

non tam γοητείαν] 'I do not so much fear his *finesse* as his *force majeure*, for as Plato says, *An autocrat's requests partake of the nature of commands*.' These

words are in the same epistle (vii.) of Plato from which the simile of the bird is taken in Att. ix. 10, 2 (365).

5. ἀλίμενα] Places which do not afford a means of putting to sea at short notice would not be suitable to him.

ὑπηρεσίαν] 'a trustworthy set of attendants.'

6. *cenas et facere et obire*] 'give and receive entertainments.'

tempestivas] see on Att. ix. 1, 3 (353).

boni . . . meliores] The words are used in their political sense.

Lanuvino . . . Troianum] For this whole section see on Att. ix. 9, 4 (364).

7. *epistolam*] 'the packet' in which both letters and other enclosures were included.

ἀδημονῶν *quid agat*] 'in a quandary what to do.'

Διατροπὴν] 'a *fiasco* like that at Corfinium.'

prospecta re] 'when he looks forward to the future.'

CCCLXX. BALBUS TO CICERO (ATT. IX. 13 A).

ROME ; MARCH 20 ; A. U. C. 705 ; B. C. 49 ; AET. CIC. 57.

BALBUS CICERONI IMP. SAL. DIC.

1. Caesar nobis litteras perbreves misit, quarum exemplum subscripsi. Brevitate epistolae scire poteris eum valde esse distentum, qui tanta de re tam breviter scripserit. Si quid praeterea novi fuerit statim tibi scribam. 'CAESAR OPPIO CORNELIO S. A. d. VII. Id. Mart. Brundisium veni: ad murum castra posui. Pompeius est Brundisii. Misit ad me N. Magium de pace. Quae visa sunt respondi. Hoc vos statim scire volui. Cum in spem venero de compositione aliquid me conficere, statim vos certiores faciam.' 2. Quo modo me nunc putas, mi Cicero, torqueri, postquam rursus in spem pacis veni, ne qua res eorum compositionem impediat? Namque, quod absens facere possum, opto. Quod si una essem, aliquid fortasse proficere possem videri: nunc expectatione crucior.

We have put this letter out of strict chronological order so as to bring it into close connexion with Cicero's next letter.

1. *Misit ad me N. Magium*] Boot notices that this is inconsistent with the account given by Caesar, B. C. i. 26, where he wishes to represent himself as very desirous of peace. Thus the survival of this little scrap of a private letter proves that even the great Caesar was capable of dressing up his acts to suit a highly-coloured picture of his own character. However, we are not sure that Caesar is deliberately trying to mislead in this case. The fact was, Pompey sent Magius with a proposal: Caesar sent him back with what he calls a fitting reply, which, however, seemed so little fitting to Pompey that he did not prosecute the negotiations further. What Caesar, in his Commentaries, would

appear to lead the reader to believe is, that it was he who began the negotiations, for he says *misit* Caesar, not *remisit*.

aliquid me conficere] Boot brackets these words on the ground that in so short a letter Caesar would not have used unnecessary words, but that if any quality in a letter is a sign of haste, *spe conficere* is careless but quite defensible. The force of the present infinitive is 'when I can entertain a hope that I am making some progress in peace negotiations.'

2. *quod absens facere possum*] 'I long for peace, which is all I can do without being on the spot.'

possem videri] 'if I were on the spot perhaps I might succeed in seeming to be of some use'—an exaggeratedly modest aspiration.

CCCLXXI. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. IX. 13, § 8).

FORMIAE ; MARCH 24 ; A. U. C. 705 ; B. C. 49 ; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero Balbi litteras odit deque pace iam penitus desperat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

8. 'Tene haec posse ferre?' Omnia misera, sed hoc nihil miserius : Pompeius N. Magium de pace misit, et tamen oppugnatur : quod ego non credebam, sed habeo a Balbo litteras, quarum ad te exemplum misi : lege, quaeso, et illud infimum caput ipsius Balbi optimi, cui Gnaeus noster locum ubi hortos aedificaret dedit, quem cui nostrum non saepe praetulit? Itaque miser torquetur. Sed, ne bis eadem legas, ad ipsam te epistolam reiicio. Spem autem pacis habeo nullam. Dolabella suis litteris Id. Mart. datis merum bellum loquitur. Maneamus ergo in illa eadem sententia misera et desperata, quando hoc miserius esse nihil potest.

CCCLXXII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. IX. 14).

FORMIAE ; MARCH 25 ; A. U. C. 705 ; B. C. 49 ; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero Attico scribit spem pacis, quam Balbi litterae significaverint, nullam esse se e Q. Pedii litteris intellexisse et e Caesaris litteris, quarum exemplum miserat Pedius, se quid agat nescire, scripta epistola se ait a Lepta certiore factum Pompeium a Brundisio conscendisse, Caesarem a. d. vii. Kal. April. Capuae fore.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Miseram ad te viii. Kal. exemplum epistolae Balbi ad me et Caesaris ad eum : ecce tibi eodem die Capua litteras accepi ab Q. Pedio, Caesarem ad se pridie Id. Mart. misisse hoc exemplo : 'Pompeius se oppido tenet. Nos ad portas castra habemus. Conamur opus magnum et multorum dierum propter altitudinem maris ; sed tamen nihil est quod potius faciamus. Ab utroque

It is quite plain that this is a new letter written after the receipt of that from Balbus.

infimum caput] 'that clause at the end in which the good Balbus himself speaks.'
quem cui . . . praetulit] 'to which of

us did not Pompey often prefer him?'

1. *opus multorum dierum*] This genitive may be compared with *res deliberationis*, Att. viii. 12, 3 (345).

portus cornu moles iacimus, ut aut illum quam primum traicere quod habet Brundisii copiarum cogamus aut exitu prohibeamus.' 2. Ubi est illa pax, de qua Balbus scripserat torqueri se? ecquid acerbius? ecquid crudelius? Atque eum loqui quidam αὐθεντικῶς narrabat, Cn. Carbonis, M. Bruti se poenas persequi omniumque eorum, in quos Sulla crudelis hoc socio fuisset, nihil Curionem se duce facere, quod non hic Sulla duce fecisset: se ambire reditionem, quibus exsilii poena superioribus legibus non fuisset, ab illo patriae proditores de exilio reductos esse, queri de Milone per vim expulso, neminem tamen se violaturum, nisi qui arma contra. Haec Baebius quidam, a Curione III. Id. profectus, homo non infans, sed qui de suo illa non dicat. Plane nescio quid agam. Illim equidem Gnaeum profectum puto. Quidquid est biduo sciemus. A te nihil ne Anteros quidem litterarum. Nec mirum: quid enim est quod scribamus? Ego tamen nullum diem praetermitto. 3. Scripta epistola litterae mihi ante lucem a Lepta Capua redditae sunt Id. Mart., Pompeium a Brundisio conscendisse, at Caesarem a. d. VII. Kal. Apriles Capuae fore.

2. *quidam αὐθ. narrabat*] '[a bona fide statement was made that Caesar said in conversation that he was the avenger of Carbo and Brutus and all those on whom Sulla with Pompey's complicity wreaked his cruelty.] Cn. Papirius Carbo was consul for the third time with C. Marius the younger, as his colleague Leg. Agr. iii. 6. He was put to death by Pompey at Lilybaeum, Fam. ix. 21, 3. M. Junius Brutus, the father of the Brutus who was one of the chief conspirators against Caesar, was killed in Cisalpine Gaul by Pompey in 678 (76).

se ambire reditionem] 'that he is solicitous only for the restoration of those not punished with exile under statutes prior to that of Pompey, while Pompey (acting in concert with Sulla) brought back from exile traitors to their country; that he resents the violence used by Pompey to secure the banishment of Milo, but would not hurt anyone not found in arms against him.' We have accepted with a modification the emendation of Madvig. *Ambire* is not the most natural word that could have been employed, but might well have been used by Caesar in conversation or attributed to him by Baebius in a letter. *Ad ambitionem* is a corruption of *ambire reditionem* not unlike *intelligamus* for *legamus intelleges* in Att. ix. 13, 7 (369), and such a fusion of two verbs is

very common in the letters. For the fact that this was the policy of Caesar see *nihil esse certius quam ut omnes, qui lege Pompeia condemnati essent, restituerentur* Att. x. 4, 8 (382). This was the *lex de ambitu* of 703 (51). The beginning of the *Or. pro Milone* is full of complaints of the terrorism then resorted to.

qui de suo illa] 'a man who is no fool, but not clever enough to invent such a report'. Thus we correct this passage by supposing *quis ulli*, which is unintelligible, to be a corruption of *qui de suo illa*. Other conjectures seem quite unsuitable, giving as a rule a sense similar to that of Boot's conjecture, *sed qui illa nulli non dicat*, 'no fool, but a chatter-box.' Why, then, should he say 'no fool'? A man who blabs out what he ought to keep to himself ought to be called a fool, and *infans* may mean 'silly' in this passage, cp. Att. x. 18, 1 (404). On the other hand, one could not better recommend a person as an authority for a statement than by saying that he was no fool (and not therefore like to have misunderstood or forgotten what he heard) but not clever enough to invent and put into the mouth of Caesar a sentiment representing his own view of the case.

Anteros] a slave or freedman of Atticus, of whom we read again in Att. xi. 1, 1 (406).

CCCLXXIII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. IX. 15).

FORMIAE; MARCH 25; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero scribit Attico sibi iam litteras adlatas esse Caesarem in Albano apud Curionem v. Kal. fore, eius igitur congressum exspectat, sibi omnia imparata esse significat ab Atticoque consilium petit: de mandatis Caesaris ad consules et ad Pompeium, de Philippo, de Lentulo, de Domitio, tum de Dionysio existimat, denique de re familiari. Adiungit exemplum litterarum, quas se a Matio et Trebatio accepisse dicit.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Cum dedissem ad te litteras, ut scires Caesarem Capuae vii. Kalend. fore, adlatae mihi Capua sunt litterae et hic copiam mihi et in Albano apud Curionem v. Kal. fore. Eum cum videro, Arpinum pergam. Si mihi veniam quam peto dederit, utar illius condicione: si minus, impetrabo aliquid a me ipso. Ille, ut ad me scripsit, legiones singulas posuit Brundisii, Tarenti, Siponti. Claudere mihi videtur maritimos exitus, et tamen ipse Graeciam spectare potius quam Hispanias. Sed haec longius absunt. 2. Me nunc et congressus huius stimulat—is vero adest—et primas eius actiones horreo. Volet enim, credo, S. C. facere, volet augurum decretum, rapiemur aut absentes vexabimur, vel ut consules roget praetor vel dictatorem dicat, quorum neutrum ius est. Etsi si Sulla potuit efficere, ab interrege ut dictator diceretur [et magister equitum] cur hic non possit? Nihil expedio, nisi ut aut ab hoc

1. *et hic copiam mihi et*] 'That Caesar would meet me either here in Formiae, or in Curio's place at Alba.' We have accepted the conjecture of Madvig. The reading usually accepted *litterae eum* (Wesenberg, Klotz) rests only on imperfect ms authority.

utar] 'I shall put up with.' See in Att. ix. 6, 7 (360).

si minus, impetrabo] 'If he does grant my request (that Caesar should allow me to be neutral, and to absent myself from the senate when the case of Pompey is before it) then I shall grant a request that I shall make of myself,' that is, I shall go and join Pompey. For *impetrabo* cp. *justa ad impetrandum*, § 3, 'good reasons why I should gain my petition.' He here means, 'I shall call on myself for a definite move,

and answer my call.'

ipse] Caesar himself, as opposed to his lieutenants at the different towns.

longius absunt] 'these are mere remote considerations,' namely, what the ulterior course of Caesar's actions will be.

2. *rapiemur*] Probably *rure* has fallen out before this word. Boot would supply *Romam*. Cicero was an augur.

vel ut consules roget] Mommsen, St. R. ii², 118, 138, reads *volet* for *vel ut*, which may be right, though *volet* . . . *roget* is somewhat cacophonous.

vel dict. dicat] Caesar was named dictator by M. Aemilius Lepidus as praetor.

Nihil expedio] 'I can see no solution of the difficulty, except by meeting the fate of Mucius at the hands of Caesar, or

tamquam Q. Mucius aut ab illo tamquam L. Scipio. Cum tu haec leges, ego illum fortasse convenero. 3. Τέτλαθι. κύντερον ne illud quidem nostrum proprium. Erat enim spes propinqui reditus, erat hominum querella. Nunc exire cupimus, qua spe reditus, mihi quidem numquam in mentem venit. Non modo autem nulla querella est municipalium hominum ac rusticorum, sed contra metuunt ut crudelem, iratum. Nec tamen mihi quidquam est miserius quam remansisse nec optatius quam evolare non tam ad belli quam ad fugae societatem. Sed tu *ubi* omnia qui consilia differebas in id tempus, cum sciremus quae Brundisii acta essent? Scimus nempe: haeremus nihilo minus. Vix enim spero mihi hunc veniam daturum, etsi multa adfero iusta ad impetrandum. Sed tibi omnem illius meumque sermonem omnibus verbis expressum statim mittam. 4. Tu nunc omni amore enitere, ut nos cura tua et prudentia iuves. Ita subito accurrit, ut ne T. Rebilum quidem, ut constitueram, possim videre. Omnia nobis imparatis agenda. Sed tamen

ἄλλα μὲν αὐτός,

ut ait ille

ἄλλα δὲ καὶ δαίμων ὑποθήσεται.

that of Scipio at the hands of Pompey.' Mucius had been put to death by Marius, L. Scipio had been proscribed by Sulla.

3. Τέτλαθι.] δῆ, κραδίη, καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο ποτ' ἔτλης is the common epic tag (Od. xx. 18), but here Cicero says, 'no, not even my own special disaster, my exile, was a *shrewder blow* than this.' He refers to the necessity now forced on him and his party to go and join Pompey, which he thinks worse than his banishment, for then there was hope of speedy return, now there is little or none; then he was regretted, now Pompey (as well as his followers) has lost the sympathy of the country towns and rural population, who fear vindictive measures from him if he should prevail. The use of *nostrum proprium*, and the subsequent allusion to Pompey without any special mention of his name show that Cicero is contrasting his own personal disaster in the past with the position in which he and the Pompeians are now placed. But though this is a 'shrewder blow' than his banishment he felt that he could not adopt any course in preference; 'nothing is more wretched than that I should have stayed

in Rome, nothing more welcome than to be Pompey's companion, though not in arms still in flight.'

qua spe reditus] 'with what hope of return I have no idea.'

tu ubi qui] 'but now what becomes of your counsel that we should put off all our decisions till we should know how things went at Brundisium? Now we know, and we are as completely puzzled as ever.' The mere insertion of *ubi* which would easily have fallen out after *tu* makes the passage very characteristic; see note on Att. vi. 2, 7 (256). *Quis tu qui ais*, which is an alternative form for *ubi tu qui ais*. If this use of *ubi* is objected to, we should read *tu quis qui ais*. The reading of the mss is *sed tu qui*, and most editors unscientifically strike out the *qui* and leave the frigid *sed tu . . . differebas*.

iusta ad imp.] 'good reasons for granting my request.'

verbis expressum] 'verbatim' as we should say.

4. *T. Rebilum*] T. Caninius Rebilus whom Caesar had sent to Libo with terms of peace. Caesar, B.C. i. 26.

ut ait ille] Athenè in the character of

Quidquid egero continuo scies. Mandata Caesaris ad consules et ad Pompeium, quae rogas, nulla habeo: †et descripta attulit illaēstvia.† Misi ad te, e quibus mandata puto intellegi posse. Philippus Neapoli est, Lentulus Puteolis. De Domitio, ut facis, sciscitare ubi sit, quid cogitet. 5. Quod scribis asperius me, quam mei patiantur mores, de Dionysio scripsisse, vide quam sim antiquorum hominum. Te medius fidius hanc rem gravius putavi laturum esse quam me. Nam praeterquam quod te moveri arbitror oportere iniuria, quae mihi a quoquam facta sit, praeterea te ipsum quodam modo hic violavit, cum in me tam improbus fuit. Sed tu id quanti aestimes tuum iudicium est. Nec tamen in hoc tibi quidquam oneris impono. Ego autem illum male sanum semper putavi, nunc etiam impurum et sceleratum puto, nec tamen mihi inimiciorem quam sibi. Philargyro bene: causam certe habuisti et veram et bonam, relictum esse me potius quam reliquisse. 6. Cum dedissem iam litteras a. d. viii. Kal., pueri, quos [cum] Matio et Trebatio miseram, epistolam mihi attulerunt hoc exemplo:

‘MATIUS ET TREBATIUS CICERONI IMP. SAL.

Cum Capua exissemus, in itinere audivimus Pompeium Brundisio a. d. xvi. K. Apriles cum omnibus copiis, quas habuit,

Mentor in Odyssey, iii, 27, the verses run—

Τηλέμαχ', ἄλλα μὲν αὐτὸς ἐνὶ φρεσὶ σήσει νοήσεις,
ἄλλα δὲ καὶ δαίμων ὑποθήσεται.

Here αὐτὸς must be taken as referring to Cicero himself.

†et descripta] For the desperate passage which we have enclosed within obeli we would venture to suggest *sed rescripta attulit L. illa Sestii* (*Sestia* or *Sestiana*) or *σησιτιώδη*. The meaning would be ‘I have not the commission of Caesar to the Consuls and Pompey, but L. Caesar brought to Caesar those answers which Sestius drew up. I send them to you; they will show you, I think, what Caesar’s proposals were.’ For the incident see Att. vii. 17, 2 (315); *illaestvia* might well represent *illa Sestii*, or even *illa σησιτιώδη*, Greek words being so subject to corruption; for instance at Att. ix. 17, 2 (375), *κινδυνώδη* appears in the different MSS as *ne id modo*, *ni id modo*, *in id modo*, and *inni admodo*. L. may possibly be put for L. Caesar, just as it is supposed that in

Att. xi. 7, 6 (420) T. may stand for *Tulliam*. L. would have easily been lost before *ILLAESTVIA*.

5. *quam sim antiquorum*] ‘how primitive I am in my notions’ in supposing that Atticus would resent the bad conduct of Dionysius even more than Cicero did himself; or, as Boot, ‘how frank, straightforward I am in stating that I supposed you would resent, &c.’

quidquam oneris impono] ‘I will not commit you, bring you into my quarrel, compromise you’; cp. *vereor ne Pompeio quid oneris imponam*, Att. ix. 7, 3 (362).

male sanum] a confirmation of the conjecture *cerritior* for *certior* in Att. viii. 5, 1 (336). ‘I always thought he was not quite sane, now I think him a blackguard (*μιαρὰ κεφαλή*) and a wretch.’

Philargyro bene] sc. *scripsisti*. We do not know who this Philargyrus was, but the insertion of the word *curasti* which is not found in the MSS cannot be right as *curare* is not followed by dative.

6. *cum*] seems to be a mistake, as Cicero had not met Matius and Trebatius.

profectum esse: Caesarem postero die in oppidum introisse, contionatum esse, inde Romam contendisse, velle ante Kalend. esse ad urbem et pauculos dies ibi commorari, deinde in Hispanias proficisci. Nobis non alienum visum est, quoniam de adventu Caesaris pro certo habebamus, pueros tuos ad te remittere, ut id tu quam primum scires. Mandata tua nobis curae sunt eaque, ut tempus postularit, agemus. Trebatius sedulo facit ut antecedit. Epistola conscripta nuntiatum est nobis Caesarem a. d. ²³viii. Kal. April. Beneventi mansurum, Capuae a. d. vii., a. d. vi. Sinuessae. Hoc pro certo putamus.'

CCCLXXIV. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. IX. 16).

FORMIAE; MARCH 26; A. U. C. 705; P. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero Attico scribit se litteras a Caesare Sinuessa a. d. vii. Kal. datas accepisse quarum exemplum adiunctum est.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Cum quod scriberem ad te nihil haberem, tamen, ne quem diem intermitterem, has dedi litteras. A. d. vi. Kal. Caesarem Sinuessae mansurum nuntiabant. Ab eo mihi litterae redditae sunt a. d. vii. Kalend., quibus iam 'opes' meas, non, ut, superioribus litteris, 'opem' exspectat. Cum eius clementiam [Corfiniensem illam] per litteras collaudavissem, rescripsit hoc exemplo:

'CAESAR IMP. CICERONI IMP. SAL. DIC.

2. Recte auguraris de me—bene enim tibi cognitus sum—nihil a me abesse longius crudelitate. Atque ego cum ex ipsa re magnam capio voluptatem, tum meum factum probari abs te

sedulo facit ut antecedit] 'is doing his best to get to you before Caesar meets you,' with a view, no doubt, to giving his friend Cicero advice.

1. *opes*] 'resources,' not 'resource'; see on Att. ix. 6 A. (357). *Opibus* of course

means 'money.' *ope*, 'help'; but what Caesar meant by *opibus* was Cicero's influence and position.

clementiam . . . collaudavissem] Probably *Corfiniensem illam* is a gloss on *clementiam*. The force of *con*, in composition, is intensitive; hence *collaudavissem*, 'praised to the skies.'

triumpho gaudio. Neque illud me movet quod ii, qui a me dimissi sunt, discessisse dicuntur, ut mihi rursus bellum inferrent: nihil enim malo quam et me mei similem esse et illos sui. 3. Tu velim mihi ad urbem praesto sis, ut tuis consiliis atque opibus, ut consuevi, in omnibus rebus utar. Dolabella tuo nihil scito mihi esse iucundius. Hanc adeo habebo gratiam illi: neque enim aliter facere poterit: tanta eius humanitas, is sensus, ea in me est benevolentia.'

CCCLXXV. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. IX. 17).

FORMIAE; MARCH 27; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

De Caesaris congressu expectato, de toga pura Ciceroni suo danda, de Tironis valetudine.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Trebatium vi. Kalend., quo die has litteras dedi, expectabam. Ex eius nuntio Matique litteris meditabor quo modo cum illo loquar. O tempus miserum! Nec dubito quin a me contendat ad urbem veniam. Senatū enim Kal. velle se frequentem adesse etiam Formiis proscribi iussit. Ergo ei negandum est? Sed quid praecipio? Statim ad te perscribam omnia. Ex illius sermone statuam Arpinumne mihi eundum sit an quo alio. Volo Ciceroni meo togam puram dare. Istic puto. 2. Tu, quaeso, cogita, quid deinde. Nam me hebetem molestiae reddiderunt. A Curio velim

2. *triumpho gaudio*] 'I exult with joy': cp. Att. i. 16, 4 (22); Cluent. 14.

ii qui a me dimissi sunt] an allusion to Domitius, who, when allowed to depart from Corfinium after its capitulation, threw himself into Massilia, which, however, he did not long hold against D. Brutus and Trebonius.

3. *Hanc adeo habebo gratiam*] 'I shall feel that it is to him I shall owe my thanks for this (for Cicero's consenting to meet him at Rome); for (he will certainly bring this about), as he could not act otherwise, such is his kindness, his opinion of me, and his good will towards me.' *Is sensus est de me = ita sentit de me.* See note on *sensu*, Fam. i. 9, 17 (153). For Madvig's ingenious conjecture see Adn. Crit.

1. *cum illo*] sc. *Caesare*.

contendat . . . veniam] The omission of *ut* is quite regular, and it is bad criticism to insert it here against MS authority: 'I have no doubt he will urge his point about my coming to Rome.'

proscribi] 'gave orders that notices should be posted up.'

quid praecipio] 'why do I anticipate'? This word is found again in Att. x. 1, 2 (378). It has the same meaning as *praeripio*, which some editors give instead of it. *Anticipo* is used in the same sense in Att. viii. 14, 2 (349).

2. *hebetem molestiae reddiderunt*] This reminds us very much of the tone of his letters from exile with their constant complaints of his *pigritia* 'listlessness.'

scire ecquid ad te scriptum sit de Tirone. Ad me enim ipse Tiro ita scripsit, ut verear quid agat. Qui autem veniunt inde, κινδυνώδη nuntiant. Sane in magnis curis etiam haec me sollicitat: in hac enim fortuna perutilis eius et opera et fidelitas esset.

CCCLXXVI. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. IX. 18).

ARPINUM ; MARCH 29 ; A. U. C. 705 ; B. C. 49 ; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero Attico de suo cum Caesare congressu scribit, quo obtinuerit ne ad urbem veniret, sed tamen veretur ne Caesarem eo ipso offenderit, de comitatu C. Caesaris ipsiusque alacritate, Caesarem in Pedanum ivisse, se Arpinum: iam consilium Attici exspectat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Utrumque ex tuo consilio: nam et oratio fuit ea nostra, ut bene potius ille de nobis existimaret quam gratias ageret, et in eo mansimus, ne ad urbem. Illa fefellerunt, facilem quod putaramus. Nihil vidi minus. Damnari se nostro iudicio, tardiores fore reliquos, si nos non veniremus, dicere. Ego dissimilem illorum esse causam. Cum multa: 'Veni igitur et age de pace.' Meone, inquam, arbitrato? 'An tibi,' inquit, 'ego praescribam?' Sic, inquam, agam, senatui non placere in Hispanias iri nec exercitus in Graeciam transportari, multaque, inquam, de Gnaeo deplorabo. Tum ille: 'Ego vero ista dici nolo.' Ita putabam, inquam, sed

quid agat] 'how he is getting on.'
κινδυνώδη] See Adn. Crit.
haec] sc. *cura*.

1. *Utrumque . . . fefellerunt*] 'I followed your advice in both respects: the tone of my remarks was such as to gain his respect rather than to earn his gratitude: and I persevered in my resolution not to go to Rome. We were mistaken in thinking he would be easy to deal with.'

Damnari . . . dicere] *Dicere* depends on *oratio fuit ea nostra*, and *damnari* on *dicere*. A single historical infinitive *dicere* would be quite out of place here. The meaning is 'our talk came to a declaration on his part that he felt my

resolution was a condemnation of himself, and that the others would be less likely to attend if I did not.' We cannot see how *venerimus*, the ms reading, could be defended, however *dicere* be explained. The fact that Caesar had said *damnabor* or *damnor si non veneris* is no justification for such a violation of all grammatical construction as *dicebat se damnari si non venero*. The frequent ellipses in the narrative are to be observed; they are all easily supplied, and add greatly to the vivacity of the letter.

Sic, inquam, agam] 'The line I shall adopt will be that the Senate cannot sanction a march into Spain on your part nor the throwing of an army into Greece, and, added I, I shall express great sympathy with Pompey.'

ego eo nolo adesse, quod aut sic mihi dicendum est multaque, quae nullo modo possem silere, si adessem, aut non veniendum. Summa fuit, ut ille, quasi exitum quaerens, ut deliberarem. Non fuit negandum. Ita discessimus. Credo igitur hunc me non amare. At ego me amavi, quod mihi iam pridem usu non venit. ~~X~~2. Reliqua, o di! qui comitatus! quae, ut tu soles dicere, νέκνυια in qua erat ~~†~~ero sceleri o rem perditam, o copias desperatas! Quid,

Summa fuit . . . deliberarem] 'The upshot was that I was to think over the matter, as Caesar suggested apparently with a view to ending the discussion.' We have adopted the punctuation of Wesenberg, which at least provides a possible construction: the ellipse of some such word as *dicebat* after *ille* is quite normal, but the ellipse of such a word as *rogaret* after *ut deliberarem* is impossible. Wesenberg, with his exquisite appreciation of the limits of a grammatical usage, saw this. Other editors printing *summa fuit, ut ille quasi exitum quaerens 'ut deliberarem,'* have not observed that the only word which could be fairly omitted by ellipse would be a word like *diceret*, not a word like *rogaret*; now a word like *diceret* would not give a construction with *ut deliberarem*. Either, therefore, we must punctuate and understand the passage as we have done, or insert *rogaret* in the text.

At ego me amavi] 'but I was charmed with my own attitude in the matter—a feeling I have not had for a long time.'

2. *Reliqua . . . desperatas*] We believe the corruption lies very deep here, and we would suggest that *erosceleri* of the mss be altered to *O feras! ὦ λῆποι!* We would then translate 'For the rest—good heavens, what a following is his! What a crew of *âmes damnées* (to use your expression) he finds himself in! What inhuman monsters! What insignificant nobodies!' Observe the difference of idiom in Greek and Latin in such exclamations as these: thus ὦ μῶρος is the Greek for *O stultum*. Some editors assume that some part of *scelus* is hidden under the corruption. But a copyist finding *scelera* would not have written *sceleri*, while many (if not most) copyists finding *ferascleri* would have read the last six letters as *sceleri* and changed *era* to *ero*. We need not remind our readers how often Greek words are written in Latin characters; see critical note on *κινδυνώδη*, Att. ix. 17, 2 (375). Now as to the

meaning: Cicero is speaking of the constituents of the camp of Caesar, and the corrupt words may fairly be taken to be the words in which they are characterized. If then we can arrive at an expression which will convey pointedly an opinion elsewhere expressed by Cicero about the followers of Caesar, and which will not be too unlike the *voces nihili* handed down by the mss, we shall have made the nearest approach we can to restoring the lost words of Cicero.

Now Cicero frequently writes of the followers of Caesar as being either of inhuman depravity or of contemptible insignificance; of the first class we have a description in a letter written five days after this, *vidi ipse Formiis universos, neque hercule umquam homines putavi*, Att. ix. 19, 1 (377); the other class he calls 'Baian fellows.' *Baiana negotia*, Att. xiv. 8, 1, and he writes *λῆπος πολὺς in vino et in somno istorum*, Att. xvi. 1, 4. Cicero frequently uses *nugae* for 'nobodies.' If anyone asks why he rather wrote *λῆποι* here we would quote the judicious remark of Boot on Att. xv. 12, 2 (where he admirably restores *νόστον* for *nostro*); *quodsi cui idonea causa deesse videatur cur Cicero non potius reditum scripserit, is velim rationes afferat cur plura in hac epistola Graece dicantur quae optime Latine dici possent*. For *in qua erat* 'in which he finds himself, turns out to be' (cp. Greek *ἦν ἄρα*), we should prefer to read *in qua errat*. The word νέκνυια doubtless suggested to Cicero the verse

οἷος πέπνυται τοῖς δὲ σκιαὶ αἰσσοῦσι,

and he might well have used *errat* to intimate that Caesar is himself an 'extravagant and erring spirit' like the rest of the νέκνυια. It may be convenient to collect together here a few illustrative examples of the way in which the mss deal with Greek words in these letters. In Att. ix. 2, 1 (355), for *λῆψιν dedisti* M gives *ληψ inde dedisti*, these making part of

quod Servii filius, quod Tulli in iis castris fuerunt, quibus Pompeius circum sederetur! Sex legiones! multum vigilat, audet: nullum video finem mali. Nunc certe promenda tibi sunt consilia. [Hoc fuerat extremum.] 3. Illa tamen κατακλείς illius est odiosa, quam paene praeterii: 'Si sibi consiliis nostris uti non liceret, usurum quorum posset ad omniaque esse descensurum.' 'Vidisti igitur virum, ut scripseras. Ingemuisti?' Certe. 'Cedo reliqua.' Quid? continuo ipse in Pedanum, ego Arpinum. Inde exspecto quidem †ΛΑΛΤΕΛΣΑΝ illam tuam. 'Tu malim,' inquires, 'actum

ληψιν Greek and part Latin; and similarly in x. 8, 10 (392), συμπάθειαν appears as *sim παειαν*. In ix. 4, 1 (361), θέσεις is written *thesis*, and πολιτικάί is *pollicite* in M¹. The word σοφιστεύω is corrupted to *festivo* in ix. 9, 1 (364), and κινδυνώδη to *in id modo* in ix. 17, 2 (375). On the same principle in x. 6, 1 (387), we propose to correct *recitet et* to *res stat; ιτέον*.

Lambinus suggested that we should read *Eros Celeris*, i.e. your father-in-law's (Q. Pilius Celer's) slave Eros, who was apparently intriguing with the Caesarians in the interest of Pilius. Cicero does not appear to have thought much of Pilius: cp. Att. x. 4, 1 (382); ad Brut. ii. 5, 3.

Tulli filius] A son of Titinius is mentioned as being in the camp of Caesar in Att. ix. 6, 6 (360), 9, 1 (364), 19, 2 (377); but in Att. x. 3 A. 2 (381), we read of a Tullus who sent his son to join the beleaguers of Pompey, so it is rash to read *Titinii* for *Tulli* here, as some editors do. 'Fancy the sons of Servius and Tullus being in a host which beleaguers Pompey'!

Sex legiones!] 'think of his having six legions'! The ellipse of *habet* is hardly possible, wide as are the limits of that figure in the letters.

Hoc fuerat extremum] We have bracketed these words as being probably a gloss on *κατακλείς*, the intrusion of which into the text was facilitated by the occurrence of the words *extremum fuit de* in § 4. The tense *fuerat* is quite wrong, unless the words meant 'this would have been the last thing,' which is unmeaning. It has been attempted to explain the words as meaning (1) 'this (the result of my interview with Caesar) was the last thing you were to wait for before giving your advice' (Metzger, Watson); or (2) 'the last piece of advice you gave me was how I should meet Caesar' (Gronovius, Boot).

3. κατακλείς] 'finale,' that is, 'Caesar's final observation.'

usurum quorum posset] sc. *consiliis*.

'Vidisti . . . Arpinum'] 'you will say, you have seen the man then to be as you have written of him (headstrong and self-willed), and did you heave a sigh? Indeed I did. Tell me the rest, you say. What more is there to tell? He is going to Pedum, I to Arpinum.' For=*vidisti virum* (sc. *esse*) *ut scripseras* is like *adolecentem ut nosti* 'the kind of lad you know him to be.' It is hardly likely that this should be a reference to Cicero's use of *virum* rather than *hominem* in mentioning Caesar in his letter.

Inde] 'after that,' not (of course) 'from Arpinum.' Hofmann's attempt to defend the use of *inde* for *ibi* fails, as the passage he adduces, Liv. viii. 6, is not parallel; *inde* may stand for *ibi* when *ab utra parte* goes before, but not without such support: cp. Att. x. 4, 8 (382).

†ΛΑΛΤΕΛΣΑΝ] We have thought it better to give the corrupt word of the mss than to print in the text any of the attempts at emendation which will be found in Adn. Crit. Lehmann reads *Continuo ipse in Pedanum, ego Arpinum: inde* ('from thence')—*exspecto quidem λαλαγεῦσαν illam tuam*, 'I am expecting that swallow you spoke of,' i.e. the time for sailing. The allusion is to the epigram of Leonidas of Tarentum, Anth. Pal. x. 1:—

ὁ πλόος ὥραϊος· καὶ γὰρ λαλαγεῦσα χελιδὼν
ἤδη μέμβλωκεν χῶ χαριεῖς Ζέφυρος,

to which Cicero has before alluded, Att. ix. 7, 5 (362), *Egregie probo fore ut, dum vagamur, ὁ πλόος ὥραϊος obrepit*, and Cicero says later, Att. x. 2, 1 (379), *λαλαγεῦσα iam adest et animus ardet*. The conjecture *λαλαγεῦσαν* is due to Bosius.

malim] 'I would rather not have you crying over spilt milk; even our leader

ne agas. Etiam illum ipsum, quem sequimur, multa fefellerunt.' 4. Sed ego tuas litteras exspecto. Nihil est enim iam, ut antea: 'Videamus hoc quorsum evadat.' Extremum fuit de congressu nostro, quo quidem non dubito quin istum offenderim. Eo maturius agendum est. Amabo te, epistolam et πολιτικήν! Valde tuas litteras nunc exspecto.

CCCLXXVII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. IX. 19).

ARPINUM; APRIL 1; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero Attico scribit se Ciceroni suo togam puram Arpini dedisse, de summa maestitia omnium, de tristi bello impendente, se velle iam mari infero navigare, pacis spem nullam habere, gravitatem certe apud Caesarem obtinuisse et ne veniret ad urbem, Attici litteras exspectat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Ego meo Ciceroni, quoniam Roma caremus, Arpini potissimum togam puram dedi, idque municipibus nostris fuit gratum. Etsi omnes et illos et qua iter feci maestos adflictosque vidi: tam tristis et tam atrox est ἀναθεώρησις huius ingentis mali. Dilectus habentur: in hiberna deducuntur. Ea quae, etiam cum a bonis viris, cum iusto in bello, cum modeste fiunt, tamen ipsa per se molesta sunt, quam censes acerba nunc esse, cum a perditis in civili nefario bello petulantissime fiant! Cave autem putes quem-

Pompey often went wrong.' We prefer to put the two sentences into the mouth of Atticus. We gladly accept Boot's *malim* for *malum*, which is quite out of place here. This elegant conjecture was kindly communicated to us by letter by Professor Boot, and has since been published by him in *Mnemosyne* (vol. xviii. 356). Atticus says 'pray don't dwell on past mistakes, we are all fallible.' This emendation removes the only example of *ne* with present subjunctive in a prohibition addressed to a single individual—though, indeed, here it is a *general* proverb applied to a special case. Our passage thus becomes assimilated to such passages as Q. Fr. i. 4, init. (72), *Amabo te, mi frater, ne adsignes*, and the rule mentioned above becomes,

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as far as we know, absolute: cp. Madv., *Opuscula*, p. 484 (= ii. 105).

4. *Sed*] 'yet' (though the time for action is past) 'I am awaiting your letter. You can't now say *wait till we see how things will go*. The last thing we were to wait for was my conference with Caesar' (and that is now over).

1. *Etsi*] He uses this word, because he has just said that his act in investing his son with the *toga virilis* at Arpinum was 'pleasing,' *gratum*, to them. 'Though I have said they were pleased, yet I must tell you I saw dejection everywhere'

ἀναθεώρησις] 'The *coup d'œil*,' 'the contemplation in all its enormity of the blow that has fallen on this state.'

L

quam hominem in Italia turpem esse qui hinc absit. Vidi ipse Formiis universos, neque mehercule umquam homines putavi, et noram omnes, sed numquam uno loco videram. 2. Pergamus igitur quo placet et nostra omnia relinquamus. Proficiscamur ad eum, cui gratior noster adventus erit, quam si una fuisset. Tum enim eramus in maxima spe, nunc ego quidem in nulla, nec praeter me quisquam Italia cessit, nisi qui hunc inimicum sibi putaret. Nec mehercule hoc facio rei publicae causa, quam funditus deletam puto, sed ne quis me putet ingratum in eum, qui me levavit iis incommodis, quibus idem adfecerat, et simul, quod ea, quae fiunt aut quae certe futura sunt, videre non possum. Etiam equidem senatus consulta facta quaedam iam puto, utinam in Volcatii sententiam! Sed quid refert? Est enim una sententia omnium. Sed erit immitissimus Servius, qui filium misit ad effligendum Cn. Pompeium aut certe capiendum cum Pontio Titiniano. Etsi hic quidem timoris causa: ille vero? Sed stomachari desinamus et aliquando sentiamus nihil nobis nisi id, quod minime vellem, spiritum reliquum esse. 3. Nos, quoniam superum mare obsidetur, infero navigabimus et, si Puteolis erit difficile, Crotonem petemus aut Thurios et boni cives, amantes patriae, mare infestum habebimus. Aliam rationem huius belli gerendi nullam video.

Vidi . . . videram] 'I saw them all together at Formiae, and I could hardly believe them to be human beings. I knew what they were, all of them, but I had not realized the effect of the *tout ensemble*.'

2. *una fuisset*] 'had been with him' all along; but as there is no warrant for the latter words, which, however, seem essential for the sense, we should perhaps accept the correction *fugisset*.

hunc] sc. *Caesarem*.

quibus idem adfecerat] Cicero refers to the time of his exile, when Pompey first opposed, but afterwards befriended him.

[*Volcatii*] He is mentioned above, Att. vii. 3, 3 (294), as a type of lukewarm politics, afterwards Att. viii. 1, 3 (328), as one who contrasts well with many of the followers of Pompey; again, Att. viii. 15, 2 (350), as one of those who were resolved to meet Caesar and attend in the Senate.

erit immitissimus Servius] Servius would be likely to use all the means in his power to hinder a compromise with

Pompey, because he had openly broken with Pompey by an overt act, the sending of his son to Brundisium to crush or at all events capture Pompey. Titinius did the same thing. It is strange that in the case of the latter Cicero seems to hold that fear of Caesar was a sufficient excuse, but will not accept the same palliation of the act of Servius. *Ille vero?* he writes, 'what excuse had he?' One would say the very same as Titinius, namely, fear of Caesar. We must suppose that Cicero thought Servius to be above such a feeling. Titinius was such a very contemptible person that such a feeling might be fairly pleaded as an extenuation of his acts. He is mentioned in Att. ix. 6, 6 (360).

3. *boni . . . infestum habebimus*] 'like good patriotic citizens we shall take to buccaneering.' Pompey's fleet was cutting off the supplies from Italy, and so preventing the free passage of trading vessels over the high seas. The technical term for this was *mare infestum habere*, and conveyed much the same idea as 'buccaneering' with us.

In Aegyptum nos abdemus. Exercitu pares esse non possumus : pacis fides nulla est. 4. Sed haec satis deplorata sunt. Tu velim litteras Cephaliōi des de omnibus rebus actis, denique etiam de sermonibus hominum, nisi plane obmutuerunt. Ego tuis consiliis usus sum maximeque, quod et gravitatem in congressu nostro tenui quam debui et ad urbem ut non accederem perseveravi. Quod superest, scribe, quaeso, quam accuratissime—iam enim extrema sunt—quid placeat, quid censeas : etsi iam nulla dubitatio est. Tamen, si quid vel potius quidquid veniet in mentem, scribas velim.

CCCLXXVIII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. X. 1).

LATERIUM ; APRIL 3 ; A. U. C. 705 ; B. C. 49 ; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero de incerta condicione sua, de misero rei publicae statu, de pacificatione inani queritur et sua consilia Attico et eius familiari Sexto probari gaudet.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. III. Nonas cum in Laterium fratris venissem, accepi litteras et paullum respiravi, quod post has ruinas mihi non acciderat. Per enim magni aestimo tibi firmitudinem animi nostri et factum nostrum probari. Sexto enim nostro quod scribis probari, ita laetor, ut me quasi patris eius, cui semper uni plurimum tribui, iudicio comprobari putem, qui mihi, quod saepe soleo recordari,

In Aegyptum nos abdemus] 'we will go bury ourselves in Egypt.'

4. *extrema sunt*] 'the worst has come to the worst.'

si quid vel potius quidquid] 'if anything occurs to you, or rather whatever occurs to you'; he will not admit the possibility that Atticus should have no advice to offer.

1. *Laterium fratris*] the property of his brother Quintus, near Arpinum.

Per enim magni] This *tnesis* of adjectives in *per* is very common in the letters.

Sexto] sc. *Peducaeo*. The conjunction *enim* seems to be used to indicate the difference between the feeling with which he regarded the approval of Atticus and the approval of Sextus Peducaeus conveyed by Atticus. 'I value your approval

greatly [I will not say I merely value that of Peducaeus], for I am delighted with the approval of Peducaeus, since I look on it as including that of his father, whom he so closely resembles.' Cicero does not wish to express more clearly than by the hint conveyed in *enim* that the approval of Peducaeus gave him more pleasure than that of Atticus.

cui semper uni . . . tribui] 'on whose judgment I have always set the very highest value.' *Uni* strengthens *plurimum*.

qui mihi . . . πυθέσθαι] 'who to my "Well, Sextus, what now?" replied "Never, quoth he, like caitiff wight, but having done A deed with which the future years shall ring."' Cicero omits the word ἀπολοίμην, which, though necessary to

dixit olim, Nonis illis Decembribus, cum ego, 'Sexte, quidnam ergo?'

'Μὴ μάν,' inquit ille, 'ἀσπουδεὶ γε καὶ ἀκλειῶς
' Ἀλλὰ μέγα ῥέξας τι καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι.'

Eius igitur mihi vivit auctoritas, et simillimus eius filius eodem est apud me pondere quo fuit ille, quem salvere velim iubeas plurimum. 2. Tu tuum consilium etsi non in longinquum tempus differs—iam enim illum emptum pacificatorem perorasse puto, iam actum aliquid esse in consessu senatorum—*senatum* enim non puto—tamen suspensum me inde tenes, sed eo minus, quod non dubito quid nobis agendum putes. Qui enim Flavio legionem et Siciliam dari scribas et id iam fieri, quae tu scelera partim parari iam et cogitari, partim ex tempore futura censes? Ego vero Solonis, popularis tui et, ut puto, iamiam mei, legem neglegam, qui capite sanxit, si qui in seditione non alterius utrius partis fuisset,

complete the verse, would have been quite unsuitable to the occasion in connexion with which the Homeric passage (Il. xxii. 304) was quoted; for had Cicero on the 5th of December taken the less vigorous course, it would have been the course more likely to ensure his own safety; he, therefore, omits ἀπολοίμην which, in defiance of the mss, has been thrust on him by many editors. In Fam. xiii. 15, 2, where Cicero again quotes these lines, the ἀπολοίμην is quite appropriate, as will at once be seen, and there the word is given by the mss. The ellipse of *faciendum est rogarem* after *Sexte, quidnam ergo?* and the presence of *inquit ille* after *dixit* are quite in the manner of the letters.

Nonis] 'the famous December 5th,' on which the associates of Catiline were put to death.

2. *tuum consilium*] Atticus had promised to give his advice when he should see what had been done in the Senate.

emptum pacificatorem] C. Curio seems to be the person most probably referred to as a 'suborned peacemaker,' but possibly Cicero refers to Lepidus, afterwards triumvir, as Watson suggests.

senatum] This word fell out after *senatorum*, and then *enim non puto* was corrected to *non enim puto*, the ms reading. The meaning is that all the most distinguished members of the Senate were absent.

suspensum inde] = *ex eo*; 'waiting on your decision.' *Suspensos ex levibus fortunae momentis*, Liv. iv. 32, 2.

Qui enim] For the order of the words cp. Q. Fr. i. 1, 17 (30). There was a rumour that Flavius, in command of a legion, would be sent to dislodge Cato, who was holding Sicily for Pompey; the commission, however, was finally given to Curio. *Dari* = 'is offered' by Caesar.

iamiam mei] Cicero was thinking of going to live at Athens; then Solon would be his fellow-countryman, as he was now the fellow-countryman of Atticus. *iamiam* is 'presently.'

capite sanxit] The penalty was not capital in our sense of the word, but only loss of civic rights. The authorities for this statement, collected by Grote and others, have an accession in Pseudo-Ar. on the Athenian Constitution, which states as the punishment ἄτιμον εἶναι καὶ τῆς πόλεως μὴ μετέχειν, c. 8, fin. 'Capital punishment' was a far wider term to a Roman than to us, see Dig. 4, 5, 11. *Capitis deminutionis tria sunt genera, maxima, media, minima; tria enim sunt quae habemus, libertatem, civitatem, familiam. Igitur cum omnia haec amittimus* (e. g. by slavery or death), *maximam esse cupitis deminutionem; cum vero amittimus civitatem* (e. g. by the *interdictio aquae et ignis*) *libertatem retinemus, mediam esse capitis deminutionem, &c.*

et nisi si tu aliter censes, et hinc abero et illim. Sed alterum mihi est certius, nec praecipiam tamen: expectabo tuum consilium et eas litteras, nisi alias iam dedisti, quas scripsi ut Cephaliōni dares. 3. Quod scribis, non quo alicunde audieris, sed te ipsum putare me attractum iri, si de pace agatur, mihi omnino non venit in mentem, quae possit actio esse de pace, cum illi certissimum sit, si possit, exspoliare exercitu et provincia Pompeium, nisi forte iste nummarius ei potest persuadere, ut, dum oratores eant et redeant, quiescat. Nihil video quod sperem aut quod iam putem fieri posse. Sed tamen hominis hoc ipsum probi est, *ut non* magnum sit τῶν πολιτικωτάτων σκέμμα, veniendumne sit in consilium tyranni, si is aliqua de re bona deliberaturus sit. Qua re, si quid eius modi evenerit ut arcessamur—quod equidem non curo: quid enim essem de pace dicturus dixi; ipse valde repudiavit—sed tamen, si quid acciderit quid censeas mihi faciendum utique

hinc] from Caesar's side, *illim* from Pompey's.

alterum mihi est certius] Probably Cicero means that he was more determined about the former course, to hold aloof from Caesar; but he has used an ambiguous expression, for *alterum* in the letters sometimes means *the latter*, as in Fam. vii. 26, 1 (94); Fam. i. 7, 1 (114), where see notes.

praecipiam] 'I will not anticipate (forestall) the course of events.' Cp. Att. ix. 17, 1 (375).

3. *Quod scribis*] 'you tell me not on the authority of anyone, but that it is your own conviction, that I shall be drawn into the negotiations about peace if they come off; I do not see how there can be any question of peace.' *Sed quod tu ipse putas* would have been a more regular construction after *non quo alicunde audieris*, but such variations of construction are natural, especially in a letter. We should rather have expected *aliunde*, but there is no sufficient reason to desert the mss.

iste nummarius] evidently the *emptus pacificator* of § 2. The reading of the mss is *summarius*, which Turnebus ingeniously explained as meaning 'a miniature Marius' (*sub* and *Marius*) on the analogy of *subballio* for 'an underling of Ballio's' in Plaut. Pseud. ii. 2, 13. But it is hard to see how the term could be applied to the *emptus pacificator*; 'a Marius the

Little' would not be likely to further the ends of peace.

ut non sit] 'even supposing that it is not an advanced problem of *haute politique*, at all events it is a question for an honest man to consider.' We have inserted *ut non*, which might easily have fallen out between *est* and *m*—. A good example of *ut non* in this sense is found in *ut te non tegeres* 'even though you did not defend yourself,' Ov. Her. x. 108 (Ariadne to Theseus). By a common error σκέμμα was assimilated by the copyists to the number and case of πολιτικωτάτων.

quod equidem non curo] 'to which I am indifferent; for I have already told him what I would say on the subject of peace, and he utterly disapproved of it.' The meaning would be far clearer if we read *credo* for *curo*, as Boot suggests; for why should the fact that Caesar knew his views and disapproved of them make Cicero *indifferent* to his summons? On the other hand, that fact would be a good reason why Cicero should not think it probable that he would be summoned. However, *non curo* may mean 'I do not trouble myself about it,' that is 'it is so unlikely a contingency (that I should be summoned) that I have ceased to let it enter into my deliberations.'

sed tamen] resumptive after parenthesis.

utique] This particle is frequent in the letters and very rare in the other writings

scribito. Nihil enim mihi adhuc accidit quod maioris consilii esset. Trebatii, boni viri et civis, verbis te gaudeo delectatum, tuaque ista crebra ἐκφώνησις, ὑπέρεν, me sola adhuc delectavit. Litteras tuas vehementer exspecto, quas quidem credo iam datas esse. 4. Tu cum Sexto servasti gravitatem eandem, quam mihi praecipis. Celer tuus disertus magis est quam sapiens. De iuvenibus, quae ex Tullia audisti, vera sunt. † Maconi istud, quod scribis, non mihi videtur tam re esse triste quam verbo. Haec est ἄλη, in qua nunc sumus, mortis instar. Aut enim mihi libere inter malos πολιτευτέον fuit aut vel periculose cum bonis. Aut nos temeritatem bonorum sequamur aut audaciam improborum insectemur: utrumque periculosum est; at hoc, quod agimus, et turpe nec tamen tutum. Istum, qui filium Brundisium de pace misit—de pace idem sentio quod tu, simulationem esse apertam parari autem bellum acerrime—me legatum iri non arbitror, cuius

of Cicero. Nizolius gives nearly twenty examples from the letters, and only one, De Div. ii. 119, from the rest of Cicero.

maioris consilii] 'requiring more deliberation.' See on Att. viii. 12, 3 (345) *res deliberationis*.

crebra ἐκφώνησις ὑπέρεν] 'your frequent bravissimo.'

4. iuvenibus] The young Marcus and Quintus. Marcus was fourteen years of age, and had assumed the *toga pura* this year: Att. ix. 19, 1 (377). His cousin Quintus was some two years older.

† Maconi istud] We can never, of course, restore this word for certain, unless we find the letter of Atticus to which it refers. But it seems to indicate some state opposite to ἄλη which is 'distraction.' Such a state would be expressed by a Greek word μηκύνιον or μηκωνεῖον, or μακύνιον if quoted (as is possible) by Atticus from a Doric writer. The meaning then would be: 'you urge what a miserable state is mere apathy; that drowsy syrup, as you call it, seems to me not to be so bitter as it appeared to be at first. Cold obstruction sounds very terrible, but the restless ecstasy of our present condition is as bad as death.' We may feel certain that the corrupt passage has no reference to the young Ciceros mentioned in the words immediately preceding. The words plainly refer to what follows, and deal with the political situation.

mortis instar] is 'as bad as death.'

Instar in classical prose writers means as 'big as,' not merely 'like.' There is an exact parallel to this passage in Off. ii. 69, *clientes appellari mortis instar putant*, 'they hold the name of client as bad as death.'

Aut nos . . . tutum] There are the two alternative courses of action open, on espousing the perilous cause of the optimates: 'let us follow the foolhardy optimates, or place ourselves in overt opposition to the unscrupulous democrats; each course is dangerous; but that which I am now following is disgraceful, and yet dangerous withal.'

Istum] Servius Sulpicius Rufus. If *de pace* is sound, it is ironical. Cicero says that he believes that Servius, not himself, will be sent as envoy to Pompey 'as no mention (to my joy) has yet been made of me.' But the order of the words is very strange. Wesenberg reads *istum . . . legatum iri, non me arbitror*; but granting that *me* was wrongly inserted by a ditto-graphy of the last syllable of *acerrime*, it must be further assumed that in the same sentence it fell out after *non*. If we preserve the reading of the mss we must infer in the first clause *legatum iri* from the *non legatum iri* of the second. So, in Fin. i. 2, *veritus ne movere hominum studia viderer, retinere non posse*, we must take *posse*, which is required for the first clause, out of *non posse* in the second.

adhuc, ut optavi, mentio facta nulla sit. Eo minus habeo necesse scribere aut etiam cogitare quid sim factururus, si acciderit ut leger.

CCCLXXIX. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. X. 2).

ARCANUM ; APRIL 5 OR 6 ; A. U. C. 705 ; B. C. 49 ; AET. CIC. 57.

De litteris suo et commoratione in Arcano fratris, de condicione rerum incerta, de Dionysio ad se profecto.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Ego cum accepissem tuas litteras Nonis April., quas Cephalio attulerat, essemque Minturnis postridie mansurus, ut inde protinus, sustinui me in Arcano fratris, ut, dum aliquid certius adferretur, occultiore in loco essemus agerenturque nihilo minus, quae sine nobis agi possunt. *Λαλαγεῦσα* iam adest et animus ardet, neque est quidquam, quo et qua. 2. Sed haec nostra erit cura et peritorum. Tu tamen, quod poteris, ut adhuc fecisti, nos consiliis iuvabis. Res sunt inexplicabiles. Fortunae sunt committenda omnia. Sine spe conamur ulla. Melius si quid acciderit, mirabimur. Dionysium nollem ad me profectum, de quo ad me

leger] The reading of the mss is *legerer*, which Wesenberg retains in the sense of 'if it should happen that I should be chosen.' However, when we consider the nature of our mss of these letters, we feel that they would be very likely to fall into the error of writing *legerer* for a rare form like *leger*, and it is much more probable that Cicero would have used the verb *legare* than the verb *legere* in this context. The present subjunctive stands rightly after a verb implying futurity, like *acciderit*.

1. *ut inde protinus*] Sc. *profecturus*, 'with the intention of starting thence at once.' The correction of Wesenberg, *ut* for *et*, is quite necessary; *cum essem mansurus et inde protinus* (iturus) would represent an impossible ellipse, whereas that implied in *ut inde protinus* (iturus) is quite normal. We have before, on Att. ix. 18, 1 (376), called attention to the wonderful acuteness of Wesenberg on questions of this kind.

quae sine nobis] such preparations for his journey as did not need his presence.

Λαλαγεῦσα] 'The twitterer (i.e. the swallow) is here (showing the approach of spring), and I am eager to be off, but I cannot make up my mind as to my destination or my route.' Cp. note on Att. ix. 18, 3 (376).

2. *peritorum*] This word can hardly be right; 'my route and destination will be considered by me and by experts' is far from a probable expression. It would be improved if we could read *et nobis peritorum*. Perhaps under *peritorum* lurks some Greek phrase like *τῶν περιστάτων*, 'circumstances'; this would give the same sense as Boot's *temporum*, which is too simple to have been corrupted to *peritorum*. Perhaps, again, we should read *perditorum*, a word which Cicero uses to describe his 'unscrupulous' enemies in Att. x. 12, 4 (398), where see note.

nollem . . . profectum] 'I am sorry he has set out to join me.' Tullia had

Tullia mea scripsit. Sed et tempus alienum est et homini non amico nostra incommoda, tanta praesertim, spectaculo esse nollem, cui te meo nomine inimicum esse nolo.

CCCLXXX. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. X. 3).

ARCANUM; APRIL 7; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero ab Attico vult certior fieri profectusne sit Caesar et quid omnino Romae actum sit.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Cum quod scriberem plane nihil haberem, haec autem reliqua essent quae scire cuperem, profectusne esset, quo in statu urbem reliquisset, in ipsa Italia quem cuique regioni aut negotio prae-fecisset, ecqui essent ad Pompeium et ad consules ex senatus con-sulto de pace legati: ut igitur haec scirem, dedita opera has ad te litteras misi. Feceris igitur commode mihi gratum, si me de his rebus et si quid erit aliud quod scire opus sit feceris certi-orem. Ego in Arcano opperior, dum ista cognosco.

apparently tried to reconcile Cicero to his freedman, hence *sed*. We should have expected *tamen* in the last clause, but it would be very rash to change *nollem* to *vellem* as some editors do; see Att. ix. 15, 5 (373).

nolo] Some editors give *volo*; but it is more like Cicero to say that he does not wish Atticus to quarrel with Dionysius on his account.

ut igitur haec scirem] *Igitur* is one of those conjunctions which resume after a

parenthesis. The words from *profectusne* . . . *legati* being parenthetical in explanation of *quae scire cuperem*, these last words are resumed in the words *ut igitur haec scirem*; cp. *recta effectio* (κατόρθωσιν enim ita appello quoniam rectum factum κατόρθωμα) *recta igitur effectio*, Fin. iii. 45. The most common resumptive particles are *sed*, *sed tamen*, *tamen*, *verum tamen*, and sometimes *ergo*, *igitur*. In Greek they are δ' οὖν, δὲ, sometimes too γὰρ (as Shilleto showed in a learned note on the De Falsa Legatione, § 107).

CCCLXXXI. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. X. 3 a).

ARCANUM ; APRIL 7 ; A. U. C. 705 ; B. C. 49 ; AET. CIC. 57.

De exspectatis Attici litteris et de Caesaris litteris ad se datis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. A. d. VII. Id. alteram tibi eodem die hanc epistolam dictavi et pridie dederam mea manu longiorem. Visum te aiunt in regia nec reprehendo, quippe cum ipse istam reprehensionem non fugerim. Sed exspecto tuas litteras, neque iam sane video quid exspectem, sed tamen, etiam si nihil erit, id ipsum ad me velim scribas. 2. Caesar mihi ignoscit per litteras quod non venerim, seseque in optimam partem id accipere dicit. Facile patior, quod scribit, secum Tullum et Servium questos esse, quia non idem sibi quod mihi remisisset. Homines ridiculos ! qui cum filios missent ad Cn. Pompeium circumsedendum, ipsi in senatum venire dubitarint. Sed tamen exemplum misi ad te Caesaris litterarum.

1. *in regia*] This was the official residence of the Pontifex Maximus on the *Via Sacra*. As it was habitually called *Regia*, we are not to suppose any hit at the *regnum* which Cicero may have considered that Caesar was establishing. Atticus had had an interview with Caesar in the residence which the latter occupied as *Pontifex Maximus*.

2. *Tullum*] See note on Att. ix. 18, 2 (376), where we read of a son of Tullus in Caesar's camp.

idem sibi quod mihi] permission to absent themselves from the meetings of the Senate. He says that it is absurd that they should hesitate to enter the Senate after taking the part of Caesar so openly ; his own case is very different.

CCCLXXXII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. X. 4).

CUMAE ; APRIL 14 ; A. U. C. 705 ; B. C. 49 ; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero Attico gratias agit de multis acceptis eius litteris et scribit se de re publica cogitantem iam moderatiorem fore, cum videat Caesarem et Pompeium sua tantum modo commoda persequi, se autem bona conscientia sustentari. Tum de summa temeritate Q. Ciceronis filii, qui Caesaris patris et patru consilia enuntiarit, de Curionis ad se adventu primum expectato tum facto, et de foedo eius sermone secum habito : reliqua se velle postero die ex eo quaerere, de rebus domesticis et familiaribus.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Multas a te accepi epistolas eodem die, omnes diligenter scriptas, eam vero, quae voluminis instar erat, saepe legendam, sicuti facio : in qua non frustra laborem suscepisti, mihi quidem pergratum fecisti. Qua re, ut id, quoad licebit, id est, quoad scies ubi simus, quam saepissime facias, te vehementer rogo. Ac deplorandi quidem, quod cotidie facimus, sit iam nobis aut finis omnino, si potest, aut moderatio quaedam, quod profecto potest. Non enim iam quam dignitatem, quos honores, quem vitae statum amiserim cogito, sed quid consecutus sim, quid praestiterim, qua in laude vixerim : his denique in malis quid intersit inter me et istos, quos propter omnia amisimus. Hi sunt qui nisi me civitate expulissent, obtinere se non putaverunt posse licentiam cupiditatum suarum, quorum societatis et sceleratae consensionis fides quo eruperit vides. 2. Alter ardet furore et scelere nec remittit aliquid,

1. *voluminis instar*] 'as big as a volume'; see on Att. x. 1, 4 (378).

quid praestiterim] 'what I took upon myself,' that is 'what attitude I assumed in politics.' These perfect subjunctives as well as *quid intersit* depend, of course, on *non cogito*.

quos propter] 'through whom'; the anastrophe of the preposition is so habitual to Cicero that he sometimes employs that figure, even when it entails an ambiguity, as in Att. x. 8, 8 (392), *quos contra me senatus armavit*, 'against whom the Senate armed me.' Anastrophe is only used by Cicero in the case of dissyllabic prepositions, except, of course, when an attribute follows, as in *rebus in omnibus*.

Hi sunt . . . vides] 'These are they who thought that without banishing me

they could not secure a free hand for the carrying out of their pet schemes: you now see the fatal issue of their criminal combination.'

2. *Alter*] sc. *Caesar*. The *alter* of the next section is, of course, Pompey.

nec remittit aliquid] In a negative sentence *quicquam* would be far more regular. Madv. Fin. ii. 87, lays it down that when in cases like this *aliquid* is used instead of *quicquam*, the pronoun must be regarded as losing to a great extent its pronominal force and merely mitigating the force of the verb; *nec remittit aliquid* means 'and he is not growing at all milder,' *nec remittit quicquam* would mean 'he is just as strenuous as ever.' In the first case the stress is on the verb, in the second on the pronoun.

sed in dies ingravescit, modo Italia expulit, nunc alia ex parte persequi, ex alia provincia expoliare conatur, nec iam recusat, sed quodam modo postulat, ut, quem ad modum est, sic etiam appelletur tyrannus. 3. Alter, is, qui nos sibi quondam ad pedes stratos ne sublevabat quidem, qui se nihil contra huius voluntatem facere posse, elapsus e soceri manibus ac ferro, bellum terra et mari comparat, non iniustum ille quidem, sed cum pium tum etiam necessarium, suis tamen civibus exitiabile, nisi vicerit, calamitosum, etiam si vicerit. 4. Horum ego summorum imperatorum non modo res gestas non antepono meis, sed ne fortunam quidem ipsam, quacum illi florentissima, nos durior conflictati videmur. Quis enim potest aut deserta per se patria aut oppressa beatus esse? Et si, ut nos a te admonemur, recte in illis libris diximus nihil esse bonum nisi quod honestum, nihil malum nisi quod turpe sit, certe uterque istorum est miserrimus, quorum utrique semper patriae salus et dignitas posterior sua dominatione et domesticis commodis fuit. 5. Praeclara igitur conscientia sustentor, cum cogito me de re publica aut meruisse optime, cum potuerim, aut certe numquam nisi pie cogitasse, eaque ipsa tempestate eversam esse rem publicam, quam ego quattuordecim annis ante prospexerim. Hac igitur conscientia comite proficiscar, magno equidem cum dolore, nec tam id propter me aut propter fratrem meum, quorum est iam acta aetas, quam propter pueros, quibus interdum videmur praestare etiam rem publicam debuisse,

ex alia] sc. *parte*. A note on p. 185 of Madvig's Adv. Crit., vol. iii., shows that the great critic did not see that *alia* here does not agree with *provincia*.

3. *facere posse*] sc. *aiebat*; the ellipse is quite justifiable, being implied in *ne sublevabat quidem*, 'did not even give me a helping hand when I lay at his feet'; this 'helping hand,' something short of material help, would have taken the form of a word of comfort.

pium . . . *exitiabile* . . . *calamitosum*] 'righteous . . . fatal . . . disastrous.'

4. *quacum illi florentissima . . . videmur*] 'I do not even hold their present state to be better than mine, though the circumstances they have to deal with are so distinguished and mine so much harder to bear.' We have inserted *cum* after *qua* because *conflictari cum fortuna* means

simply 'to be confronted with certain circumstances, or 'to fight with fortune,' while *conflictari fortuna* means 'to be overwhelmed by one's circumstances.' Without the *cum* we must assume a more violent zeugma than seems probable in a composition like this, 'though they (have enjoyed) a most distinguished position, while I am overwhelmed by one far harder to bear.'

deserta per se aut oppressa] 'who could be happy when it is owing to his action that his country has been abandoned or enslaved.' Pompey was responsible for the one, Caesar for the other.

5. *conscientia*] 'this ennobling reflection'; the pleonasm whereby *conscientia*, 'reflection,' is followed by *cum cogito* is illustrated on Att. ii. 24, 3 (51). *Conscientia* may, however, mean 'conscience,' as *recta conscientia*, Att. xiii. 20, 4.

quorum quidem alter quia non tamen maiore pietate est, me mirabiliter excruciat, alter—o rem miseram! nihil enim mihi accidit in omni vita acerbius—indulgentia videlicet nostra depravatus eo progressus est, quo non audeo dicere. Et exspecto tuas litteras. Scripsisti enim te scripturum esse plura, cum ipsum vidisses. 6. Omne meum obsequium in illum fuit cum multa severitate, neque unum eius nec parvum, sed multa et magna delicta compressi, patris autem lenitas amanda potius ab illo quam tam crudeliter neglegenda. Nam litteras eius ad Caesarem missas ita graviter tulimus, ut te quidem celaremus, sed ipsius videremur vitam insuavem reddidisse. Hoc vero eius iter simulatioque pietatis qualis fuerit non audeo dicere. Tantum scio post Hirtium conventum arcessitum a Caesare, cum eo de meo animo a suis rationibus alienissimo et consilio relinquendi Italiam, et haec ipsa timide. Sed nulla nostra culpa est, natura metuenda est. Haec Curionem, haec Hortensii filium, non patrum culpa corrumpit. Iacet in maerore meus frater neque tam de sua vita quam de mea metuit. Huic [tu], huic tu malo adfer consolationes, si ullas potes, maxime quidem illam velim, ea, quae ad nos delata sint, aut falsa esse aut minora. Quae si vera sint, quid futurum sit in hac vita et fuga nescio. Nam si haberemus rem publicam, consilium mihi non deesset nec ad severitatem nec ad indulgentiam. Haec sive iracundia sive dolore sive metu permotus gravius scripsi, quam aut tuus in illum amor aut meus postulabat: si vera sunt, ignosces: si falsa, me libente eripies mihi hunc errorem. Quoquo modo vero

tamen] 'after all,' in spite of all my devotion to him, cp. *qui te tamen ore referret*, Verg. Aen. iv. 329. Ecl. x. 31.

maiore] 'more (than he actually shows)'; so below § 6 *minora* is 'less (than they were represented to be).' The first *alter* denotes his own son Marcus, the second Quintus his nephew.

6. *in illum*] sc. *Quintum*.

ab illo] The dative after the gerundive is far more usual.

ita graviter tulimus] 'our feeling of indignation about the letter he wrote to Caesar was such that we kept you in ignorance of the matter, but have, I fancy, made his position very uncomfortable for him.'

timide] sc. *dico*. Cicero had said above that he would not venture to describe

young Quintus' journey to Rome, and hypocritical advocacy of his father's cause before Caesar; he even 'hesitates' to tell how he had tried to set Caesar against him, M. Cicero, his uncle.

natura metuenda est] Cicero has no belief in heredity; it is the work of nature which has to be feared; the boy's bad disposition has come from nature, and has neither been inherited from his father or been the result of bad training.

minora] 'not so bad as we have heard.'

in hac vita et fuga] 'in this runaway life we are leading'; for *hendiadys*, see on cp. i. 1.

nec ad severitatem] 'either in the direction of keeping him under control, or of giving him licence.'

se res habebit, nihil adsignabis nec patruo nec patri. 7. Cum haec scripsissem, a Curione mihi nuntiatum est eum ad me venire. Venerat enim is in Cumanum vesperi pridie, id est, Idibus. Si quid igitur eius modi sermo eius attulerit, quod ad te scribendum sit, id his litteris adiungam. 8. Praeteriit villam meam Curio iussitque mihi nuntiari mox se venturum, cucurritque Puteolos, ut ibi contionaretur. Contionatus est, rediit, fuit apud me sane diu. O rem foedam ! Nosti hominem : nihil occultavit, in primis nihil esse certius quam ut omnes, qui lege Pompeia condemnati essent, restituerentur, itaque se in Sicilia eorum opera usurum. De Hispaniis non dubitabat quin Caesaris essent, inde ipsum cum exercitu, ubicumque Pompeius esset ; eius interitu finem mali fore, plane iracundia elatum voluisse Caesarem occidi Metellum tribunum pl., propius factum esse nihil : quod si esset factum, caedem magnam futuram fuisse, permultos hortatores esse caedis, ipsum autem non voluntate aut natura non esse crudelem, sed quod *putaret* popularem esse clementiam : quod si populi studium amisisset, crudelem fore, eumque perturbatum, quod intellegeret se apud ipsam plebem offendisse de aerario, itaque ei cum certissimum fuisset, ante quam proficisceretur, contionem habere ausum non esse vehementerque animo perturbato profectum. 9. Cum autem ex eo quaererem quid videret, quem exemplum, quam rem publicam, plane fatebatur nullam spem reliquam : Pompeii classem

adsignabis] *adsignare* is always 'to impute as a crime' in Cicero ; it does not mean 'to impute as a virtue' till the Augustan age.

7. *a Curione*] 'news came to me from Curio's house that he (Curio) was coming to see me,' not 'it was announced by Curio,' in which case *se* not *eum* must have been written. Cp. Acad. Post. i., 1 *nuntiatum est nobis a M. Varrone venisse eum* and Reid's note there.

8. *fuit apud me*] The mss have *ad me*, but *ad* cannot be used except with a verb implying motion.

inde ipsum] sc. *Caesarem iturum*.

mali] 'of the whole bad business,' that is, the civil war.

Metellum] Metellus was tribune this year. He is mentioned as an active enemy by Caesar, B.C. i. 33, 3. He is again referred to in Att. x. 8, 6 (392) as one in whose case Caesar threw off his mask of lenity. His mother-in-law,

Clodia, is mentioned in Att. ix. 6, 3 (360) ; and we read Att. xi. 7, 2 (420) that Caesar would not allow him to enter Italy.

eumque perturbatum] Curio said 'that he (Caesar) was annoyed on hearing that his action in appropriating the public money had given offence to the people ; accordingly, though he had quite made up his mind to address the people before his departure, he had not ventured to do so, but had gone away in much disquietude of mind.'

9. *quem exemplum*] It is just possible to explain these words as meaning 'whom (did he look on) as a type to be followed by the victor,' the *model* for his conduct, Sulla or Cinna, or someone else ; cp. *Sullano more exemploque vincet*, Att. x. 7, 1 (388). But it would, perhaps, be better to correct *exemplum* to *exitum*, with Malaspina, Madvig, and Wesenberg. To read *quod exemplum* is unscientific ; how arose the corruption *quem* ?

timebat, quae si exisset, se de Sicilia abiturum. Quid isti, inquam, sex tui fasces? si a senatu, cur laureati? si ab ipso, cur sex? 'Cupivi,' inquit, 'ex senatus consulto surrepto: nam *non* poterat aliter. At ille impendio nunc magis odit senatum. A me, inquit, omnia proficiscentur.' Cur autem sex? 'Quia duodecim nolui: nam licebat.' 10. Tum ego: 'Quam vellem' inquam 'petisse ab eo, quod audio Philippum impetrasse! sed veritus sum, quia ille a me nihil impetrabat.' 'Libenter' inquit 'tibi concessisset. Verum puta te impetrasse: ego enim ad eum scribam, ut tu ipse voles, de ea re nos inter nos locutos. Quid autem illius interest, quoniam in senatum non venis, ubi sis? Quin nunc ipsum minime offendses eius causam, si in Italia non fuisses.' Ad quae ego me recessum et solitudinem quaerere, maxime quod lictores haberem. Laudavit consilium. Quid ergo? inquam: nam mihi cursus in Graeciam per tuam provinciam est, quoniam ad mare superum milites sunt. 'Quid mihi' inquit 'optatius?' Hoc loco multa perliberaliter. Ergo hoc quidem est profectum, ut non modo tuto,

exisset] 'left the coast of Sicily,' see Att. x. 7, 3 (388), *Siciliae diffidens si Pompeius navigare coepisset*. The reading of the mss is *esset*, accepting which we could only render 'he feared the fleet of Pompey (that is, that he would put to sea); if this should be so, he said he would leave Sicily'; but this would require *quod si esset* or *quae res si esset*, and even then the expression would be far from satisfactory.

sex tui fasces] Caesar had given Curio the government of Sicily as propraetor. Praetors and propraetors had six *fasces*, consuls and proconsuls twelve. The *fasces* were the signs of the possession of *imperium*, but they were not laurelled except on the occasion of a signal victory in the field over a public enemy: now Curio had gained no victory, and his enemies were his Pompeian fellow-countrymen. Curio goes on to say that he wanted to get 'a snatched vote' of the Senate investing him with the government of Sicily, but Caesar told him *all these appointments will in future proceed from me*. He only hoped for *surreptum senatus consultum*, for Metellus was ready to impede by his veto any proceeding in the Senate which was in the interests of Caesar or his friends. It would have, therefore, to be procured by some trick or ruse.

nam non poterat aliter] We do not like inserting negatives, but the sense here is imperious. We have placed the *non* after *nam*, not after *aliter*, as more likely to have fallen out after so similar a word. But we are not sure that we should not read *num aliter poterat*, which would be a very slight change. Curio is prone to rhetorical questions, as in *quid optatius?* and again, *quid scripsit ad me Dolabella?* below.

At ille impendio] These are the words of Curio, who quotes the remark of Caesar to show how strong was his feeling against the Senate. *Impendio magis*, 'far more,' belongs to colloquial speech, and is frequent in the comic drama.

10. *Philippum*] He was married to the niece of Caesar, who was the widow of Octavius and the mother of the future Augustus, who was, therefore, stepson of Philippus. He had obtained permission to live where he pleased.

a me nihil impetrabat] Cicero had refused the recent request of Caesar, who had asked him to come to the meetings of the Senate.

nunc ipsum] 'this very moment.'

Quid mihi . . . optatius] 'what could be more desirable for me'?

hoc quidem est profectum] 'we have gained this advantage at all events'; *profectum* from *proficio*.

verum etiam palam navigaremus. 11. Reliqua in posterum diem distulit, ex quibus scribam ad te, si quid erit epistola dignum. Sunt autem quae praeterii: interregnumne esset expectaturus, an quo modo dixerit ille quidem ad se deferri consulatum, sed se nolle in proximum annum. Et alia sunt quae exquiram. Iurabat ad summam, quod nullo negotio facere solet, amicissimum mihi Caesarem esse debere. 'Quid enim' inquit 'scripsit ad me Dolabella?' Dic, quid? Adfirmabat eum scripsisse, quod me cuperet ad urbem venire, illum quidem gratias agere maximas et non modo probare, sed etiam gaudere. Quid quaeris? Acquievi. Levata est enim suspicio illa domestici mali et sermonis Hirtiani. Quam cupio illum dignum esse nobis et quam ipse me invito, ad id quod pro illo sit, suspicandum! Sed opus fuit Hirtio convento? Est profecto nescio quid, sed velim quam minimo. Et tamen eum nondum redisse miramur. Sed haec videbimus. 12. Tu Oppios Terentiae dabis. Iam enim urbis vanum periculum est. Me tamen consilio iuva, pedibusne Regium an hinc statim in navem, et cetera, quoniam commoror. Ego ad te [statim] habebo quod

11. *quae praeterii*] 'which I neglected to ask him.'

an quo modo dixerit] 'or what did he mean by saying that he was offered the consulship, but did not want it for the following year?' Cicero suspects he was thinking of the dictatorship.

ad summam] 'finally.'

Adfirmabat eum scripsisse] 'Curio said that Dolabella had written to say that Caesar was greatly obliged to him (Dolabella) for his anxiety that I should come to Rome.'

domestici mali et sermonis Hirtiani] See § 6; he refers to the treachery of young Quintus, and to his talk with Hirtius, in which Cicero supposed that he had gone over the communication highly injurious to himself which was to be made to Caesar. He now thinks that the interview with Caesar may not have taken place, since Caesar's feelings towards himself do not seem to have undergone any change.

Quam ipse me invito] 'how I encourage myself to think about him whatever is in his favour! Yet was there any reason why he should meet Hirtius? There is something in the story; but I hope the bad consequences may be as trifling as possible.' *Suspicio* is often used in a good sense, as in *placitum tibi esse librum*

meum suspicabar, Q. Fr. ii. 7 (9), 1 (120). With *minimo* some word like *constare* or *defungi* is to be understood.

12. *dabis*] 'present them' to her, to act as her business men.' *Delegabis* would be the more usual word.

vanum] The danger (of being plundered) which threatened the city is now merely imaginary.' This is the conjecture of Gronovius for *unum*, which has really no meaning. The explanation 'living in Rome now entails only danger, not disgrace, as before,' is no explanation at all, unless we assume that Cicero chose the most inappropriate means he could find to express a sentiment which could easily be expressed clearly in half-a-dozen ways.

et cetera, quoniam commoror] sc. *scribe*, a word very easily supplied after *me consilio iuva*. Cicero adds *quoniam commoror*, 'since I am staying here,' to show Atticus that he need not abstain from writing in the fear that he (Cicero) should have departed before Atticus's letter could arrive. So he says *dum adsumus scribes*, Att. x. 8, 10 (392); cp. 16, 2 (402); *antequam discedimus*, 15, 4 (401); *quoad licebit id est, quoad scies ubi simus*, 4, 1 (382). Lehmann was the first to vindicate the reading of the mss against conjectures, some

scribam, simul ut videro Curionem. De Tirone cura, quaeso, quod facis, ut sciam quid is agat.

CCCLXXXIII. CAELIUS TO CICERO (FAM. VIII. 16).

ON THE MARCH TO SPAIN; APRIL 16 (ABOUT); A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49;
AET. CIC. 57.

Pulso ex Italia a Caesare Cn. Pompeio, suadet M. Ciceroni M. Caelius, ne ad afflictam fortunam sequi velit, sed ut se saltem in aliquod oppidum a bello vacuum recipiat.

CAELIUS CICERONI S.

1. Exanimatus tuis litteris, quibus te nihil nisi triste cogitare ostendisti neque id quid esset perscripsisti neque non tamen quale esset quod cogitares aperuisti, has ad te ilico litteras scripsi. Per fortunas tuas, Cicero, per liberos te oro et obsecro, ne quid gravius de salute et incolumitate tua consulas. Nam deos hominesque amicitiamque nostram testificor, me tibi praedixisse neque temere monuisse, sed postquam Caesarem convenerim sententiamque eius, qualis futura esset parta victoria, cognoverim, te certiore fecisse. Si existimas eandem rationem fore Caesaris in dimittendis adversariis et condicionibus ferendis, erras. Nihil nisi atrox et saevum

of which involve very doubtful Latinity, as Orelli's *quo iam commoror*, 'to what purpose am I now staying?' We have in Fam. vii. 23, 2 (126), *Martis signum quo mihi pacis auctori*; but *quo commoror* cannot be paralleled. In Horace's *quo valeat numus*, Sat. i. 1, 73, *quo* is the relative of *eo*, and *eo valere*, 'to be serviceable to that end,' is a good phrase: see N. D. iii. 5; Nep. Them. 2, 7, and 4, 4; Quintil. i. 2, 16.

Another copy of this letter is preserved among those addressed to Atticus (Att. x. 9 A).

1. *Exanimatus . . . aperuisti*] 'Deeply agitated as I was by your letter, in which you show that your thoughts are running on nothing but what is gloomy though you have not written plainly what it is, while after all you have not failed to disclose the real nature of your thoughts.' For *neque . . . neque non tamen* Boot compares Fam. iii. 12, 2 (275) *neque*

enim tristius dicere quidquam debeo . . . neque non me tamen mordet aliquid.

Per fortunas] This formula of urgent appeal often occurs in the letters; cp. Att. iii. 20 1 (78), where see note; v. 11. 1 (200); v. 13, 3 (203); Fam. xiv. 1, 5 (82), *per fortunas miseras nostras*. It has much the same effect as our 'for goodness sake.'

ne quid . . . consulas] 'that you do not take any serious step, endangering your safety or security.' No particular distinction is to be here made between *salus* and *incolumitas*; in the De Invent. 168 *incolumitas* is said to be *salutis tuta et integra conservatio*.

neque temere] 'it was no casual warning which I gave you, but I let you know for certain.'

postquam . . . convenerim] 'after meeting.'

rationem fore . . . in dimittendis] We should more naturally expect the genitive instead of *in* with the ablative. Caelius

cogitat atque etiam loquitur. Iratus senatui exiit: his intercessionibus plane incitatus est: non mehercules erit deprecationi locus. 2. Qua re si tibi tu, si filius unicus, si domus, si spes tuae reliquae tibi carae sunt: si aliquid apud te nos, si vir optimus, gener tuus, valet: quorum fortunam non debes velle conturbare ut eam causam, in quouis victoria salus nostra est, odisse aut relinquere cogamur aut impiam cupiditatem contra salutem tuam habeamus;—denique illud cogita, quod offensae fuerit in ista cunctatione, te subisse; nunc te contra victorem Caesarem facere quem dubiis rebus laedere noluisti, et ad eos fugatos accedere, quos resistentes sequi nolueris, summae stultitiae est. Vide ne, dum pudet te parum optimatem esse, parum diligenter quid optimum sit eligas. 3. Quod si totum tibi persuadere non possum, saltem, dum quid de Hispaniis agamus scitur, expecta: quas tibi nuntio adventu Caesaris fore nostras. Quam isti spem habeant amissis Hispaniis nescio. Quod porro tuum consilium sit ad desperatos accedere, non me dius fidius reperio. 4. Hoc, quod tu non dicendo mihi significasti, Caesar audierat ac, simul atque ‘Have’ mihi dixit, statim quid de te audisset exposuit.

appears to construct *rationem fore* as if it was *rationem versaturam esse*.

exiit] sc. *Roma*, Fam. vii. 5, 1 (234), ix. 2, 3 (461) Leg. Agr. i. 8.

his intercessionibus] sc. that of Metellus, cp. Caes. B.C. i. 33, 3, *subicitur etiam L. Metellus, tribunus plebis, inimicus Caesaris, qui hanc rem distrahat reliquasque res quascunque agere instituerit impediatur*.

incitatus est] ‘he is clearly roused.’

2. *Qua re*] Note the anacoluthon. All is protasis down to *habeamus* and the apodosis is omitted. The author of the Dialogue on Orators (21) attributes *hians compositio* to the style of Caelius.

si . . . valet] ‘If I, and if that excellent man your son-in-law has any influence with you.’ M reads *valemus* where this letter occurs among those to Atticus. Here it has *valet*, which is probably right; see vol. iii. p. civ. fin.

conturbare] ‘to disorder.’ Mr. Jeans translates ‘to make our fortune so utterly bankrupt’; but we are not obliged to take *conturbare* in this technical sense here.

impiam] ‘unnatural desire, prejudicial to your safety.’

offensae] ‘odium’; *subisse* ‘incurred’:

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for *subire offensas*, cp. Plin. Ep. iii. 9, 26, and Mayor’s note.

Vide ne] ‘take care lest from shame of having shown insufficient devotion to the better class you choose with insufficient carefulness the better part.’

3. *quid de Hispaniis agamus*] ‘how we get on as regards the Spains.’ Caelius was at this time in the army of Caesar, who was marching into Spain to attack Afranius, Petreius, and Varro, the Pompeian generals.

ad desperatos accedere] Hofmann says that this is in apposition to *tuum consilium*, cp. N. D. iii. 63, *magnam molestiam suscepit Zeno commenticiarum fabularum reddere rationem*: Liv. iii. 4, 9, *negotium, videre*. But it is better to take it as the infinitive which is used after phrases expressing inclination or opportunity, e. g. *consilium est, mos est, ratio est, tempus est, copia est*, such phrases being virtually equivalent to simple verbs, cp. Madv. 389, 417, obs. 2; Kritz on Sall. Cat. 30, 4.

4. *non dicendo*] ‘though not in so many words.’ For this modal use of the gerund cp. Caelius ap. Fam. viii. 15, 1 (344) *bellum ambulando confecerunt*.

Have] ‘Good morning.’ *Have* and

M

Negavi me scire, sed tamen ab eo petii, ut ad te litteras mitteret, quibus maxime ad remanendum commoveri posses. Me secum in Hispaniam ducit. Nam, nisi ita faceret, ego prius, quam ad urbem accederem, ubicumque esses, ad te percucurissem et hoc a te praesens contendissem atque omni vi te retinuissem. 5. Etiam atque etiam, Cicero, cogita, ne te tuosque omnes funditus evertas, ne te sciens prudensque eo demittas, unde exitum vides nullum esse. Quod si te aut voces optimatum commovent aut non nullorum hominum insolentiam et iactationem ferre non potes, eligas censeo aliquod oppidum vacuum a bello, dum haec decernuntur, quae iam erunt confecta. Id si feceris, et ego te sapienter fecisse iudicabo et Caesarem non offendes.

CCCLXXXIV. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. X. 5).

CUMAE; APRIL 16; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49: AET. CIC. 57.

De sermone Curionis, de Quinto filio regendo, de emptione per Vettienum facta.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. De tota mea cogitatione scripsi ad te antea satis, ut mihi visus sum, diligenter. De die nihil sane potest scribi certi praeter hoc: non ante lunam novam. 2. Curionis sermo postridie eamdem habuit fere summam, nisi quod apertius significavit se harum rerum

Salve were the morning greetings, cp. Mart. i. 55, 6, *et matutinum portat ineptus Have*. The evening one, according to an old custom, was *vale* (Suet. Galba, 4).

percucurrissem] probably the correct form: cp. Neue ii. 362, though of course the unduplicated form is also found: Hor. Od. i. 28, 6. Roby says the unduplicated form is the more usual one in Cicero and Livy.

hoc contendissem] 'I should have extorted this promise from you.'

5. *sciens prudensque*] Boot notices that Cicero generally uses the reverse order, *prudens et sciens*, Fam. vi. 6, 6 (488): Marc. 14; *prudens sciens* without the conjunction, Ter. Eun. i. 1, 27.

eo demittas unde] 'get yourself impli-

cated with that cause from which you see there is no escape.' It would be more usual if we had the generic subjunctive *videas*, 'a cause from which.' For *demittere* in cp. Fam. ix. 1, 2 (456) *cum me in res turbulentissimas . . . demisissem*. The phrase recalls our familiar one, 'to get oneself into a hole.'

insolentiam et iactationem] 'arrogance and ostentation.'

iam] 'presently.' Cp. Att. vii. 20, 2 (318) *iam enim aderant consules ad suas Nonas*. This use of *iam* is quite frequent in the comedies and in poetry.

1. *De die*] sc. *profectionis meae*.

2. *summam*] 'gist.'

exitum non videre. Quod mihi mandas de Quinto regendo, Ἀρκαδίαν. Tamen nihil praetermittam. Atque utinam tu . . . ! Sed molestior non ero. Epistolam ad Vestorium statim detuli, ac valde requirere solebat. 3. Commodius tecum Vettienus est locutus quam ad me scripserat. Sed mirari satis hominis negligentiam non queo. Cum enim mihi Philotimus dixisset se HS L. emere de Canuleio deversorium illud posse, minoris etiam empturum, si Vettienum rogassem, rogavi, ut, si quid posset, ex ea summa detraheret: promisit: ad me nuper se HS xxx. emisse, ut scriberem cui vellem addici, diem pecuniae Id. Novembr. esse. Rescripsi ei stomachosius cum ioco tamen familiari. Nunc, quoniam agit liberaliter, nihil accuso hominem scripsique ad eum me a te certiore esse factum. Tu de tuo itinere quid et quando cogites velim me certiore facias. A. d. xv. Kal. Maias.

Ἀρκαδίαν] μ' αἰτεῖς μέγα μ' αἰτεῖς· οὐ τοι δώσω, the answer of the oracle (Hdt. i. 66) to the Lacedaemonians when they consulted the God about their chance of making themselves masters of Arcadia. Cicero, according to custom, quotes only one word of the verse which he knows to be familiar to Atticus. How completely in the dark we should have been about this passage were it not that the verse happens to be familiar to us in the pages of Herodotus! The proverb means 'in asking me to control Quintus, you are setting me a hard task,' and in further allusion to the same subject, Att. x. 12 b, 4 (398) 'I will do my part for the youth, and take on myself the burden of (not only Arcadia but) all Peloponnesus,' that is 'I will shrink from no trouble in such a cause.'

requirere solebat] 'he used often to ask why the letter was not forwarded to him.'

3. Commodius] 'in a more accommodating spirit.'

neglegentiam] The account of the matter seems to be as follows:—Philotimus (a freedman mentioned in Att. x. 7, 2 (388), and not the dishonest steward of Terentia) told Cicero that he could buy from one Canuleius one of those lodges with which Romans of position were

obliged to provide themselves if they would travel in a manner befitting that position in an age when there were no public hotels or lodging houses. Canuleius asked fifty sester tia (a little more than £400), but Canuleius, according to Philotimus, would take less if Cicero could get Vettienus to act as purchaser. Cicero succeeded in doing so. Vettienus now wrote to him telling him that he had purchased the lodge for thirty sester tia (about £250), asking him to name a person to take formal possession, and adding that the money was to be paid on November 13. The negligence of Vettienus seems to have been shown in the fact that he had not informed Cicero more promptly of the transaction, or had not secured a later day for payment, though, as it was now only April, it does not seem that there was much ground for Cicero's complaint. Schütz remarks on this passage how easily Cicero took offence, and how easily he returned to good humour.

ioco familiari] This is referred to in Att. x. 11, 5 (396), but the superscribing the letter *Monetalis* does not appear to have been the *iocus familiaris*.

agit liberaliter] 'as he is acting handsomely in the matter,' probably by postponing the time for payment.

CCCLXXXV. CAESAR TO CICERO (ATT. X. 8 B).

ON JOURNEY TO SPAIN ; APRIL 16 ; A. U. C. 705 ; B. C. 49 ; AET. CIC. 57.

CAESAR IMP. SAL. D. CICERONI IMP.

1. Etsi te nihil temere, nihil imprudenter facturum iudicaram, tamen permotus hominum fama scribendum ad te existimavi et pro nostra benevolentia petendum, ne quo progredereis proclinata iam re, quo integra etiam progrediendum tibi non existimasses. Namque et amicitiae graviolem iniuriam feceris et tibi minus commode consulueris, si non fortunae obsecutus videbere—omnia enim secundissima nobis, adversissima illis accidisse videntur—nec causam secutus—eadem enim tum fuit, cum ab eorum consiliis abesse iudicasti—sed meum aliquod factum condemnasse, quo mihi gravius abs te nil accidere potest. Quod ne facias, pro iure nostrae amicitiae a te peto. 2. Postremo, quid viro bono et quieto et bono civi magis convenit quam abesse a civilibus controversiis? Quod non nulli cum probarent, periculi causa sequi non potuerunt. Tu explorato et vitae meae testimonio et amicitiae iudicio neque

CAESAR] In sending this letter to Atticus, Cicero (Ep. 392) prefaces it with the words *Eodem die* (sc. as he received, Att. x. 8 A (391), from Antonius, viz. May 2) *a Caesare Philotimus attulit hoc exemplo.*

1. *ne quo progredereis*] ‘that you would not take any step, now that matters have taken a turn in my favour, which you did not think necessary when the issue was quite open.’

Namque et amicitiae . . . accidere potest] Caesar’s argument is that if Cicero now joins Pompey it will be clear that it is not because he thinks Pompey’s is the winning cause—for everything is now going against Pompey and for himself; nor will it be because he thinks it the right cause—for it is unchanged from the time when Cicero decided to hold aloof from it (*abesse iudicavit*). What then will be the meaning of Cicero’s joining Pompey now? It will be interpreted as a distinct pronouncement against something in the conduct of Caesar, ‘and,’ adds Caesar, with singular magnanimity

for one in his position, ‘you could not inflict on me a greater blow than that; and I pray you, by the right the friendship between us gives me, not to do so.’ He only asks Cicero to be neutral, not to discredit his cause by joining Pompey.

Tu explorato] ‘when you have carefully weighed the evidence furnished by my life (that I keep my word) and the opinion pronounced by friendship (the assurance given by his friend Antony in his letter to Cicero, Att. x. 8 A (391), and capable of being confirmed by other friends) you will find that complete neutrality is your safest and most honourable course.’ *Amicitiae iudicio* is rendered by Mr. Watson ‘the judgment which a friend should pronounce,’ and by Mr. Jeans ‘the conclusions of friendship’; but we think that if *amicitiae* is the subjective genitive it should be understood as we have explained it; if it is the objective genitive, *explorato amicitiae iudicio* should mean ‘having thoroughly examined (tested) your own conviction of my friendliness towards you.’ Perhaps, however, we

tutius neque honestius reperies quidquam quam ab omni contentione abesse. xv. Kal. Maias ex itinere.

CCCLXXXVI. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. X. 6).

CUMAE; BETWEEN APRIL 17 AND 27; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

De cogitationibus suis ab Attico reticendis, de Q. filio difficulter a se regendo, de Pompeio.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Me adhuc nihil praeter tempestatem moratur. Astute nihil sum acturus: fiat in Hispania quidlibet, tamen res stat: *ἰτέον*. Meas cogitationes omnes explicavi tibi superioribus litteris: quocirca hae sunt breves, etiam quia festinabam eramque occupator. 2. De Quinto filio, 'fit a me quidem sedulo'—nosti reliqua. Quod dein me mones, et amice et prudenter me mones, sed erunt omnia facilia, si ab uno illo caverō. Magnum opus est: mirabilia multa: nihil simplex, nihil sincerum. Vellem suscepisses iuvenem regendum. Pater enim nimis indulgens, quidquid ego astrinxi, relaxat. Si sine illo possem, regerem: quod tu potes. Sed ignosco: magnum, inquam, opus est. 3. Pompeium pro certo habemus per Illyricum proficisci in Galliam. Ego nunc qua et quo videbo.

ought to read *indicio*, and render 'and the indications of friendship I have shown you.'

1. *Astute*] 'I am not going to play a deep game (and wait till I see who wins in Spain); come what will in Spain, my mind is made up, *je m'en vais*.' For *ἰτέον* cp. *ἰτέον* in *castra*, Att. xiv. 22, 2. The corrupt reading of the mss arises here, as it so often does, from a Greek word misunderstood or taken for a Latin one. To change *recitet et* to *retice* is quite unscientific; besides *retice* or *reticeto* gives a very unlikely sentiment. Under *recit* is, perhaps, concealed *res stat*, and under *et et* probably lurks *ἰτέον* or *ἰτητέον*. Madvig saw that the sense required was *ire certum est*. Similarly in Att. ix. 2, 1 (355), *ληψιν dedisti* is corrupted to *ληψιν inde dedisti*, and Att. ix. 4, 1 (361), M¹ gives *pollicite* for *πολιτικάί*. See also Adn. Crit.

2. *fit . . . sedulo*] It seems to us very likely, as has been suggested by some com-

mentators, that Cicero is here quoting from Ter. Ad. iii. 3, 60, *fit sedulo, nihil praetermitto, consuefacio*. He breaks off the quotation as being familiar to Atticus. He would hardly say to Atticus: 'I do my best, but you know how poor the result is,' nor if he did would he have used the word *reliqua*, which is quite unsuitable to convey that meaning.

ab uno illo] sc. *Quinto filio*.

mirabilia] Does he mean 'admirable' or 'curious' traits? Probably the latter, as there is no adversative particle. For the meaning 'strange' cp. Att. ii. 25, 1 (52), *mirabiliter moratus est*, a passage very similar to this. However, Att. x. 10, *fin.* (395), points to the meaning 'admirable.' It is worth mentioning that *mirabilia* is the regular Ciceronian word for 'paradoxes,' so that the words might mean 'he is a mass of contradictions,' which would sum up all Cicero's criticisms on his character.

3. *in Galliam*] with the view of defending Spain against Caesar.

CCCLXXXVII. CICERO TO SERVIUS SULPICIUS
RUFUS (FAM. IV. 1).

CUMAE; APRIL (LAST HALF); A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

Quo tempore C. Caesar regressus in Hispaniam, Cn. Pompeii legatos oppugnabat, Ser. Sulpicius Rufus vir iuris scientia clarissimus M. Ciceronem convenire voluit, ut cum eo de rei publicae statu communicaret. Huic condicionem rei publicae deplorans Cicero significat quem ad modum, si ipsi placeat, per interpretem utriusque commode rem agere possint.

M. CICERO S. D. SER. SULPICIO.

1. C. Trebatius, familiaris meus, ad me scripsit te ex se quae-
sisse quibus in locis essem, molesteque te ferre, quod me propter
valetudinem tuam, cum ad urbem accessissem, non vidisses, et hoc
tempore velle te mecum, si propius accessissem, de officio utriusque
nostrum communicare. Utinam, Servi, salvis rebus—sic enim est
dicendum—colloqui potuissemus inter nos! profecto aliquid opis
occidenti rei publicae tulissemus. Cognoram enim iam absens te
haec mala multo ante providentem defensorem pacis et in consu-
latu tuo et post consulatum fuisse. Ego autem, cum consilium
tuum probarem et idem ipse sentirem, nihil proficiebam. Sero
enim veneram: solus eram: rudis esse videbar in causa: incideram
in hominum pugnandi cupidorum insanias. Nunc, quoniam nihil
iam videmur opitulari posse rei publicae, si quid est in quo nobis-
met ipsis consulere possimus, non ut aliquid ex pristino statu
nostro retineamus, sed ut quam honestissime lugeamus, nemo est
omnium quicum potius mihi quam tecum communicandum putem.
Nec enim clarissimorum virorum, quorum similes esse debemus,
exempla neque doctissimorum, quos semper coluisti, praecepta te
fugiant. Atque ipse antea ad te scripsissem te frustra in senatum

1. C. Trebatius] cp. vol. ii., p. 57-59.
cum ad urbem accessissem] On January
4th; cp. Fam. xvi. 11, 1 (301).

Utinam] 'Ah! Servius, if we could only
have had a talk together before all was
lost—"lost" is the word.'

in consulatu tuo] i.e. 703 (51), cp. Fam.

iv. 3, 1 (494), and Introduction to vol. iii.
p. lxvii.

non ut aliquid] 'to take measures, not
for the maintenance in aught of our former
position, but that our sorrow may be the
noblest.'

coluisti] 'revered.'

sive potius in conventum senatorum esse venturum, ni veritus essem ne eius animum offenderem, qui a me, ut te imitarer, petebat. Cui quidem ego, cum me rogaret, ut adessem in senatu eadem omnia, quae a te de pace et de Hispaniis dicta sunt, ostendi me esse dicturum. 2. Res vides quo modo se habeat: orbem terrarum imperiis distributis ardere bello: urbem sine legibus, sine iudiciis, sine iure, sine fide relictam direptioni et incendiis. Itaque mihi venire in mentem nihil potest non modo quod sperem, sed vix iam quod audeam optare. Sin autem tibi, homini prudentissimo, videtur utile esse nos colloqui, quamquam longius etiam cogitabam ab urbe discedere, cuius iam etiam nomen invitus audio, tamen propius accedam, Trebatioque mandavi, ut, si quid tu eum velles ad me mittere, ne recusaret, idque ut facias velim, aut, si quem tuorum fidelium voles, ad me mittas, ne aut tibi exire ex urbe necesse sit aut mihi accedere. Ego tantum tibi tribuo, quantum mihi fortasse adrogo, ut exploratum habeam, quidquid nos communi sententia statuerimus, id omnes homines probaturos. Vale.

conventum senatorum] The senators assembled together by Caesar could not be called the Senate (especially by one who favoured the Pompeians as Cicero did), considering that the consuls and so many other magistrates were not present; cp. Att. x. 1, 2 (378).

qui a me ut te imitarer petebat] cp. Att. ix. 18, 1 (376).

2. *Res . . . habeat*] So M H. Some mss read *rem*, which is rather a Greek construction, but can be supported by Att. xiv. 21, 2, *Nosti virum quam tectus*; Caelius ap. Fam. viii. 10, 3 (226), *Nosti Marcellum quam tardus et parum efficax sit itemque Servius quam cunctator*; ib. 16, 1 (383). Caes. B. G. i. 39, 6. There is no reason whatever to read *habeant* with Ernesti and Schütz.

orbem terrarum imperiis distributis ar-

dere bello] 'the world is all ablaze with war, the various commands are allotted.'

sine legibus . . . incendiis] 'without statutes, trials, law, credit, abandoned to fire and sword.' *Leges* and *ius* are not opposed here, but 'by *ius* is rather meant the completion which the science of law received through the *edicta praetorum* as opposed to the common law.' See Holden on Off. iii. 69. For *fides*, 'credit,' cp. Leg. Manil. 19, *Romae solutione impedita fidem concidisse*; Caes. Bell. Civ. iii. 1, 2.

voles] sc. *mittere*.

Ego . . . probaturos] 'I have as high an opinion of you as I perhaps unduly entertain of myself; so that I feel assured that whatever determination we arrive at as the result of our united judgment will be approved of by the world generally.'

CCCLXXXVIII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. X. 7).

CUMAE ; APRIL (LAST HALF) ; A. U. C. 705 ; B. C. 49 ; AET. CIC. 57.

De consilio ab Attico inito et eius condicione non eadem atque ipsius, serviendum iam esse alteri utri, sed se malle Pompeio et iam velle exire, de Ser. Sulpicio, de Curionis sermone, de Q. filio a se vehementer accepto, de re privata.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Ego vero Apuliam et Sipontum et tergiversationem istam probo, nec tuam rationem eandem esse duco quam meam, non quin in re publica rectum idem sit utrique nostrum, sed ea non agitur. Regnandi contentio est, in qua pulsus est modestior rex et probior et integrior et is, qui nisi vincit, nomen populi Romani deleatur necesse est : sin autem vincit, Sullano more exemploque vincet. Ergo hac in contentione neutrum tibi palam sentiendum et tempori serviendum est. Mea causa autem alia est, quod beneficio vinctus ingratus esse non possum, nec tamen *me* in acie, sed Melitae aut alio in loco simili [oppidulo] futurum puto. Nihil, inquires, iuvas eum, in quem ingratus esse non vis? Immo minus fortasse voluisset. Sed de hoc videbimus. Exeamus modo, quod ut meliore tempore possimus, facit Adriano mari Dolabella, Fretensi Curio. 2. Iniecta autem mihi spes quaedam est velle mecum Ser. Sulpicium colloqui. Ad eum misi Philotimum libertum cum

1. *Ego vero*] 'Yes, I think you are right in playing the opportunist, and staying in Apulia and Sipontum, and not going to join Pompey.' *Ego vero* is the answer to a question.

ea non agitur] sc. *causa* ; 'it is not now a question of right and wrong,' it is a question which of two evils are we to have, the absolute power of Caesar or of Pompey.

rex] 'despot' ; he deliberately uses a word peculiarly hateful to the Romans.

Sullano more exemploque] 'the Sullan despotism will furnish the method and model of his victorious régime.'

neutrum tibi palam sentiendum] 'you must not openly profess adherence to either side.' *Hoc sentire* and *aliud sentire* furnish a sufficient justification for neu-

trum sentire.

minus fortasse voluisset] 'perhaps he would have been glad if I had helped him less.' Cicero seems to think that the support of such men as himself would be an embarrassment to Pompey if he should prevail and should begin to play the part of Sulla. Perhaps Cicero thinks that Pompey may have been displeased at the attempts he made to bring about peace. If Pompey had prevailed, and begun to act the part of Sulla, the support of such men as Cicero would certainly have been embarrassing to him.

Fretensi] sc. *mari Siculo*. The fact that these friends of his occupied the approaches to the Adriatic and the Sicilian Straits would enable Cicero to leave Italy when he pleased.

litteris ; si vir esse volet, praeclara *συνοδία* : sin autem—erimus nos, qui solemus. 3. Curio mecum vixit, iacere Caesarem putans offensione populari, Siciliaeque diffidens, si Pompeius navigare coepisset. Quintum puerum accepi vehementer. Avaritiam video fuisse et spem magni congiarii. Magnum hoc malum est, sed scelus illud, quod timueramus, spero nullum fuisse. Hoc autem vitium puto te existimare non a nostra indulgentia, sed a natura profectum ; quem tamen nos disciplina regemus. De Oppiis Veliensibus quid placeat cum Philotimo videbis. Epirum nostram putabimus, sed alios cursus videbamus habituri.

CCCLXXXIX. CICERO TO SERVIUS SULPICIUS RUFUS
(FAM. IV. 2).

CUMAE ; APRIL (END) ; A. U. C. 705 ; B. C. 49 ; AET. CIC. 57.

Ser. Sulpicio, Cn. Pompeii an C. Caesaris partes sequatur, dubitanti, plus alteras honestatis, firmitatis alteras habere scribit. Longius ergo discedendum ab urbe, in qua quae fiant turpe sit probare, non probare periculosum. Sed quo sit eundem quam primum rogat ad se deliberatum ut veniat.

M. CICERO S. D. SER. SULPICIO.

1. A. d. III. Kal. Maias cum essem in Cumano, accepi tuas litteras : quibus lectis cognovi non satis prudenter fecisse Philotimum, qui cum abs te mandata haberet, ut scribis, de omnibus rebus, ipse ad me non venisset, litteras tuas misisset, quas intel-

2. *praeclara συνοδία*] 'we shall have a splendid tête-à-tête.' See Fam. iv. 1 and 2 (387, 389), for the subjects which he wished to discuss.

3. *mecum vixit*] 'stayed with me.' The present participles which follow ought in strictness to assign a reason why Curio stayed with Cicero, but they seem merely to describe the sentiments which he entertained at the time of his visit. Perhaps Cicero does imply that Curio chose him, a Pompeian, to be his host, because he thought things were going against Caesar. In Att. x. 8, 2 (392), he says *cum ipsum Curionem ad eum transi-
turum putem*.

accepi vehementer] 'I gave him a

rough reception.'

Avaritiam] 'rapacity, greed.' *Avaritia* rarely corresponds to our 'avarice,' which denotes the desire to keep ; it rather expresses the desire to acquire, *πλεονεξία*.

scelus] his 'disloyalty' in maligning his uncle to Caesar.'

nostram putabimus] 'I shall look on your place in Epirus as my own, but I think my voyage will take me in a different direction.'

1. *qui . . . venisset*] 'since he came.' For the adversative asyndeton *venisset*, *litteras tuas misisset*, cp. Fam. ix. 26, 4 (479) *non multi cibi hospitem accipies, multi ioci*.

lexi breviores fuisse, quod eum perlaturum putasses. Sed tamen, postquam tuas litteras legi, Postumia tua me convenit et Servius noster. His placuit ut tu in Cumanum venires, quod etiam mecum, ut ad te scriberem, egerunt. 2. Quod meum consilium exquiris, id est tale, ut capere facilius ipse possim quam alteri dare. Quid enim est quod audeam suadere tibi, homini summa auctoritate summaque prudentia? Si quid rectissimum sit quaerimus, perspicuum est: si quid maxime expediat, obscurum: sin ii sumus, qui profecto esse debemus, ut nihil arbitremur expedire nisi quod rectum honestumque sit, non potest esse dubium quid faciendum nobis sit. 3. Quod existimas meam causam coniunctam esse cum tua, certe similis in utroque nostrum, cum optime sentiremus, error fuit. Nam omnia utriusque consilia ad concordiam spectaverunt, qua cum ipsi Caesari nihil esset utilius, gratiam quoque nos inire ab eo defendenda pace arbitrabamur. Quantum nos fefellerit et quem in locum res deducta sit vides. Neque solum ea perspicis, quae geruntur quaeque iam gesta sunt, sed etiam qui cursus rerum, qui exitus futurus sit. Ergo aut probare oportet ea, quae fiunt, aut interesse, etiam si non probes: quorum altera mihi turpis, altera etiam periculosa ratio videtur. 4. Restat ut discedendum putem. In quo reliqua videtur esse deliberatio, quod consilium in discessu, quae loca sequamur. Omnino cum miserior res nunquam accidit tum ne deliberatio quidem difficilior: nihil enim constitui potest quod non incurrat in magnam aliquam difficultatem. Tu, si videbitur, ita censeo facias, ut, si habes iam statutum quid tibi agendum putes, in quo non sit coniunctum consilium tuum cum meo, supersedeas hoc labore itineris: sin autem est,

Servius] the son of Sulpicius.

quod] = *et id.* 'and they also urged me to write this to you.'

2. *Quod . . . exquiris*] 'As to your asking me what my plan is.'

ut nihil arbitremur] 'granted that we think nothing expedient save what is just and honourable'—the Stoic confession of faith, to which Cicero makes more than one allusion about this time, cp. *Fam.* v. 19, 1, 2 (390).

3. *cum optime sentiremus*] 'though we had the most loyal sentiments.' Somewhat similar is *Fam.* iv. 13, 7 (483), *sperare optime*, 'to have hopes of the best'; *Att.* xiii. 33, 2 (610), *bene narrare* 'to announce good news'; both quoted by Hofmann.

gratiam arbitrabamur] 'We thought we were earning gratitude from him by advocating peace.'

probare] sc. *te*, 'either you must approve.' The subject pronoun is omitted, as is so often the case, with verbs of declaring and thinking. Cp. *Reid* on *Acad.* i. 18; *Madv.* 401.

4. *quod consilium . . . : sequamur*] 'what plan we should adopt in our departure, and what place of retirement repair to.'

quod non incurrat . . . difficultatem] 'which is not met by some serious obstacle.'

Tu . . . itineris] 'you, should it seem advisable, might, I think, save yourself

quod mecum communicare velis, ego te expectabo. Tu, quod tuo commodo fiat, quam primum velim venias, sicut intellexi et Servio et Postumiae placere. Vale.

CCCXC. CICERO TO L. MESCINIUS RUFUS, HIS EX-
QUAESTOR (FAM. V. 19).

CUMAE; APRIL (END); A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

Cn. Pompeio Italia pulso L. Mescinium Rufum, qui quaestor Ciceroni in provincia fuerat, nunc dubitantem cuius castra sequatur, M. Cicero hortatur ut Pompeium ne relinquat.

CICERO RUFO.

1. Etsi mihi numquam dubium fuit quin tibi essem carissimus, tamen cotidie magis id perspicio, exstatque id, quod mihi ostenderas quibusdam litteris, hoc te studiosiorem in me colendo fore quam in provincia fuisses—etsi meo iudicio nihil ad tuum provinciale officium addi potest—, quo liberius iudicium esse posset tuum. Itaque me et superiores litterae tuae admodum delectaverunt, quibus et expectatum meum adventum abs te amanter videbam et, cum aliter res cecidisset ac putasses, te meo consilio magno opere esse laetatum, et ex his proximis litteris magnum cepi fructum et iudicii et officii tui: iudicii, quod intellego te, id quod omnes fortes ac boni viri facere debent, nihil putare utile esse nisi quod rectum honestumque sit, officii, quod te mecum, quodcumque cepissem consilii, polliceris fore: quo neque mihi gratius neque, ut

the trouble of a journey here, if you have already made up your mind as to what you think should be done, and if it is such that your plan of action is not therein connected with mine; but if there is anything of which you wish to let me know I shall wait for you.' The subjective *sit* is generic 'of such a nature that.'

For this Mescinius Rufus see on Fam. v. 20 (302).

1. *cotidie magis*] For *cotidie* with comparatives see note to Att. i. 20, 7 (26).

hoc . . . quo liberius . . . tuum] 'that you would show the more deference in

proportion as your judgment was more independent.' Rufus meant that when he ceased to be Cicero's subordinate, and so was not under a strict obligation to defer in all things to him as his superior officer, he became much more ready and solicitous to show Cicero respect, as such regard would be considered a genuine expression of opinion.

et ex his proximis . . . tui] 'and from this last letter of yours I derived great pleasure as regards your convictions and your obligations.' For *capere fructum* cp. Pis. 31, *quo quidem tempore cepi, patres conscripti, fructum immortalem vestri in me et amoris et iudicii*.

ego arbitror, tibi honestius esse quidquam potest. 2. Mihi consilium captum iam diu est : de quo ad te, non quo celandus esses, nihil scripsi antea, sed quia communicatio consilii tali tempore quasi quaedam admonitio videtur esse officii vel potius efflagitatio ad coëundam societatem vel periculi vel laboris. Cum vero ea tua sit voluntas, humanitas, benevolentia erga me, libenter amplector talem animum, sed ita—non enim dimittam pudorem in rogando meum—, si feceris id, quod ostendis, magnam habebo gratiam : si non feceris, ignoscam et alterum timori, alterum mihi te negare non potuisse arbitrabor. Est enim res profecto maxima. Quid rectum sit apparet : quid expediat obscurum est, ita tamen, ut, si nos ii sumus, qui esse debemus, id est, studio digni ac litteris nostris, dubitare non possimus quin ea maxime conducant, quae sint rectissima. Qua re tu, si simul placebit, statim ad me venies. Sin idem placebit atque eodem, nec continuo poterit, omnia tibi ut nota sint faciam. Quidquid statueris, te mihi amicum, sin id, quod opto, etiam amicissimum iudicabo.

2. *non quo celandus esses*] ‘not that I wanted you to be kept in the dark.’

libenter . . . sed ita] ‘I cordially welcome such a spirit, but insist no further than this.’

non enim . . . meum] ‘for I will not cease to be modest in my request.’ Language could not be used in a more graceful manner by a superior to an inferior than in this letter. Cicero was evidently very anxious that his ex-quaestor should join with him in whatever action he took. He, therefore, wrote him this letter which is earnest and high-toned, but at the same neither unduly pressing nor dictatorial.

et alterum . . . arbitrabor] ‘and I shall consider the latter a concession you could not refuse to your fears, but the former one you could not refuse to myself.’

quae sint rectissima] The mss give *sunt* : but the clause is certainly dependent. The simple statement, about which Cicero says there is no doubt, is *ea maxime conducunt quae rectissima sunt*, and the relative clause is an essential part of the proposition.

studio digni ac litteris nostris] ‘worthy of our devotion to learning.’

Qua re tu] mss *quae tu*. Streicher (pp. 159 ff.) has a long discussion to show that personal pronouns are not usually

found after illative particles like *quare*, *quamobrem*, *proinde*, *ergo*, &c. He accordingly ejects *tu* and reads *quare*, *si*. His list of passages in which the personal pronoun is omitted is enormous; but he candidly allows that there are some passages where it is found in such a position, e. g. Fam. ii. 8, 1 (201); v. 2, 10 (15), Att. xii. 51, 2, xiii. 11, 2, and there does not seem to be any reason why it should not occasionally be so used. We have, therefore, not thought it advisable to omit *tu*, as it is found in all the mss.

si simul placebit] ‘if you think well of joining with me’—a rather harsh ellipse for *simul esse mecum*, and in any case an unusual expression. Streicher wishes to supply *proficisci* before *placebit*, but this is too violent a remedy.

Sin idem . . . poterit] ‘But if the same course commends itself to you, and it turns out to be possible for you to come to the same place (as I shall be in) though not at once, I shall take care to keep you informed of everything.’ There is no need to alter *poterit* of the mss to *poteris*, as Cratander followed by Wesenberg does : for *poterit* often = *poterit fieri*; cp. Kuhner on Tusc. i. 23. It is a rather harsh ellipse, *atque eodem* (sc. *venire* or *adesse*).

CCCXCI. ANTONIUS TO CICERO (ATT. X. 8 A).

CAMPANIA (?); APRIL (END); A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

ANTONIUS TRIB. PL. PRO PR. CICERONI IMP. SAL.

1. Nisi te valde amarem et multo quidem plus, quam tu putas, non extimuissem rumorem, qui de te prolatus est, cum praesertim falsum esse existimarem. Sed quia te nimio plus diligo, non possum dissimulare mihi famam quoque, quamvis sit falsa, magni esse. *Te iturum esse* trans mare credere non possum, cum tanti facias Dolabellam et Tulliam tuam, feminam lectissimam, tantique ab omnibus nobis fias, quibus mehercule dignitas amplitudoque tua paene carior est quam tibi ipsi. Sed tamen non sum arbitratus esse amici non commoveri etiam improborum sermone, atque eo feci studiosius, quod iudicabam duriores partes mihi impositas esse ab offensione nostra, quae magis a ζήλοστυπία mea quam ab iniuria tua nata est. Sic enim volo te tibi persuadere, mihi neminem esse cariorum te excepto Caesare meo, meque illud una iudicare, Cae-

TRIB. PL. PRO. PR.] Caesar on his departure for Spain had given Antony a commission to govern Italy as propraetor though at the time he was tribune. Antony had already, 702 (52), been chosen quaestor by Caesar without sortition, Att. vi. 6, 4 (276); he had gained the augurship, 704 (50). He had joined the army of Caesar this year, and Attius had capitulated to him at Sulmo, Att. viii. 4, 3 (335). We have another letter to Cicero from the man who was destined so largely to influence his life, and finally to cause his death in Att. xiv. 13 A.

1. *non extimuissem*] 'I should not have been alarmed at a rumour which has been spread about you, the more especially as I believe it to be false.'

nimio plus] a very colloquial expression, frequent in the comic drama.

Te iturum esse] These words must be inserted, and must be supposed to have fallen out through the *homoeoteleuton* of *esse . . . esse*. The violent ellipses which Hofmann quotes in defence of the text as given in the mss are not to the purpose, as they all come from hasty and

familiar letters dashed off in a hurry by Cicero, and belong to a quite different kind of literature from a semi-official missive like this. Nor does Antony write hastily and allusively in his other letter, Att. xiv. 13 A.

atque eo feci studiosius] 'and I have acted with the more earnestness in this matter because I thought a more strenuous duty was laid on me by reason of our misunderstanding, which arose rather from my jealousy than from any want of friendliness on your part.' Cicero was elected augur to the exclusion of Antony in 701 (53); hence the jealousy to which Antony refers. Unless we regard the *ab* as to some extent personifying the *offensio*, and representing it as laying a burden on Antony, we must suppose it to mean 'ever since the coolness between us.'

meque illud una iudicare] 'and be sure that I hold that sentiment in common (with Caesar), that he reserves the chief place in his friendship for Cicero.' This is a rather awkward sentence, and would be much better without the words *meque . . . iudicare*; but though M omits from

sarem maxime in suis M. Ciceronem reponere. 2. Qua re, mi Cicero, te rogo, ut tibi omnia integra serves, eius fidem improbes, qui tibi, ut beneficium daret, prius iniuriam fecit, contra ne profugias, qui te etsi non amabit—quod accidere non potest—, tamen salvum amplissimumque esse cupiet. Dedita opera ad te Calpurnium, familiarissimum meum, misi, ut mihi magnae curae tuam vitam ac dignitatem esse scires.

CCCXCII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. X. 8).

CUMAE; MAY 2; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero pluribus verbis exponit quam ob rem sibi consilium expectandi, dum quid in Hispania geratur accipiat, repudiandum esse videatur et citius transeundum.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Et res ipsa monebat et tu ostenderas et ego videbam, de iis rebus, quas intercipi periculosum esset, finem inter nos scribendi fieri tempus esse. Sed, cum ad me saepe mea Tullia scribat orans, ut quid in Hispania geratur expectem et semper ascribat idem videri tibi, idque ipse etiam ex tuis litteris intellexerim, non puto esse alienum me ad te quid de ea re sentiam scribere. 2. Consilium istud tunc esset prudens, ut mihi videtur, si nostras rationes ad Hispaniensem casum accommodaturi essemus, quod fieri *nequit*. Necesse est enim aut, id quod maxime velim, pelli istum ab His-

meo to *Caesarem*, the words appear to have been written by Antonius, and are unlikely to have been interpolated if spurious.

2. *tibi omnia integra serves*] ‘I beg you to commit yourself to nothing, to regard lightly the honour of one who to do you a kindness first inflicted on you an injury (as Pompey did in the matter of Cicero’s exile), and on the other hand not to turn your back on one who even though he should no longer feel affection for you—an impossible case—will ever have at heart your political well-being, and your pre-eminent distinction.’ *Incolumis* is the regular word for preservation of political rights: cp. *contra damnatum et mortuum pro incolumi et vivo dicere*, Cluent. 10. The difference be-

tween *incolumis* and *salvus* is one of degree; cp. *de salute et incolumitate tua*, Fam. viii. 16, 1 (383); *De Invent.* 168.

1. *quas intercipi*] The accusative is quite normal, as the sentiment ‘it would be dangerous to have this intercepted’ would naturally and regularly be expressed *periculosum esset hanc rem intercipi*.

2. *tunc . . . si*] ‘only in case I intended to make my course depend on the turn things may take in Spain’: cp. *quae ipsa tum esset iucundior si ulla res esset publica*, Fam. vi. 11, 2; *tum demum, tum denique, ita demum* are more usual in sentences like this.

istum] refers to Caesar throughout.

pania aut trahi id bellum aut istum, ut confidere videtur, apprehendere Hispanias. Si pelletur, quam gratus aut quam honestus tum erit ad Pompeium noster adventus, cum ipsum Curionem ad eum transiturum putem? Sin trahitur bellum, quid exspectem aut quam diu? Relinquitur ut, si vincimur in Hispania, quiescamus. Id ego contra puto: istum enim victorem magis relinquendum puto quam victum, et dubitantem magis quam fidentem suis rebus. Nam caedem video, si vicerit, et impetum in privatorum pecunias et exsulum reditum et tabulas novas et turpissimorum honores et regnum non modo Romano homini, sed ne Persae quidem cuiquam tolerabile. 3. Tacita esse poterit indignitas nostra? Pati poterunt oculi me cum Gabinio sententiam dicere? et quidem illum rogari prius? praesto esse clientem tuum Clodium? C. Ateii Plaguleium? ceteros? Sed cur inimicos colligo? qui meos necessarios a me defensos nec videre in curia sine dolore nec versari inter eos sine dedecore potero. Quid, si ne id quidem est exploratum fore ut mihi liceat—scribunt enim ad me amici eius me illi nullo modo satis fecisse, quod in senatum non venerim—, tamenne dubitemus an ei nos etiam cum periculo venditemus, quicum coniuncti ne cum praemio quidem voluimus esse? 4. Deinde hoc vide, non esse iudicium de tota contentione in

Curionem] See on Att. x. 7, 3 (388).

Relinquitur] 'the only alternative remaining is that I should maintain a neutral attitude if we are beaten in Spain. I take the opposite view to this (I do not regard it as a possible alternative), for I think I am more bound to turn my back on Caesar as victor than as vanquished, while success trembles in the balance than when it is assured.' *Contra* is adverbial, as in *utrumque contra accidit*, Fam. xii. 18, 2; cp. *in stultitia contra est*, Clu. 84. The meaning is 'not only do I not think that the victory of Caesar in Spain would be a reason for my doing nothing, but I hold the very opposite view, and think it would be a reason for my declaring at once against him.'

3. *indignitas*] 'indignation'; Boot denies that the word can bear this meaning in Cicero, but Caelius uses it, *doloris atque indignitatis causa*, Fam. viii. 17, 2 (408); and though the word in other passages in Cicero certainly means 'unworthiness,' yet, on the other hand, in Att. x. 9, 2 (393), *dignatione* is found in the sense of

dignitate, so why should not *indignitas* here have the meaning of *indignatio*, a meaning which it undoubtedly bears in the letter of Caelius?

clientem tuum Clodium] Sextus Clodius had been recalled from exile with Gabinus and others. He is called *clientem tuum* because his family were on terms of intimacy with Atticus. P. Clodius is called the *sodalis* of Atticus in Att. ii. 9, 3 (36). Plaguleius is mentioned among the supporters of Clodius in Pro Dom. 89.

colligo] 'enumerate, recapitulate.'

tamenne] 'yet (in spite of the uncertainty how they may be received) am I to think about making advances to Caesar with a risk of rejection, when I refused to join him with the certainty of a reward?' *Dubitare an* means 'to entertain the idea of,' '*ich zweifle ob nicht mit Hinneigung zur Bejahung*,' Hofmann.

4. *iudicium*] 'that the verdict on the whole contest does not depend on the Spains.' *Iudicium* is here metaphorical. It could hardly mean 'the decision of the contest.'

Hispaniis, nisi forte iis amissis arma Pompeium abiecturum putas, cuius omne consilium Themistocleum est. Existimat enim, qui mare teneat, eum necesse esse rerum potiri. Itaque numquam id egit, ut Hispaniae per se tenerentur, navalis apparatus ei semper antiquissima cura fuit. Navigabit igitur, cum erit tempus, maximis classibus et ad Italiam accedet, in qua nos sedentes quid erimus? Nam medios esse iam non licebit. Classibus adversabimur igitur? Quod maius scelus aut tantum? denique quid turpius? † *anuival dehic* in absentis † solus tuli scelus eiusdem cum Pompeio et cum reliquis principibus non feram? 5. Quod si iam misso officio periculi ratio habenda est, ab illis est periculum, si peccaro, ab hoc, si recte fecero, nec ullum in his malis consilium periculo vacuum inveniri potest, ut non sit dubium quin turpiter facere cum periculo fugiamus, quod fugeremus etiam cum salute.

Themistocleum] cp. *non est in parietibus res p.* and *fecit idem Them.* Att. vii. 11, 3 (304). Pompey looked on the mastery of the sea as the important point; Themistocles held the same view, παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡν αὐτοὺς ὡς ναυμαχήσοντας συνεβούλευε ὡς τοῦτοῦ ἐόντος τοῦ ξυλλίνου τείχεος, Hdt. vii. 143; again we read in 144 that he advised the Athenians in the war with Aegina to build a fleet with the revenues of the mines of Laurium.

per se] 'Spain quâ Spain,' i.e. 'for its own sake.' So Lehmann, who compares *virtus per se expetenda*, and such expressions in the phil. works *passim*.

quid erimus] cp. *quid ero* (by some editors wrongly changed to *videro*), Att. viii. 2, fin. (332): 'What shall we be if we do nothing' (*sedentes*); cp. *Pompeio stante vel etiam sedente*, Att. vi. 3, 4 (264).

adversabimur] 'shall I take the side opposed to Pompey's fleets.' The answer to this is 'what greater treason could there be or so great as this? What, in fine, more ignominious step could be taken?'

† *anuival dehic*] See Adn. Crit. for the various corrections of this corrupt passage which have been proposed. We think it well-nigh certain that *scelus* refers to Caesar, and that Cicero is here putting the case alternative to the one just put, which was 'shall I openly oppose Pompey?' He now asks 'shall I openly oppose Caesar?' And Cicero further adverts to the fact that the time to oppose Caesar openly was when he (Caesar) was not so strong, and he himself was in

a more independent position. This sense could be got (though not very satisfactorily, we own), from some such words as *an cuius invalidi et hinc absentis solus tuli scelus, eiusdem cum Pompeio et cum reliquis principibus non feram?* 'When Caesar was still weak and far away I was able to endure his treason, though I had no one to consider but myself; am I now to find it insupportable (if Pompey should invade Italy, and so I should find myself) in the midst of the followers of Pompey?' Perhaps, however, the reading and explanation, based on M² *an in va'de hic in absentis*, goes nearer to what Cicero may be supposed to have written—*an invadentis in absentes solus tuli scelus; eiusdem . . . non feram?* 'Did I, unsupported, withstand his treason when he attacked the absent Pompeians (and when I refused in my interview with him at Formiae to suppress in the Senate my sympathy with Pompey, Att. ix. 18, 1 (376), and shall I now when supported by Pompey and his party not withstand him?' Hofmann reads *an iram huius in absentis solus tuli: scelus*, &c. The *ira* of Caesar was shown when he returned from Brundisium, and Cicero refused to attend the Senate.

5. *Quod si iam misso*] 'if I lay aside considerations of duty and only weigh the risk attending each course, I am in danger from the Pompeians if I do wrong, from Caesar if I do right.'

turpiter facere] These words look like a gloss; the sense is complete without them: 'I have no scruple in avoiding a perilous

Non si simul cum Pompeio mare transieramus? Omnino non potuimus. Exstat ratio dierum. Sed tamen—fateamur enim quod est; ne condimus quidem, ut possimus—fefellit ea me res, quae fortasse non debuit, sed fefellit: pacem putavi fore, quae si esset, iratum mihi Caesarem esse, cum idem amicus esset Pompeio, nolui. Senseram enim quam iidem essent. Hoc verens in hanc tarditatem incidi. Sed adsequor omnia, si propero: si cunctor, amitto. 6. Et tamen, mi Attice, auguria quoque me incitant quadam spe non dubia, nec haec collegii nostri ab Atto, sed illa Platonis de tyrannis. Nullo enim modo posse video stare istum diutius quin ipse per se etiam languentibus nobis concidat, quippe qui florentissimus ac novus, VI., VII. diebus ipsi illi egenti ac per-

step which I would not take even if it were safe.' If we admit the words the construction must be *fugere facere*, 'to avoid doing,' a construction which, though rare, is not unexampled in Cicero, e.g. *fugerim dicere*, De Or. iii. 153; *decorare fugiendum fuit*, Mur. 11.

Non si simul] This question refers to the statement just made, *nec ullum in his malis consilium periculo vacuum inveniri potest*, 'was there not one safe course, if we crossed the sea with Pompey'?

Exstat ratio dierum] 'it is easy to count the days.' See Att. ix. 2 a, 2 (356), where Cicero says that Pompey did not inform him of his plans till after the capitulation of Corfinium, and by that time Caesar had cut off communications with the army of Pompey.

ne condimus] 'I refuse even to take the sting out of the confession, supposing I could.' *Condire* is often used by Cicero in the sense of 'to sweeten,' or 'make palatable' what is unpalatable: cp. De Orat. ii. 212; Att. xii. 40, 3. Nearly all the editors accept the conjecture *ne contendimus quidem ut possemus*, 'I did not try hard to put my self in a position to do so.' But *quidem* does not come in well, and the change is violent.

idem] 'when at the same time he was friendly with Pompey.'

iidem] 'how exactly the same (each as the other) were Caesar and Pompey' in their aims and methods. The meaning 'how unchanged each was' would require the addition of some such words as *qui fuerant*.

incidi] 'I drifted into this *laissez-faire* attitude.'

6. *ab Atto*] 'I do not mean the words

of wisdom of my own augural college, which came down from Attus Navius, but Plato's word of wisdom about the tyrant.' In referring to the *auguria Platonis*, Cicero has in his mind the passage De Rep. viii. 562, which he has beautifully paraphrased in his own De Rep. i. 66 (the Latin and Greek passages are well worth comparing). The point of both passages is the sentiment so admirably put by Lord Tennyson, who probably had these passages before his mind when he wrote in The Vision of Sin—

'He that roars for liberty
Faster binds the tyrant's power,
And the tyrant's cruel glee
Forces on the freer hour.'

And again in Tiresias,

My warning that the tyranny of one
Was prelude to the tyranny of all,
My counsel that the tyranny of all
Led backward to the tyranny of one.

Cicero takes hope from the fact that tyranny by its very nature carries in itself the source of its dissolution. In De Div. ii. 80, Cicero questions the right of Attus to be regarded as the founder of Roman augury.

VI. VII. *diebus*] 'in the course of a week.' The number is proverbial as 'two or three' with us, and the asyndeton which is found with no other numerals, points to the proverbial character of the expression. Cp. *his mensibus sex septem*, Ter. Eun. ii. 3, 41 (331); *sex septem milia*, Hor. Ep. i. 1, 58. The asyndeton disappears in Lucr. iv. 577, *sex etiam aut septem loca vidi reddere voces*, but very probably the *aut* should be struck out. The interval referred to is that between Caesar's return from Brundisium and his departure for Spain.

ditae multitudini in odium acerbissimum venerit, qui duarum rerum simulationem tam cito amiserit, mansuetudinis in Metello, divitiarum in aerario. Iam quibus utetur vel sociis vel ministris, si ii provincias, si ii rem publicam regent, quorum nemo duo menses potuit patrimonium suum gubernare? 7. Non sunt omnia colligenda, quae tu acutissime perspicis, sed tamen ea pone ante oculos: iam intelleges id regnum vix semestre esse posse. Quod si me fefellerit, feram, sicut multi clarissimi homines in re publica excellentes tulerunt, nisi forte me Sardanapalli vicem in suo lectulo mori malle censueris quam in exilio Themistocleo: qui cum fuisset, ut ait Thucydides, τῶν μὲν παρόντων δι' ἐλαχίστης βουλῆς κράτιστος γνώμων, τῶν δὲ μελλόντων ἐς πλεῖστον τοῦ γεννησομένου ἄριστος εἰκαστής, tamen incidit in eos casus, quos vitasset, si eum nihil fefellisset. Etsi is erat, ut ait idem, qui τὸ ἄμεινον καὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ ἔτι ἑώρα μάλιστα, tamen non vidit nec quo modo Lacedaemoniorum nec quo modo suorum

qui . . . amiserit] 'by letting slip through his fingers in such a short space his fictitious claim to two good things, clemency in the case of Metellus, ample resources in his seizure of the public money' in the temple of Saturn. For Metellus see on Att. x. 4, 8 (372).

utetur] This correction of the ms *utatur* must be accepted, unless we understand *video* from *non video* above; for the subjunctive could not stand in a question of this kind, but only in deliberative questions, nor could *cogita* nor *necesse est* be understood. Ellipse must have something to rest on. Besides the succeeding *regent* shows that the tense must be future.

7. *colligenda*] 'to be enumerated'; cp. *colligo*, § 3.

Quod si me fefellerit] 'If I prove to be mistaken in my estimate of the duration of Caesar's pre-eminence, I err in company with great men like Themistocles [and will readily accept the consequences of my mistake, as they did of theirs] for surely you do not suppose one would rather have a death in one's bed (the lot of Sardanapallus), than death in exile like Themistocles.' Sardanapallus, we are told by Ctesias, being no longer able to defend Nineveh, destroyed himself, with his wives and treasures, on a funeral pyre. But it seems to us certain that this incident is not referred to here, if, indeed, it

was known to Cicero. Such a violent and self-inflicted death would be far worse than exile, and would, therefore, be quite unsuitable as an illustration in this passage. With Cicero Sardanapallus is invariably used merely as a type of brutish sensuality: see *Fin.* ii. 106; *Tusc.* v. 101; and a fragment from *De Rep.* iii. in which he is characterized as *vitiis multo quam nomine ipso deformior*. Here, too, he is a type of inglorious ease and self-indulgence, and the words *in suo lectulo* are undoubtedly genuine, as the natural end of a life of ease. *Vicem* is, as always in Cicero, 'the lot, fate,' and is the direct object of *malle*, the words *in suo lectulo mori* being in apposition with *vicem* as the object of *malle*. We insert *in*, which would easily have fallen out after *m*. Wesenberg would change *suo* to *meo* before *lectulo*, but Hofmann excellently shows that the reflexive pronoun ('one, one's') is suitable in sentences like this, comparing *Nat. Deor.* i. 84, *quam bellum erat, Vellei, confiteri potius nescire quod nescires . . . quam . . . sibi displicere* 'to lose one's self-respect.' If *Sardanapalli vicem* is 'like Sardanapallus,' it is the only place in Cicero where *vicem* means 'like.'

τῶν μὲν παρόντων] A reference to *Thuc.* i. 138, will show that Cicero here quotes from memory, and not quite accurately.

civium invidiam effugeret nec quid Artaxerxi polliceretur. Non fuisset illa nox tam acerba Africano, sapientissimo viro, non tam dirus ille dies Sullanus callidissimo viro C. Mario, si nihil utrumque eorum fefellisset. Nos tamen hoc confirmamus illo augurio, quo diximus, nec nos fallit nec aliter accidet. 8. Corruat iste necesse est aut per adversarios aut ipse per se, qui quidem sibi est adversarius unus acerrimus. Id spero vivis nobis fore. Quamquam tempus est nos de illa perpetua iam, non de hac exigua vita cogitare. Sin quid acciderit maturius, haud sane mea multum interfuerit, utrum factum videam an futurum esse multo ante viderim. Quae cum ita sint, non est committendum ut iis paream, quos contra me senatus, ne quid res publica detrimenti acciperet, armavit. 9. Tibi sunt omnia *mea* commendata, quae commendationis meae pro tuo in nos amore non indigent. Nec hercule ego quidem reperio quid scribam. Sedeo enim *πλουδοκῶν*. Etsi nihil umquam tam fuit scribendum quam nihil mihi umquam ex plurimis tuis iucunditatibus gratius accidisse, quam quod meam

polliceretur] the subjugation of Greece under the yoke of Persia. The meaning is not 'he did not discern how (by what means) he should escape, nor what (what kind of a) promise he ought to make to Artaxerxes'; but 'he did not foresee to what straits he would be reduced to escape, and what a promise he was bound to make to Artaxerxes?'

Africano] See note on Q. Fr. ii. 3, 3 (102). 'Africanus would have been spared that night so untimely (on which he died), and Marius that disastrous day of Sulla's triumph (on which he was driven from Rome by his victorious rival), if nothing had ever escaped their sagacity.' Though this sense of *acerbum* is rare in prose (is it found except possibly in Pro Dom. 42, *funus miserum et acerbum*?), yet Mr. Jeans is perhaps right in rendering the word 'untimely' here.

illo augurio quo diximus] It seems better to understand *nos confirmari*, than to assume an unusual attraction of the relative. The reference is to the *auguria Platonis*, of which he says above *me incitant quadam spe non dubia*.

8. *unus acerrimus*] *unus* merely strengthens the superlative, cp. note to Att. ix. 10, 2 (365).

de illa perpetua] This cannot be taken as a proof of Cicero's belief in a future life. He contrasts with the brief span of

his own existence the great extent of future *time* (life of men in this world) during which men will, perhaps, think of him and his prophecies: cp. *longumque illud tempus cum non ero magis me movet quam hoc exiguum*, Att. xii. 18, 1.

Sin quid acciderit] 'if anything should happen to me,' an euphemism for death.

quos contra] a strong instance of *anastrophe*, 'against whom the Senate armed me'; it is strange that he did not avoid the ambiguity by some modification of the order of the words. The weapon which the Senate put into his hands was the *videant consules ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat*, Fam. xvi. 11, 2 (301).

9. *Tibi . . . indigent*] 'Let me confide all my interests to your care, though, considering your great affection for me, such an act on my part is not at all necessary.'

πλουδοκῶν] 'waiting for a chance of sailing,' like our phrase 'whistling for a wind.'

Etsi] 'yet (though I say I have nothing to write about) never was there anything I have felt more bound to write than that never was there any one of all your kindnesses to me which gave me greater pleasure than your goodness to Tullia.' *Etsi* often takes its meaning from a suppressed clause, and so becomes equivalent to our 'yet, though.'

Tulliam suavissime diligentissimeque coluisti. Valde eo ipsa delectata est, (ego autem non minus), cuius quidem virtus mirifica. Quo modo illa fert publicam cladem! quo modo domesticas tricas! quantus autem animus in discessu nostro! Est *στοργή*, est summa *σύντηξις*, tamen nos recte facere et bene audire vult. 10. Sed hac super re *ne* nimis, ne meam ipse *συμπάθειαν* iam evocem. Tu, si quid de Hispaniis certius et si quid aliud, dum adsumus, scribes et ego fortasse discedens dabo ad te aliquid, eo etiam magis, quod Tullia te non putabat hoc tempore ex Italia. Cum Antonio item est agendum, ut cum Curione, Melitae me velle esse, huic civili bello nolle interesse. Eo velim tam facili uti possim et tam bono in me quam Curione. Is ad Misenum vi. Nonas venturus dicebatur, id est, hodie: sed praemisit mihi odiosas litteras hoc exemplo:

CCCXCIII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. X. 9).

CUMAE; MAY 3; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

De adventu Philotimi, de nuntiis de itineribus Caesaris et Pompeii adlatis, se Melitam cogitare dum quid in Hispania geratur accipiat. De M. Caelii litteris, de de colloquio suo cum Antonio futuro, de rebus privatis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Adventus Philotimi—at cuius hominis, quam insulsi et quam saepe pro Pompeio mentientis!—exanimavit omnes, qui

cuius] refers to *ipsa* (Tullia) not to *ego*. Hofmann gives some good examples of this usage, Tusc. i. 3, Liv. xxi. 26, 2. So below, § 10, *is* does not refer to *Curione*, which is nearest to it, but takes up the *eo* of the previous clause which refers to *Antonius*.

tricas] ‘troubles, complications,’ especially with Dolabella her husband, who was demanding from Cicero the payment of her dowry.

στοργή] is the usual word for ‘natural affection’ in the letters; *σύντηξις* means ‘community of feelings,’ almost ‘sympathy’; *συμπάθεια* is ‘sense of the pathos of a situation’; and *meam συμπ.* is ‘self-pity.’

10. *ne*] is inserted by Lehmann, who compares *non loquar plura ne te quoque*

exeruciem, Att. x. 18, 3 (404); without *ne* the words *ne . . . evocem* would have nothing to depend on.

de] = *super*, cp. *super legatione*, Att. xiv. 22, 2; *hac super re*, xvi. 6, 1. This usage in Cicero is only found in these passages of the letters.

certius] sc. *audieris*.

ex Italia] sc. *profecturum*.

Cum Antonio . . . agendum] ‘I must represent to Africanus as I did to Curio, that I wish to stay at Melita, and not to take part in the war.’ *Agere cum* = *dicere*, and hence takes an objective clause.

litteras] sc. Ep. 391.

1. *exanimavit*] ‘takes their breath away’ by bringing information directly

mecum erant. Nam ipse obdurui. Dubitabat nostrum nemo quin Caesar itinera repressisset—volare dicitur: Petreius cum Afranio coniunxisset se—nihil adfert eius modi. Quid quaeris? Etiam illud erat persuasum, Pompeium cum magnis copiis iter in Germaniam per Illyricum fecisse: id enim ἀνθεντικῶς nuntiabatur. Melitam igitur, opinor, capessamus, dum quid in Hispania, quod quidem propemodum videor ex Caesaris litteris ipsius voluntate facere posse, qui negat neque honestius neque tutius mihi quidquam esse quam ab omni contentione abesse. 2. Dices: 'Ubi ille ergo tuus animus, quem proximis litteris?' Adest et idem est. Sed utinam meo solum capite decernerem! Lacrimae meorum me interdum molliunt, precantium ut de Hispaniis expectemus. M. Caelii quidem epistolam scriptam miserabiliter, cum hoc idem obsecraret, ut expectarem, ne fortunas meas, ne unicum filium ne meos omnes tam temere proderem, non sine magno fletu legerunt pueri nostri: etsi meus quidem est fortior eoque ipso vehementius commovet, nec quidquam nisi de dignatione laborat. 3. Melitam igitur, deinde quo videbitur. Tu tamen etiam nunc mihi aliquid litterarum et maxime, si quid ab Afranio. Ego, si cum Antonio locutus ero, scribam ad te quid actum sit. Ero tamen in credendo, ut mones, cautus. Nam occultandi ratio cum

opposed to that which they had believed to be the case, and rendered more credible, because it is unfavourable to Pompey in whose favour he habitually resorts to fabrication.

Dubitabat nemo] 'No one hesitated to believe that Caesar had checked the rate of his progress—he is said by Philotimus to be absolutely flying: (nobody doubted) that Petreius had effected a junction with Afranius—he announces nothing of the kind.' Boot's reading *volare dicitur: dicitur Petreius* cannot be accepted, for Cicero would never have used the same words *dicitur* both for the news of Philotimus contradicting the prevalent rumour and for the prevalent rumour which he contradicts.

id enim ἀνθεντικῶς nuntiabatur] Cicero does not think it necessary to add that here too Philotimus contradicted the general report; it is not necessary to indicate a *lacuna* with Wesenberg, for Cicero may well have omitted a statement so easily supplied.

capessamus] for *opinor* with the deli-

berative subjunctive cp. Att. ix. 6, 2 (360).

dum quid in Hispania] sc. *dum sciamus quid in Hispania agatur*. For strong but permissible ellipses, see vol. I², p. 70, and add to examples there given *Pisonem sicubi* (sc. *conveneris*), *de auro* (sc. *colloquere*) Att. xiii. 2, 1; *quod simul ac* (sc. *cognoro*) *continuo scietis* Att. xiii. 21, 2. This letter teems with ellipses, but they are all easily supplied.

quod . . . facere] sc. *Melitam me conferre*.

2. *quem proximis litteris*] sc. *ostendisti meo solum capite*] 'I wish I had only to decide for myself'; *caput* has here no reference to political rights or position, still less to the 'intelligence' of the writer, as Boot suggests.

pueri nostri] 'My son Marcus and your Quintus.'

dignatione] 'dignity'; 'position'; see on Att. x. 8, 3 (392).

3. *mihi aliquid litterarum*] sc. *mitas*.

si quid ab Afranio] sc. *audieris*.

difficilis tum etiam periculosa est. Servium exspecto ad Nonas : et adigit ita Postumia et Servius filius. Quartanam leviozem esse gaudeo. Misi ad te Caelii etiam litterarum exemplum.

CCCXCIV. CICERO TO CAELIUS (FAM. II. 16).

CUMAE ; MAY (BEGINNING) ; A. U. C. 705 ; B. C. 49 ; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero cum e provincia revertisset, a M. Caelio admonitus erat litteris, ne nimio opere ad Cn. Pompeium se applicaret. Ei iam respondet se pace et otio frui malle quam castra sequi, neque quidquam se temere commissurum. Data est epistola a Cumano.

M. CICERO IMP. S. D. M. CAELIO.

1. Magno dolore me adfecissent tuae litterae, nisi iam et ratio ipsa depulisset omnes molestias et diuturna desperatione rerum obduruisset animus ad dolorem novum. Sed tamen qua re acciderit ut ex meis superioribus litteris id suspicari, quod scribis, nescio. Quid enim in illis fuit praeter querellam temporum, quae non meum animum magis sollicitum habent quam tuum? Nam non eam cognovi aciem ingenii tui, quod ipse videam, te id ut non putem videre. Illud miror, adduci potuisse te, qui me penitus nosse deberes, ut existimares aut me tam improvidum, qui ab excitata fortuna ad inclinatam et prope iacentem desciscerem, aut tam inconstantem, ut collectam gratiam florentissimi hominis effunderem a meque ipse deficerem et, quod initio semperque fugi, civili bello interesssem. 2. Quod est igitur meum 'triste' con-

Servium] his friend and correspondent Sulpicius.

adigit ita] 'his wife Postumia as well as his son urges me to this course,' to wait for the arrival of Sulpicius at Cumae, as we learn from Att. x. 10, 4 (395).

litterarum] sc. Ep. 383.

1. *Magno*] 'your letters would have caused me great sorrow were it not that reflection itself has driven away all vexations, and by the daily-renewed despair for the community my mind has grown callous to any new sorrow.'

Nam non eam] 'for I knew that the

keen penetration of your mind was not so feeble as to allow me to suppose that you did not see what I saw.'

qui ab excitata] 'that I am so thoughtless as to desert the exalted fortunes of the one side for the sinking and all but prostrate fortunes of the other: to fling away all the abundance of favour which I have gained with a man now in the height of success, and thereby fail to act up to my true self: and to take part in the civil war which from the beginning I have consistently avoided.'

2. '*triste*' *consilium*] 'my "gloomy" project': referring to the words of Fam. viii. 16, 1 (383), *quibus te nihil nisi triste cogitare ostendisti*.

silium? ut discederem fortasse in aliquas solitudines? Nosti enim non modo stomachi mei, cuius tu similem quondam habebas, sed etiam oculorum in hominum insolentium indignitate fastidium. Accedit etiam molesta haec pompa lictorum meorum nomenque imperii, quo appellor. Eo si onere carerem, quamvis parvis Italiae latebris contentus essem. Sed incurrit haec nostra laurus non solum in oculos, sed iam etiam in vocular malevolorum. Quod cum ita esset, nil tamen umquam de profectione nisi vobis approbantibus cogitavi. Sed mea praediola tibi nota sunt: in his mihi necesse est esse, ne amicis molestus sim. Quod autem in maritimis facillime sum, moveo non nullis suspicionem velle me navigare: quod tamen fortasse non nollem, si possem ad otium: nam ad bellum quidem qui convenit? praesertim contra eum, cui spero me satis fecisse, ab eo, cui iam satis fieri nullo modo potest? 3. Deinde sententiam meam tu facillime perspicere potuisti iam ab illo tempore, cum in Cumanum mihi ob viam venisti. Non enim te celavi sermonem T. Ampii: vidisti quam abhorrerem ab urbe relinquenda, cum audissem. Nonne tibi adfirmavi quidvis me potius perpessurum, quam ex Italia ad bellum civile exiturum? Quid ergo accidit cur consilium meum mutarem? Nonne omnia potius, ut in sententia permanerem? Credas hoc mihi velim, quod puto te existimare, me ex his miseriis nihil aliud quaerere nisi ut homines aliquando intellegant me nihil maluisse quam pacem: ea

ut discederem] 'was it departure perchance to some lonely region? For you know how my gorge rises (and you had something of the same feeling yourself in times past), and also how my eyes loathe the vileness of these upstart creatures.' As the project referred to is supposed to have been formed in past time, we have the imperfect, *discederem*, 'did you suppose that my plan was that, &c.?' cp. Rosc. Am. 92 (*impellerent*). For *stomachi fastidium*, cp. Hor. Sat. ii. 4, 78, *magna movet stomachi fastidia*. From De Orat. ii. 138 we see that *indignitas* is the opposite of *dignitas*.

nomenque imperii] 'military title,' Jeans.

Sed incurrit] 'but this laurel of mine is subject not only to the sight but now too to the slights of my enemies.' There is, perhaps, as Mr. Jeans says, something of a play on the words *oculos* and *vocular*.

facillime] 'most gladly.' Hofmann compares Att. xii. 34, 1, *ego hic vel sine Sicca facillime possum esse, ut in malis*: xiii. 26, 2 (588), Off. ii. 75, Sen. 7 and Reid's note.

si possem] We can supply *navigare* from the preceding line, both here and after *convenit*. After *nollem* we should understand *facere*.

ab eo] 'on the side of him,' as in the common phrase *stare ab aliquo*, 'to be on anyone's side.' Hofmann quotes De Invent. i. 4, *a mendacio contra verum stare*.

3. *in Cumanum . . . venisti*] This visit occurred probably immediately after Cicero's return from Cilicia before the civil war broke out.

T. Ampii] He was called by the Caesarians *tuba belli civilis*, as being one of the most violent advocates of the proposal that there should be no compromise with Caesar. Fam. vi. 12 (490) is addressed to him.

desperata nihil tam fugisse quam arma civilia. Huius me constantiae puto fore ut numquam paeniteat. Etenim memini in hoc genere gloriari solitum esse familiarem nostrum Q. Hortensium, quod numquam bello civili interfuisset. Hoc nostra laus erit illustrior, quod illi tribuebatur ignaviae: de nobis id existimari posse non arbitror. 4. Nec me ista terrent, quae mihi a te ad timorem fidissime atque amantissime proponuntur. Nulla est enim acerbitas quae non omnibus hac orbis terrarum perturbatione impendere videatur: quam quidem ego a re publica meis privatis et domesticis incommodis libentissime vel istis ipsis, quae tu me mones ut caveam, redemissem. 5. Filio meo, quem tibi carum esse gaudeo, si erit ulla res publica, satis amplum patrimonium relinquam memoriam nominis mei: sin autem nulla erit, nihil accidet ei separatim a reliquis civibus. Nam quod rogas ut respiciam generum meum, adolescentem optimum mihique carissimum, an dubitas, cum scias, quanti cum illum tum vero Tulliam meam faciam, quin ea me cura vehementissime sollicitet? et eo magis, quod in communibus miseriis hac tamen oblectabar specula, Dolabellam meum vel potius nostrum fore ab iis molestiis, quas liberalitate sua contraxerat, liberum. Velim quaeras, quos ille dies sustinuerit, in urbe dum fuit, quam acerbos sibi, quam mihi met ipsi socero non honestos. 6. Itaque neque ego hunc Hispaniensem casum exspecto, de quo mihi exploratum est ita esse, ut tu scribis, neque quidquam astute cogito. Si quando erit civitas, erit profecto nobis locus: sin autem non erit, in easdem soli-

Hoc] This is neuter, as referring to the whole clause *quod nunquam bello civili interfuisset*. For the double dative, *illi* and *ignaviae*, cp. Nepos Timol. 4, 2, *neque hoc ei quisquam tribuebat superbiae*; also Roby, § 1163, who quotes Ter. Andr. ii. 1, 31 (331); Liv. iii. 11, 5.

4. *perturbatione*] 'convulsion.'

redemissem] 'which I would gladly have averted from the State at the cost of annoyances to myself and my family, even at the cost of those very dangers against which you advise me to be on my guard.' This use of *redimere* is common in Cicero: cp. Verr. v. 23, *haec vero quae vel vita redimi recte possunt, aestimare pecunia non queo*; ib. 117, iii. 49.

5. *memoriam nominis mei*] So Cratander probably rightly for *in memoria*, though there is a similar use of *in* with ablative in

Fam. x. 28, 3, *magnum damnum factum est in Servio*. But see Adn. Crit., and cp. Schmalz, Antib. i. 583. For the sentiment cp. Off. i. 121, *fin*.

an dubitas] 'can it be that you are in doubt,' implying that Cicero thinks that he is in doubt. Wesenberg wishes to read *num* (Em. Alt. 4), which might have been corrupted, and would make good sense, but is not absolutely necessary.

specula] 'gleam of hope.'

dies] These were the settling days on which Dolabella had been compelled to meet his creditors. The Kalends and the Ides were the fortnightly settling days at Rome; cp. Hor. Epod. ii. *fin*.

6. *hunc Hispaniensem casum*] 'the issue of the Spanish campaign.'

quidquam astute] 'any profound piece of policy.'

tudines tu ipse, ut arbitror, venies, in quibus nos consedis-
audies. Sed ego fortasse vaticinor et haec omnia meliores habe-
bunt exitus. Recordor enim desperationes eorum, qui senes erant
adolescente me : eos ego fortasse nunc imitor et utor aetatis vitio.
Velim ita sit. Sed tamen ! 7. Togam praetextam texi
Oppio puto te audisse. Nam Curtius noster dibaphum cogitat :
sed eum infector moratur. Hoc adpersi, ut scires me tamen in
stomacho solere ridere. De re Dolabellae, quod scripsi, suadeo
videas, tamquam si tua res agatur. Extremum illud erit : nos nihil
turbulenter, nihil temere faciemus. Te tamen oramus, quibus-
cumque erimus in terris, ut nos liberosque nostros ita tueare, ut
amicitia nostra et tua fides postulabit.

vaticinor] 'am raving'; cp. Sest. 23,
vaticinari atque insanire.

utor aetatis vitio] 'I am acting with
the weakness of my years.'

Sed tamen] A common kind of apo-
siopesis; but usually, as Hofmann points
out, with *Verumtamen*; cp. Att. xii. 17
(550), *quamquam quid ad me? Verum-*
tamen; Att. xiv. 12, 1; Fam. xvi.
23, 1.

7. *Oppio*] One of Caesar's most trusted
subordinates; see Introduction.

Curtius] Cicero appears to have asked
Caesar to give this M. Curtius Postumus
a military tribuneship; cp. Q. Fr. ii. 13, 3
(141): iii. 1, 10 (148), *De tribunatu quod*
scribis, ego vero nominatim petivi Curtio et
mihi ipse Caesar nominatim Curtio paratum
esse rescripsit, meamque in rogando vere-
cundiam obiurgavit. He was a very
earnest Caesarian at this time, but was so
boastful and aggressive that Cicero could
not tolerate him; cp. Att. ix. 2A, 3 (356):
5, 1 (359). He was an ambitious man,
and in 709 (45) there was some talk of his
standing for the consulship, Att. xii. 49,
1 (593).

Nam] (But Curtius aims at higher
things) for.

dibaphum] This was the double-
coloured *toga praetexta*, which was a white
toga with a purple border. It was worn
by the priests of the four chief sacred col-
leges as well as by high civil magistrates.
Here the reference is probably to the

augur's robe; cp. Att. ii. 9, 2 (36); Sest.
144 and Schol. ad loc., p. 313, Or. This
is the view of Mommsen St. R. i², 406;
but it is very questionable whether Cicero
does not mean by *dibaphum* the *trabea*,
which, though a dress more connected
with war than with peace, was worn by
the augurs, and was partly purple and
partly saffron-coloured (Serv. on Aeneid.
vii. 612); cp. Mommsen, l. c. 414,
note 6.

infector] 'the dyer,' a word used only
here. Rumour had been talking of these
appointments, but somehow or other they
were not made as soon as was expected.
Cicero jestingly supposes that the delay
was owing to the dyer who had not the
robes ready. Mr. Jeans says that *infector*
means Caesar, and that there is a play
'on the ambiguous meaning of the word
inficere, which signifies "to corrupt" as
well as "to dye." It therefore contains
a sneer, apparently undeserved, at Oppius
and Curtius, as if they were bribed by
offers of place.' He translates, 'but the
person from whom he takes his colour is
keeping him waiting.'

Hoc adpersi] 'This by way of season-
ing.' So Mr. Jeans, admirably: cp. Att.
i. 13, 1 (19), *litterae humanitatis sparsae*
sale.

videas] = *cures*, 'see to'; cp. Att. v. 1,
3 (184), *ut prandium nobis videret*.—
(Watson).

turbulenter] 'wild.'

CCCXCV. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. X. 10).

CUMAE ; MAY 3 ; A. U. C. 705 ; B. C. 49 ; AET. CIC. 57.

De litteris Antonii et eius adventu expectato, de Cicerone puero.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Me caecum, qui haec ante non viderim ! Misi ad te epistolam Antonii. Ei cum ego saepissime scripsissem nihil me contra Caesaris rationes cogitare, meminisse me generi mei, meminisse amicitiae, potuisse, si aliter sentirem, esse cum Pompeio, me autem, quia cum lictoribus invitus cursarem, abesse velle nec id ipsum certum etiam nunc habere, vide quam ad haec *παραινετικῶς*:

2. 'Tuum consilium quam verum est. Nam qui se medium esse vult, in patria manet : qui proficiscitur, aliquid de altera utra parte iudicare videtur. Sed ego is non sum, qui statuere debeam, iure quis proficiscatur neene. Partes mihi Caesar has imposuit, ne quem omnino discedere ex Italia paterer. Qua re parvi re

1. *Me caecum qui haec*] 'how blind I was not to see this before !' that I should not be allowed to leave Italy unmolested.

Misi] 'I send herewith,' an epistolary tense.

generi mei] sc. *Dolabellae*.

potuisse . . . habere] 'though I had told him in my letters that I could now have been with Pompey if my views had been other than I described to him, but that I wished to leave Italy as I did not like to be constantly moving about with my lictors, though I had not at all made up my mind to leave Italy.'

παραινετικῶς] 'in what hortatory fashion'; this word exactly describes the tone of the letter which follows, and is as near the mss as either of the readings usually adopted *παροινικῶς* and *τυραννικῶς*. Both of these are absolutely unsuitable as a description of Antony's letter, which has not a trace of 'masterfulness' not to speak of 'drunken braggadocio.' The letter is a model of 'friendly counsel,' and is called *σκυτάλην Λακωνικὴν* in § 3, as being brief but meaning more than the gentleness of the expressions would imply, and as conveying

'between the lines' a most delicately expressed hint that he could not leave Italy without Caesar's permission. In referring to another letter from Antony, Cicero writes: *petebat a me per litteras ut sibi ignoscerem; facere se non posse quin pareret* Att. xi. 7, 2 (420).

2. *quam verum est*] 'the resolution you have come to is perfectly right.' For *quam* with adjective in the positive degree, see Att. vii. 15, 2 (311). Antony courteously begins with the last thing Cicero had said, 'that he had not determined to leave Italy,' and treats it as a determination to remain, because Antony knows that Cicero will not be allowed to leave without Caesar's special permission.

is non sum] 'I am not the person to decide who will be allowed to go and who forbidden; my simple commission is to let no one leave Italy at all. So my approval of your determination is of little consequence to you, as I could not in any case give you permission. You will have to apply to Caesar for that.' Could words be devised less fit to be described by such expressions as *παροινικῶς* or *τυραννικῶς*? 'Sweet reasonableness' would characterize them more fairly.

fert me iam probare cogitationem tuam, si nihil tamen tibi remittere possum. Ad Caesarem mittas, censeo, et ab eo hoc petas. Non dubito quin impetraturus sis, cum presertim te amicitiae nostrae rationem habiturum esse pollicearis.'

3. Habes σκυτάλην Λακωνικήν. Omnino excipiam hominem. Erat autem v. Nonas venturus vesperi, id est, hodie. Cras igitur ad me fortasse veniet. Temptabo, audiam: nihil properare, misurum ad Caesarem *me* clamabo. Cum paucissimis alicubi occultabor, certe hinc istis invitissimis evolabo atque utinam ad Curionem! Σύνες ὃ τοι λέγω. Efficietur aliquid dignum nobis. Magnus dolor accessit—δυσουρία tua mihi valde molesta. Medere, amabo, dum est ἐν ἀρχῇ.—4. De Massiliensibus gratae tuae mihi litterae. Quaeso ut sciam quidquid audieris. Ocellam cuperem, si possem palam, quod a Curione effeceram. Hic ego Servium exspecto—rogor enim ab eius uxore et filio—et puto opus esse. 5. Hic tamen *Cytherius* Cytherida secum lectica aperta portat, alteram uxorem: septem praeterea coniunctae lecticae amicarum

3. *excipiam*] 'I will take my cue from him,' and deal with him courteously and diplomatically, as he goes on to say. *Excipiam* may, however, merely mean, 'I will receive him when he visits me.'

Temptabo audiam] See Adn. Crit. for the clever corrections of Wesenberg, which, however, are not convincing. The meaning of the passage is much the same and is quite clear, whether we adopt the reading in the text or that of Wesenberg, which is far more conjectural.

utinam] see Att. x. 12, 1 (397) where he writes: *ego Curionem nactus omnia me consecutum putabam*.

Σύνες ὃ τοι λέγω] This is a phrase found in Pindar (Frag. 105 Bergk.) and quoted by Plato Men. 76 D, Phaedr. 236 D, and by others. It is therefore a very likely phrase to be found in a letter of Cicero, and is closer to the mss than the vulgate σὺν θεῷ τοι λέγω. It is also very appropriate to the context, 'mark my words; it will be a feat worthy of my reputation.' The emendation is due to Cobet.

Efficietur] We have followed Wesenberg, who suggests the transposition of this clause and the next, which should be taken closely with what follows.

Magnus . . . molesta] 'my unhappiness is greatly aggravated by your malady,

which gives me great concern'; *δυσουρία* is an apposition with *dolor*.

ἐν ἀρχῇ] We have inserted ἐν, which is almost required, and would easily have been omitted; cp. Eur. Med. 60.

ἐν ἀρχῇ πῆμα κοῦδέπω μεσοῖ.

4. *Massiliensibus*] They had declared against Caesar, and admitted Domitius.

Quaeso ut sciam] 'pray let me know'; *quaeso* is usually parenthetical in the letters, but is often followed by *ut* in the other works of Cicero.

cuperem] sc. *habere mecum*, which may well be supplied by the reader.

a Curione effeceram] 'I had got Curio to manage that for me.'

5. *Cytherius*] We have inserted here this nickname of Antony taken from Att. xv. 22, *fin*. The editors have all noticed that some designation of Antony is required here, *hic* not being at all sufficiently explicit. We take *hic* to be the adverb; Cicero writes 'yet (though we have good symptoms elsewhere) here we have this Cytherius with his Cytheris whom he treats as a second wife.' Antony's wife was Fulvia. It must, however, be mentioned, as against the conjecture *Cytherius* that Antony is referred to as *huic* in Att. x. 12, 1 (397),

sunt *an* amicorum. Vide quam turpi leto pereamus, et dubita, si potes, quin ille, seu victus seu victor redierit, caedem facturus sit. Ego vero vel lintriculo, si navis non erit, eripiam me ex istorum parricidio. Sed plura scribam, cum illum convenero. 6. Iuvenem nostrum non possum non amare, sed ab eo nos non amari plane intellego. Nihil ego vidi tam ἀνηθοποίητον, tam aversum a suis, tam nescio quid cogitans. Vim incredibilem molestiarum! Sed erit curae ut est ut regatur. Mirum est enim ingenium: ἥθους ἐπιμελητέον.

CCCXCVI. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. X. 11).

CUMAE; MAY 4; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

De litteris Attici a Philotimo redditis, de Q. fratre, de Q. eius filio, de adventu Antonii, de itinere maritimo, de Balbo, de Vettieno.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Obsignata iam epistola superiore non placuit ei dari, cui constitueram, quod erat alienus. Itaque eo die data non est. Interim venit Philotimus et mihi a te litteras reddidit: quibus quae de fratre meo scribis, sunt ea quidem parum firma, sed habent nihil ὑπουλον, nihil fallax, nihil non flexibile ad boni-

a passage where the context is less indicative of Antony than here.

an amicorum] 'dubitat Cicero utrum illae lecticae amicas Antonii contineant an exoletos,' Boot. For this use of *an* ('or shall I say?') see Madv. on *Simonides an quis alius*, Fin. ii. 104.

leto] This word, which is rare except in poetry, is used by prose writers only as a more dignified synonym of *mors*.

6. *Iuvenem nostrum*] The young Quintus.

ἀνηθοποίητον] 'ill-conditioned,' 'unprincipled.'

tam aversum . . . cogitans] 'so devoid of natural affection, so vague (and enigmatic) in his views.'

erit curae ut est] 'it will still be my endeavour, as it now is.' *Ut est* is the clever correction of Wesenberg. The

ms reading *et est* must be wrong. Cicero would at least have written *et est et erit*.

Mirum] 'he has excellent abilities: it is his character that requires forming.' *Mirus* is shown by the context to be used in a different sense from that in which *mirabilis* ('strange, singular') was used in a previous letter with reference to this same young man, Att. x. 6, 2 (386).

1. *alienus*] He was not one of Cicero's own servants.

quae de fratre meo scribis] 'the conduct (or manner) of my brother, described in your letter, shows a want of firmness, but no *chicane*, no treachery, nothing that implies a mind closed to good influences, and incapable of being turned in any direction one pleases by a single conversation.'

tatem, nihil quod non quo velis uno sermone possis perducere. Ne multa: omnes suos, etiam quibus irascitur crebrius, tamen caros habet, me quidem se ipso cariorum. Quod de puero aliter ad te scripsit et ad matrem de filio, non reprehendo. De itinere et de sorore quae scribis, molesta sunt, eoque magis, quod ea tempora nostra sunt, ut ego iis mederi non possim. Nam certe mederer. Sed quibus in malis et qua in desperatione rerum simus vides. 2. Illa de ratione nummaria non sunt eius modi—saepe enim audio ex ipso—, ut non cupiat tibi praestare et in eo laboret. Sed si mihi Q. Axius in hac mea fuga HS XIII. non reddit, quae dedi eius filio mutua, et utitur excusatione temporis, si Lepta, si ceteri, soleo mirari, de nescio quibus HS XX. cum audio ex illo se urgueri. Vides enim profecto angustias. Curari tamen ea tibi utique iubet. An existimas illum in isto genere lentulum aut restrictum? Nemo est minus. 3. De fratre satis. De eius filio, indulsit illi quidem suus pater semper, sed non facit indulgentia mendacem aut avarum aut non amantem suorum, ferocem fortasse atque adrogantem et infestum facit. Itaque habet haec quoque, quae nascuntur ex indulgentia, sed ea sunt tolerabilia—quid enim dicam?—hac iuventute. Ea vero, quae mihi quidem, qui illum amo, sunt his ipsis malis, in quis sumus, miseriora, non sunt ab obsequio nostro: nam suas radices habent, quas tamen evel-

aliter . . . et] 'different from' the account of her son which he gave to Pomponia, the boy's mother. Boot compares *aliter docti et indocti* (sc. loquuntur), Fin. v. 89; *aliud sentire et loqui*, Fam. viii. 1, 3 (192).

De itinere] This is the usually accepted correction of *de itine* of the mss, and it is supposed to refer to the journey of Quintus to Caesar. It seems to us as probable that the correction should be *de Quinto*. Cicero refers to his brother's connubial troubles. He had first referred to Quintus as his brother, then in the words *de Quinto et de sorore* he alludes to him as a husband; finally he turns to his pecuniary condition.

2. *Illā de ratione nummaria*] 'His financial position does not prevent him from being anxious (as I often hear from him) and eager to pay you; but when Axius does not pay me at this time of flitting a loan of thirteen *sestertia* (about £100) to his son, and pleads the state of the times in excuse; when Lepta and

others do the same; I can't help being surprised when I hear from him that he is pressed for a sum of some twenty *sestertia* (about £170).' The phrase *nescio quibus* indicates the paltriness of the sum. Cicero hints his surprise that Atticus should press Quintus at a time when there is such difficulty in recovering debts even from rich men.

lentulum aut restrictum] 'somewhat slow (in paying) or close-fisted.'

3. *ferocem . . . adrogantem . . . infestum*] 'violent . . . overbearing . . . aggressive.'

habet] a word specially used for the possession of certain traits of character; cp. *habebat hoc omnino Caesar*, 'this was a marked trait in Caesar's character,' Phil. ii. 78; *Sardus habebat Ille Tigellius hoc*, Hor. Sat. i. 3, 3.

hac iuventute] 'as young men go now'; for this ablative see on Fam. v. 12, 4 (131).

non sunt ab] 'do not arise from,' a common use of *esse ab* in Cicero.

lerem profecto, si liceret. Sed ea tempora sunt, ut omnia mihi sint patienda. Ego meum facile teneo. Nihil est enim eo tractabilius, cuius quidem misericordia languidiora adhuc consilia cepi, et, quo ille me certiores vult esse, eo magis timeo ne in eum existam crudelior. 4. Sed Antonius venit heri vesperi. Iam fortasse ad me veniet aut ne id quidem, quoniam scripsit quid fieri vellet. Sed scies continuo quid actum sit. Nos iam nihil nisi occulte. De pueris quid agam? Parvone navigio committam? Quid mihi animi in navigando censes fore? Recordor enim aestate cum illo Rhodiorum ἀφράκτω navigans quam fuerim sollicitus: quid duro tempore anni actuariola fore censes? O rem undique miseram! Trebatius erat mecum, vir plane et civis bonus. Quae ille monstra, di immortales! Etiamne Balbus in senatum venire cogitet? Sed ei ipsi cras ad te litteras dabo. 5. Vettienum mihi amicum, ut scribis, ita puto esse: cum eo quod ἀποτόμως ad me scripserat de nummis curandis, θυμικώτερον eram iocatus. Id tu, si ille aliter accepit ac debuit, lenies. MONETALI autem adscripsi, quod ille ad me PRO COS. Sed quoniam est homo et nos diligit, ipse quoque a nobis diligatur. Vale.

meum] sc. filium.

cuius misericordia] 'through pity for whom.'

certiores] 'more unflinching'; Cicero has written above, Att. x. 9, 2 (393), that his son cares for nothing but his father's 'dignity.'

4. Sed Antonius] 'well, Antonius arrived in these parts yesterday evening; I suppose he will soon come to see me; or, perhaps he will not come at all, as he has given me his views in his letters'; sed is common in a transition to a new subject; with ne id quidem we are to supply faciet.

animi] 'courage.'

cum illo] 'with my son.' As he had his nephew also with him on his journey home from his province, it is proposed to read cum illis, but Cicero is here only thinking of the concern he would feel at the danger of his son. Lehmann would read cum illis illo, sc. ἀφράκτω.

monstra] 'shocking news.'

cogitet] 'so Balbus is thinking of entering the Senate, is he?' Such is the force of the subjunctive, for which see note on Att. ii. 12, 1 (37). In senatum venire is 'to become a senator,' in curiam

venire, 'to enter the senate house.'

ei ipsi litteras] 'a letter of introduction to Trebatius himself,' who will tell you more about Balbus. Cicero is indignant that this native of Gades, a protégé of Pompey, should now stand so high in the favour of Caesar.

5. Vettienum] See Att. x. 5, 3 (384); 'he wrote rather brusquely about having the money by a certain day, so I put a spice of temper into the jokes in my letter.'

Monetali] Perhaps Vettienus was one of the III. V. A. A. A. F. F., see Fam. vii. 13, 2 (171). This not being an office of any great dignity, Cicero would not have thought of adding it to his title were it not that Vettienus had vexed him by styling him Pro-consul instead of Imperator. The theory that he called him Monetalis because he had arranged an earlier day for settlement than Cicero thought he might have named, and because he seems to have adopted an abrupt tone in his letters on the subject of this transaction, seems to us not tenable.

quoniam est homo] See note on Q. Fr. ii. 9 (11) fin. (132).

CCCXCVII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. X. 12, §§ 1-3).

CUMAE; MAY 5; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

Molestē fert Cicero quod Antonius nondum ad se venerit, de Curione, se undique custodiri nec commode posse exire Italia, cogitare se de Sicilia, quae provincia teneri potuisse videatur; de C. Marcello, de Q. filio.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Quidnam mihi futurum est aut quis me non solum infelicioꝛ, sed iam etiam turpioꝛ? Nominatim de me sibi imperatum dicit Antonius, nec me tamen ipse adhuc viderat, sed hoc Trebatio narravit. Quid agam nunc, cui nihil procedit caduntque ea, quae diligentissime sunt cogitata, teterrime? Ego enim Curionem nactus omnia me consecutum putavi. Is de me ad Hortensium scripserat. Reginus erat totus noster. Huic nihil suspicabamur cum hoc mari negotii fore. Quo me nunc vertam? Undique custodior. 2. Sed satis lacrimis. Πόρον κλεπτέον igitur et occulte in aliquam onerariam correndum, non committendum ut etiam compacto prohibiti videamur. Sicilia petenda: quam si erimus nacti, maiora quaedam consequemur. Sit modo recte in Hispaniis! Quamquam de ipsa Sicilia utinam sit verum! Sed adhuc nihil

1. *Nominatim*] 'Antony says he had received orders about me specially,' that Cicero was not to be allowed to leave Italy.

cui nihil] 'nothing succeeds with me, and my best laid plans issue disastrously.'

Curionem nactus] cp. *utinam ad Curionem*, Att. x. 10, 3 (395). Cicero thought that if he could put himself under the protection of Curio all would go well. Curio was governor of Sicily. Hortensius commanded the *mare inferum*, and probably associated with him was Reginus, who may be identified with C. Antistius Reginus, a lieutenant of Caesar's mentioned B. G. vi. 1, vii. 83.

Huic nihil] 'we had no idea that Antony had anything to do with this part of the sea.'

2. *satis lacrimis*] sc. *datum est*; cp. *animo istuc satis est, auribus non item*, Orat. 215.

Πόρον κλεπτέον] Thus we propose to correct the corrupt reading of M, for which see Adn. Crit. The phrase κλέπτειν φυγήν is a familiar one; Cicero here modifies it slightly so as to mean 'I must cross the sea privily,' πόρον being used for *transitum* and *transire*, which occur so often in this context. Cicero uses the construction in which the verbal adjective governs the accusative above in πόλεμον ἐπακτέον, Att. ix. 4, 2 (361)

non committendum] 'I must not run the risk of being thought to be prevented (from leaving Italy) by a collusion between myself and the Caesarians.' In the next letter, § 1, he says he sometimes thinks he ought to welcome some really injurious act on the part of the Caesarians, to show that he is not in favour with Caesar.

maiora quaedam] sc. a junction with Pompey.

de ipsa Sicilia] The rumour, which he

secundi. Concursus Siculorum ad Catonem dicitur factus, orasse ut resisteret, omnia pollicitos, commotum illum dilectum habere coepisse. Non credo, ut *ut* est luculentus auctor! Potuisse certe teneri illam provinciam scio. Ab Hispaniis autem iam audietur. 3. Hic nos C. Marcellum habemus, eadem vere cogitantem aut bene simulantem: quamquam ipsum non videram, sed ex familiarissimo eius audiebam. Tu, quaeso, si quid habebis novi: ego, si quid moliti erimus, ad te statim scribam. Quintum filium severius adhibebo. Utinam proficere possim! Tu tamen eas epistolas, quibus asperius de eo scripsi, aliquando concerpito, ne quando quid emanet: ego item tuas.

CCCXCVIII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. X. 12, §§ 4-7).

CUMAE; MAY 6; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

De Servio, de misera condicione sua, de Caelio, de Hispaniis, tum de Caesare et de Q. filio.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

4. Servium exspecto nec ab eo quidquam *ὕγιες*. Scies, quidquid erit. Sine dubio errasse nos confitendum est. At semel? at una in re? Immo omnia, quo diligentius cogitata, eo facta sunt imprudentius.

Ἄλλὰ τὰ μὲν προτετύχθαι ἐάσομεν, ἀχνύμενοί περ,

in reliquis modo ne ruamus. Iubes enim de profectione mea

goes on to give, he cannot believe, 'however good the authority,' on the ground that 'we have not had any luck yet.'

commotum] 'that Cato struck by this devotion has set on foot a levy.'

3. *C. Marcellum*] Boot remarks that, as Cicero writes of this man *timidiorem, quem consulem fuisse paenitet* in Att. x. 15, 2 (401), we may infer that the person here mentioned is not the colleague of L. Lentulus in the consulship of the present year, but the C. Marcellus who was consul with L. Aemilius Paullus the year before, and who is mentioned in Pompey's letter, Att. viii. 12A, 4 (331).

eadem] that is escaping to join Pompey.

si quid habebis novi] sc. scribas.

adhibebo] 'I shall treat with severity,' like *accepi vehementer* above, Att. x. 7, 3 (388); cp. *adhiberi liberaliter*, Q. Fr. i. 1, 16 (30).

ne quando quid] = *aliquando aliquid*; cp. *si quid erit quod ad quos scribendum putes*, Att. xi. 13, 5 (428); *lepidum quid ne quo excidat*, Att. iv. 17 (18), 1 (149), and note there.

4. Ἄλλὰ τὰ μὲν] This is the verse (Il. xviii. 112) which Cicero often uses to express the sentiment 'let by-gones be by-gones,' or 'what is done cannot be undone.'

providere. Quid provideam? Ita patent omnia, quae accidere possunt, ut, ea si vitem, sedendum sit cum dedecore et dolore, si neglegam, periculum sit ne in manus incidam perditorum. Sed vide quantis in miseriis simus. Optandum interdum videtur, ut aliquam accipiamus ab istis quamvis acerbam iniuriam, ut tyranno in odio fuisse videamur. 5. Quod si nobis is cursus, quem sperarem, pateret, effecissem aliquid profecto, ut tu optas et hortaris, dignum nostra mora. Sed mirificae sunt custodiae, et quidem ille ipse Curio suspectus. Qua re vi aut clam agendum est et, si vi, † forte ne cum pestate: clam autem istis.† In quo si quod σφάλμα, vides quam turpe sit. Trahimur, nec fugiendum, si quid violentius. 6. De Caelio, saepe mecum agito, nec, si quid habuero tale, dimittam. Hispanias spero firmas esse. Massiliensium factum cum ipsum per se luculentum est, tum mihi argumento est recte esse in Hispaniis. Minus enim auderent, si aliter esset: et scirent, nam et vicini et diligentes sunt. Odium autem recte animadvertis significatum in theatro. Legiones etiam has, quas in Italia adsumpsit, alienissimas esse video. Sed tamen nihil inimicius quam sibi ipse. Illud recte times, ne ruat. Si desperarit, certe ruet. Quo magis efficiendum aliquid est, fortuna velim meliore, animo Caeliano. Sed primum quidque; quod quaecumque erit,

in manus perditorum] See on Att. x. 2, 2 (379).

5. *Qua re vi*] Cicero says he must venture on some overt act of opposition to Caesar or he must confine himself to secret co-operation with Pompey: these are the two alternatives. Such an overt act he frequently mentions in subsequent passages in such terms as *Caelianum aliquid*. The Caelius referred to cannot be his correspondent and friend, and has been supposed to be one Caelius who raised a force in Italy against Sulla, as we read in Plut. Pomp. 7. Cicero, in the words *Caelianum aliquid*, refers to some step now to be taken by him against Caesar like that of Caelius against Sulla. We have obelised the passage *forte . . . istis*. Many editors treat the words *clam autem istis* as sound, printing a mark of interrogation, and explaining them to mean 'but how could I elude those who are watching me?' But *clam* is always an adverb in Cicero, and even if it were a preposition it could not take the ablative. The words of Draeger's Hist. Synt. i. 665, § 304, are decided, 'bei Cicero existirt

clam als Präpos. nicht. Weiter kenne ich keine Beweisstelle für *clam* mit dem Ablativ. Vgl. Neue ii. 689.' For the attempts to correct the passage see Adn. Crit. It might possibly have run thus: *etsi vi fortunae est cum potestate, clam autem illius* 'if I am to proceed by overt act I must trust to fortune, together with my own power of making use of it, the other covert alternative depends on fortune alone,' literally, 'on the former,' *fortuna*, not *potestas*. For this sense of *potestas*, 'ability to make use of one's opportunities,' see L. S., *potestas*, iii. B. But on the whole it seems not improbable that we have here one of those instances of *aposiopesis* which are so common in the letters, and that the latter words should run, *clam autem*? *Di istos!* (sc. *perdant*); cp. Att. x. 15, 4 (401), *sed di istos!*

In quo] sc. *clam agendo*.

σφάλμα] 'faux pas, contretemps.'

Trahimur] 'I am carried away' by the course of events.

6. *et scirent*] 'and they would know, as they are near Spain, and careful observers.'

Sed primum quidque] 'But everything

continuo scies. 7. Nos iuveni, ut rogas, suppeditabimus et Peloponnesum ipsam sustinebimus. Est enim indoles, modo aliquid huic sit ἡθος †AKIMOAN. Quod si adhuc nullum est, esse tamen potest, aut ἀρετὴ non est διδακτόν: quod mihi persuaderi non potest.

CCCXCIX. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. X. 13).

CUMAE; MAY 7; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 59.

M. Cicero invitat Atticum ad litterarum commercium: de Antonio, tum de rebus suis, de exspectato Servii adventu, de Hispaniis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Epistola tua gratissima fuit meae Tulliae et mehercule mihi. Semper speculam aliquam adferunt tuae litterae. Scribes igitur ac, si quid ad spem poteris, ne dimiseris. Tu Antonii leones pertimescas cave. Nihil est illo homine iucundius. Attende πρᾶξιν πολιτικοῦ. Evocavit litteris e municipiis decem primos et IIII viros. Venerunt ad villam eius mane. Primum

in its turn; you shall have a description of every turn of the situation forthwith.'

7. *iuveni suppeditabimus*] 'I will do for young Quintus everything that is requisite.' He had said above, in Att. x. 5, 2 (374), that in asking him to undertake the control of Quintus, Atticus was putting on him a hard task, which he allusively (see note there) called Ἀρκαδίαν; he now says he 'will take on his shoulders the task however hard, even if it be not Arcadia, but the whole of Peloponnesus': perhaps Cicero wishes to convey a further allusion to another proverb often used by him, Σπάρταν ἔλαχες πάνταν κόσμει.

indoles] 'ability'; the word may be used without a qualifying adjective, as in *vidi statim indolem*, De Or. ii. 89; ad Brut. i. 18, 4: cp. *existimatio* = *bona existimatio* in Att. xvi. 16 c, 10, and *iudicium* = *bona opinio* in xi. 7, 3 (420).

modo aliquid huic sit] 'if he only had a character.' The Greek word is quite obscure. The guess which goes nearest to the letters is ἀγχιμολον. The idea which is required is 'possessed of prin-

ciple,' 'trustworthy.' Manutius (approved by Wesenberg) has suggested ἄκιμον (or ἀκέσιμον); Cobet ἀκίβδηλον. Qu. ἄκαμπτον. *Aliquid* is 'to some extent.'

1. *speculam*] 'a glimmer of hope.' This is Boot's conjecture for *secum*, and it seems very probable. The word is used by Cicero, Fam. ii. 16, 5 (394), and is also found in Plautus. It is quite rare enough to be a likely subject for corruption. None of the other suggestions seem probable except perhaps *securitatem*.

leones] We are told that at a later period of his career, after Pharsalia, Antony had a carriage drawn by lions (Plin. H. N. viii. 55; Plut. Ant. 9). Whether this is a fact or a fiction, the present passage shows that this practice on his part (or myth about him) was some years earlier in its origin.

iucundius] 'hearty, jovial.'

Attende πρᾶξιν πολιτικοῦ] 'you will recognise in this the *vrai air politique*.'

decem primos et IIII viros] The *decem*

dormiit ad H. III. Deinde, cum esset nuntiatum venisse Neapolitanos et Cumanos—his enim est Caesar iratus—, postridie redire iussit: lavari se velle et *περὶ κοιλιολυσίαν γίνεσθαι*. Hoc here effecit. Hodie autem in Aenariam transire constituit. Exsulibus reditum pollicetur. Sed haec omittamus, de nobis aliquid agamus. 2. A Q. Axio accepi litteras. De Tirone, gratum. Vettienum diligo. Vestorio reddidi. Servius pridie Nonas Maias Minturnis mansisse dicitur, hodie in Liternino mansurus apud C. Marcellum. Cras igitur nos mature videbit mihique dabit argumentum ad te epistolae. Iam enim non reperio quod tibi scribam. Illud admiror, quod Antonius ad me ne nuntium quidem, cum praesertim me valde observarit. Videlicet aliquid atrocius de me imperatum est: coram negare mihi non vult: quod ego nec rogaturus eram nec, si impetrassem, crediturus. Nos tamen aliquid excogitabimus. 3. Tu, quaeso, si quid in Hispaniis: iam enim poterit audiri, et omnes ita expectant, ut, si recte fuerit, nihil negotii futurum putent. Ego autem nec retentis iis confectam rem puto neque amissis desperatam. Silium et Ocellam et ceteros credo retardatos. Te quoque a Curtio impediri video; etsi, ut opinor, habes †EKITAONON.

primi were an executive committee of the provincial senate appointed for special purposes, especially embassies. They appear in all periods and in many Italian towns: cp. Rosc. Am. 25 and Marquardt i. 213, note 10; Mommsen, St. R. iii. 852, note. The *quattuorviri* were the principal magistrates in the *municipia*.

Aenariam] An island off the coast of Campania, also called Pithecusa, now Ischia.

Exsulibus] to some banished under the *lex Pompeia de ambitu*, 702 (52).

2. *crediturus*] 'I was not going to ask for permission to leave Italy, nor if I had

got it would I have believed in its sincerity.'

3. *retentis iis*] sc. *Hispaniis*.

retardatos] 'have been impeded by the Caesarians.'

a Curtio] This was probably a debtor whose failure to pay embarrassed Atticus.

†EKITAONON] For the various attempted emendations of this word see Adn. Crit. The idea required is 'although you have a passport (*diploma*)': cp. Att. x. 17, 4 (403); and Bosius interpreted *κέλητα ἄοκνον*, 'an active horse,' which he professed to have found in his Decurtatus, in this sense.

CCCC. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. X. 14).

CUMAE; MAY 8; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

De Servio, quem metu maxime perturbatum esse cognoverit ac paene desperatum.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. O vitam miseram! maiusque malum tam diu timere quam est illud ipsum, quod timetur! Servius, ut antea scripsi, cum venisset Nonis Maiis, postridie ad me venit. Ne diutius te teneam, nullius consilii exitum invenimus. Numquam vidi hominem perturbatiorem metu, neque hercule quidquam timebat quod non esset timendum: illum sibi iratum, hunc non amicum: horribilem utriusque victoriam, cum propter alterius crudelitatem, alterius audaciam, tum propter utriusque difficultatem pecuniariam, quae erui nusquam nisi ex privatorum bonis posset. Atque haec ita multis cum lacrimis loquebatur, ut ego mirarer eas tam diuturna miseria non exaruisse. Mihi quidem etiam lippitudo haec, propter quam non ipse ad te scribo, sine ulla lacrima est, sed saepius odiosa est propter vigilias. 2. Quam ob rem quidquid habes ad consolandum collige et illa scribe, non ex doctrina neque ex libris—nam id quidem domi est, sed nescio quo modo imbecillior est medicina quam morbus—, haec potius conquire, de Hispaniis, de Massilia: quae quidem satis bella Servius adfert: qui etiam de duabus legionibus luculentos auctores esse dicebat. Haec igitur si habebis et talia. Et quidem paucis diebus aliquid

1. *illum sibi iratum*] Cp. Att. viii. 11, 3 (342). *Illum* refers to Pompey, who would be angry with Servius Sulpicius for not leaving Italy to join him, and still more for sending his son to Caesar, as we read he did in Att. ix. 18, 2 (376); *hunc* designates Caesar, who was offended with the view taken by Sulpicius in the Senate on the question whether Caesar should oppose Pompey's lieutenants in Spain: cp. Fam. iv. 1, 1 (387).

alterius crudelitatem] sc. *Pompeii*.

erui] The subject of *erui posset* is *pecunia*, taken out of *pecuniariam*.

sine ulla lacrima] 'is not accompanied by any running, but is often disagreeable

by keeping me awake.' The sentence does not call for correction, but Madvig's *et per se odiosa est et propter vigilias* is a pretty conjecture.

2. *domi est*] 'I have a supply of': cp. *domo petes*, Fam. vii. 25; *domi habet*, Plaut. Mil. ii. 2, 39 (194), and note there.

quae . . . adfert] 'on which subject Sulpicius brings fairly good news'; *bella* is the secondary predicate, 'which things he announces as good.'

de duabus legionibus] Cp. *legiones . . . alienissimas esse video*, Att. x. 12 b, 3 (398).

Haec . . . talia] sc. *scribas*.

audiri necesse est. 3. Sed redeo ad Servium. Distulimus omnino sermonem in posterum, sed *est* tardus ad exeundum: 'multo se in suo lectulo malle, quidquid foret.' Odiosus scrupulus de filii militia Brundisina. Unum illud firmissime adseverabat, si damnati restituerentur, in exilium se iturum. Nos autem ad haec: et '*id* ipsum certo fore et, quae iam fierent, non esse leviora,' multaue colligebamus. Verum ea non animum eius augebant, sed timorem, ut iam celandus magis de nostro consilio quam ad idem * * videretur. Qua re in hoc non multum est. Nos a te admoniti de Caelio cogitabimus.

CCCCI. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. X. 15).

CUMAE; MAY 12; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero scribit Attico se eius litteras accepisse et de negotio Funisulani, dein de profectione sua, de Servii consilio, de Antonii excusatione, quod ad se non venerit, de rebus domesticis ac privatis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Servius cum esset apud me, Cephalio cum tuis litteris VI. Idus venit, quae nobis magnam spem attulerunt meliorum rerum, de octo cohortibus—etenim eae quoque, quae in his locis sunt, labare dicuntur:—eodem die Funisulanus a te attulit litteras, in quibus erat confirmatius idem illud. Ei de suo negotio respondi cumulate, cum omni tua gratia. Adhuc non satis faciebat, debet autem mihi multos nummos nec habetur locuples. Nunc ait se daturum, cui expensum tulerit morari, tabellariis, si apud te esset,

3. *in suo lectulo*] sc. *mori*.

filii militia Brundisina] See Att. ix. 18, 2 (376); 19, 2 (377).

colligebamus] 'brought together many other arguments for this view.'

ad idem] Some word like *adducendus* or *vocandus* must have dropped out.

in hoc] masculine: 'we can't expect much from him.'

de Caelio] This expression always refers to some overt act of hostility to Caesar. See Att. x. 16, 4 (402), when he tells how he received a deputation which proposed to put the town of Pom-

peii into his hands. If he had accepted their proposal he would have done *Caelianum aliquid*, but he suspected that the offer was a trap for him.

1. *de octo cohortibus*] which he hoped would desert from Caesar's army, as they had already shown signs of a wavering allegiance.

cum omni tua gratia] 'I gave him a full and satisfactory reply, taking care to let him thoroughly understand how kind you had been.'

Nunc ait . . . dares] 'now he says he

qua satis fecisset, dares. Quantum sit Eros Philotimi tibi dicet. 2. Sed ad maiora redeamus. Quod optas, Caelianum illud maturascit. Itaque torqueor utrum ventum expectem. Vexillo opus est: convolabunt. Quod suades, ut palam, prorsus adsentior, itaque me profecturum puto. Tuas tamen interim litteras expecto. Servii consilio nihil expeditur. Omnes captiones in omni sententia occurrunt. Unum C. Marcellum cognovi timidiorē, quem consulem fuisse paenitet. Ὡ πολλῆς ἀγεννείας! qui etiam Antonium confirmasse dicitur, ut me impediret, quo ipse, credo, honestius. 3. Antonius autem vi. Idus Capuam profectus est, ad me misit se pudore deterritum ad me non venisse, quod me sibi suscensere putaret. Ibitur igitur, et ita quidem, ut censes, nisi cuius gravioris personae suscipiendae spes erit ante oblata. Sed vix erit tam cito. Alienus autem praetor putabat aliquem, si ego non, ex collegis suis. Quivis licet, dum modo aliquis. 4. De

will pay me, but that a debtor of his was slow about settling his account with him [that he has desired that debtor to pay the money over to you, and] if you now have the money thus paid by the debtor, you are to send it by the letter-carriers to me.' The words enclosed between brackets explain the nature of the transaction, which is so briefly described as to be somewhat unintelligible. *Expensum ferre* sometimes means no more than 'to lend,' though it is generally 'to charge to the account of,' as in *expensum muneribus ferre*, 'to reckon as a present'; sometimes metaphorically as of the 'transference' of a legion as in Fam. viii. 4, 4 (206). The antecedent to *qua* is *pecunia* understood.

2. *ventum*] a wind favourable for sailing.

ut palam] Atticus seems to be now advising him to adopt an overt course of action. As other expressions in this and the next letters seem somewhat inconsistent with this view, it has been proposed to alter the word *palam*. Gronovius ingeniously sought to get the required meaning from *palam* by taking that word as the accusative of *pala*, 'the bevil of a ring,' and supposing Cicero to allude to the story of Gyges, who could make himself invisible by turning the bevil of his ring inwards. *Palam* thus understood, would, therefore, mean the same thing as *clam*. But Cicero would not have used a word naturally conveying the very

opposite meaning to *clam*, without some hint about the story which would explain it, unless indeed Atticus had written *Suadeo ut palam veritas*. We do not see anything inconsistent with the belief that *palam* has here its natural meaning of 'openly.'

itaque] 'and so (that is, openly), I think I will set out.'

captiones] a law term, meaning 'disadvantages.' We have it above in *mea captio est*, 'the loss is mine,' Att. v. 4, 4 (187), and it is common in the Digest. Tr., 'bars of every kind meet us in every course that is proposed.'

C. Marcellum] See on Att. x. 12, 3 (397).

ἀγεννείας] 'bassesse, meanness,' in urging Antony to prevent Cicero's departure, so that he might remain in Italy with a better grace' (*honestius*): sc. *in Italia maneret*.

3. *ad me misit*] 'he sent me a message that.' Cp. in the next letter, § 5, *misit puerum se ad me venire*; § 4, *ventum est ad me*.

Ibitur] cp. ἰτέον, Att. x. 6, 1 (386). *gravioris personae suscipiendae*] that is 'the rôle of peacemaker.'

Alienus] 'Alienus the praetor thought one of his colleagues would be sent to Caesar to treat for peace, if I were not.' Some such words as *missum iri* must be supplied.

Quivis licet, dum modo aliquis] 'let it

sorore, laudo. De Quinto puero, datur opera: spero esse meliora. De Quinto fratre, scito eum non mediocriter laborare de versura, sed adhuc nihil a L. Egnatio expressit. Axius de XII. milibus pudens. Saepe enim adscripsit, ut Gallio quantum is vellet darem. Quod si non scripsisset, possemne aliter? Et quidem saepe sum pollicitus, sed tantum voluit cito. Me vero adiuarent his in angustiis. Sed di istos! Verum alias. Te a quartana liberatum gaudeo itemque Piliam. Ego, dum panes et cetera in navem parantur, excurro in Pompeianum. Vettieno velim gratias, quod studiosus sit: si quemquam nactus eris qui perferat, litteras des ante quam discedimus.

CCCCII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. X. 16).

CUMAE; MAY 14; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

De Dionysio, de consilio suo proficiscendi, de Catone, de Cotta, de profectione in Pompeianum sua, de Hortensio, de valetudine Attici.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Commodum ad te dederam litteras de pluribus rebus cum ad me bene mane Dionysius [fuit], cui quidem ego non modo placabilem me praeuissem, sed totum remissem, si advenisset, qua mente tu ad me scripseras. Erat enim sic in tuis litteris,

be anyone at all, provided it is someone': cp. Publ. Syrus, 119, *Cuivis potest accidere quod cuquam potest*.

4. *de versura*] 'he is very anxious about raising money to pay the debt, but has not squeezed a farthing out of Egnatius yet.'

Axius] Axius is mentioned above, Att. x. 11, 2 (396), as being slow about paying a debt contracted by his son. He now seems to have asked for a further loan of about £100, requesting Cicero 'to give Gallius whatever he wants.' Hence it is inferred that Gallius was his son, and that he had been adopted by some one of that name, so that he would now be Gallius Axianus. Cicero feels bound to give the money, and asks 'could I have done otherwise even if he had not written?' But he feels the inconvenience of having to supply the money on such short notice.

Me adiuarent] 'it is they who ought

to help me—confound them.' *Di istos*, sc. *perdant*; see on Att. x. 12b, 2 (398).

Ego dum panes] 'while bread and other supplies are being put on board, I am taking a run down to my place in Pompeii.'

1. *fuit*] is bracketed by Wesenberg, Baiter, and others as spurious; *esse ad* for *esse apud* is defensible, but Cicero in sentences like this generally leaves the verb to be understood, and copyists often insert it wrongly.

totum remissem] 'I should have given him a full and free pardon.'

qua mente] sc. *ea mente qua*, 'if he had come in the spirit in which you said in your letter that he had come.'

Erat enim sic] 'this was your expression.' On the use of *erat*, see a good discussion in Stinner, p. 65. Cp. *ut apud Platonem est*, 'as Plato has it,' Off. i. 64.

quas Arpini acceperam, eum venturum facturumque quod ego vellem. Ego volebam autem vel cupiebam potius esse eum nobiscum. Quod quia plane, cum in Formianum venisset, praeciderat, asperius ad te de eo scribere solebam. At ille perpauca locutus hanc summam habuit orationis, ut sibi ignoscerem, se rebus suis impeditum nobiscum ire non posse. Pauca respondi, magnum accepi dolorem, intellexi fortunam ab eo nostram despectam esse. Quid quaeris? Fortasse miraberis: in maximis horum temporum doloribus hunc mihi scito esse. Velim ut tibi amicus sit. Hoc cum tibi opto, opto ut beatus sis: erit enim tam diu. 2. Consilium nostrum spero vacuum periculo fore. Nam et dissimulavimus et, ut opinor, *non* acerrime adservabimur: navigatio modo sit, qualem opto; cetera, quae quidem consilio provideri poterunt, cavebuntur. Tu, dum adsumus, non modo quae scieris audierisve, sed etiam quae futura providebis, scribas velim. 3. Cato, qui Siciliam tenere nullo negotio potuit et, si tenuisset, omnes boni ad eum se contuissent, Syracusis profectus est ante diem VIII. Kal. Mai., ut ad me Curio scripsit. Utinam, quod aiunt, Cotta Sardiniam teneat!

praeciderat] = *praecise negaverat*, 'he had given an unqualified refusal'; ἀποτόμως is exactly the same as *praecise*.

hanc summam habuit] 'this is the gist of what he said.'

fortunam] 'my position,' 'the state of my affairs.'

in maximis horum temp. dol.] 'that is one of the greatest of my present distresses.'

Hoc cum tibi opto] A very ingeniously expressed sentiment, 'I wish you his friendship; in doing so I wish you prosperity: the duration of the two will coincide.'

2. *dissimulavimus . . . adservabimur*] 'we have kept our departure a secret, and I fancy we shall not be watched very closely.' The word *dissimulavimus* at first sight seems inconsistent with the natural meaning of *palam* in the last letter, but he means that he has not yet taken the overt step of which he spoke in that letter. We have accepted Madvig's conjecture; *non* would easily have fallen out after *opinor*, and the word *adservare* could not mean 'to keep a look out,' as it should mean if we read *et acerrime*.

adservabimur] cp. *quibus adservor*, Att. x. 18, 1 (404); not *adservabimus*, for *ut opinor* shows that he is not speaking of what he will do himself.

dum adsumus] 'while I am still here at Cumae.'

3. *Cato qui potuit*] This is an unfair judgment on Cato, who characteristically refused to sacrifice lives in a hopeless attempt to hold Syracuse with a totally inadequate force. Sicily and Sardinia were very important provinces, and were essential to the design of starving out Italy, as they were the *provinciae frumentariae*. The Caesarean Q. Valerius had little difficulty in wresting Sardinia from Aurelius Cotta. Curio went from Sicily to Africa, and was slain after he had lost his whole army before Utica, which was relieved by Juba, King of Numidia. Cato had opposed the thanksgiving for Cicero's successes during his provincial government, and many see a certain malignity in Cicero's judgment on Cato here. But we must remember that we have the rest of Cato's life on which to form our verdict on his character. The abandonment of Sicily was a great blow to the Pompeian cause, and Cicero may not have seen that it was unavoidable.

et ad eum] = *ad quem*; this use of *parataxis* is more common in the letters than in the other works of Cicero.

Cotta] M. Aurelius Cotta, mentioned again Att. xii. 22, 2. He did not suc-

Est enim rumor. O, si id fuerit, turpem Catonem! 4. Ego, ut minuerem suspicionem profectionis aut cogitationis meae, profectus sum in Pompeianum a.d. IIII. Idus, ut ibi essem, dum quae ad navigandum opus essent pararentur. Cum ad villam venissem, ventum est ad me: 'centuriones trium cohortium, quae Pompeiis sunt, me velle postridie [convenire]'—haec mecum Ninnius noster—'velle eos mihi se et oppidum tradere.' At ego tibi postridie a villa ante lucem, ut me omnino illi ne viderent. Quid enim erat in tribus cohortibus? Quid, si plures? Quo apparatu?—cogitavi equidem illa Caeliana, quae legi in epistola tua, quam accepi, simul et in Cumanum veni, eodem die—et simul fieri poterat, ut temptaremur. Omnem igitur suspicionem sustuli. 5. Sed cum redeo, Hortensius venerat et ad Terentiam salutatum deverterat, sermone erat usus honorifico erga me. Tamen eum, ut puto, videbo: misit enim puerum se ad me venire. Hoc quidem melius quam collega noster Antonius, cuius inter lictores lectica mima portatur. 6. Tu, quoniam quartana cares, et *non modo* novum morbum removisti, sed etiam gravedinem, te vegetum nobis in Graecia siste et litterarum aliquid interea.

ceed in holding Sardinia, Caes. B. C. i. 30.

4. *ventum est ad me*] 'news arrived that,' 'it came to my knowledge that': see on last letter, § 3.

tibi] 'let me tell you,' 'I promise you,' 'lo and behold you,' 'between you and me,' the ethical dative.

a villa] It is strange that he should not say whither he was going, but, perhaps, it is his excessive caution. The ms reading is *ad villam*, and Boot would read *abii clam*.

Quid erat in] 'what did three cohorts amount to? And, even if more joined, what was our equipment? . . . and again it was possible that it was a trap for me.' A very characteristic passage showing the mental habit of one who was emphatically not a man of action.

cogitavi equidem] We have accepted Boot's conjecture of *equidem* for *eadem* which sets the whole passage right. He remarks that he did think of the 'Caelian feat' of which he had often written to Atticus, but it only comes in parenthetically in the middle of the recital of the difficulties and dangers which beset an active course. *Eadem* has really no meaning.

suspicionem sustuli] 'I avoided giving any handle whatever to any suspicion' that I thought of raising a force against Caesar.

5. *cum redeo*] sc. in Cumanum.

Tamen] '(though I missed him on that occasion,) yet I shall see him.'

misit enim puerum] 'he sent his servant (with a message) that he was coming to see me'; see on § 3 of last letter.

6. *non modo*] We have inserted these words which might easily have fallen out before *novum morbum*. The reading of M is *novum*, of other mss *nedum*. But *nedum* in the sense of 'not only,' though used by Balbus in Att. ix. 7 A 1 (351), could not be so used by Cicero. Besides the sense is against it if we do not add *novum*, for then *quartana* is opposed to *morbum*, as if the quartan ague were not a disease. The meaning is: 'since you have got rid of the ague and not only of your newly-incurred disease *δυσουπία*, but even of your cold (*gravedo*) you must turn up (render up yourself to me), well and hearty in Greece, and mind you write meantime.' *Sistere* is a law term 'to appear' in court, in answer to a summons, or to avoid the forfeiture of one's bail.

CCCCIII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. X. 17).

CUMAE ; MAY 16 ; A. U. C. 705 ; B. C. 49 ; AET. CIC. 57.

De Hortensii ad se adventu, de Serapionis adventu cum epistola Attici, de lippitudine sua et valetudine Attici, de Ocella, denique, quod de diplomate Attici suspicatus erat, se excusat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Pridie Idus Hortensius ad me venit scripta epistola. Vellem cetera eius. Quam in me incredibilem ἐκτένειαυ ! qua quidem cogito uti. Deinde Serapion cum epistola tua, quam prius quam aperuissem, dixi ei te ad me de eo scripsisse antea, ut feceras. Deinde, epistola stricta, cumulatissime cetera : et hercule

At this time Cicero was desirous of leaving Italy, but was not at all sure that his attempt to embark would not be resisted by Caesar. He reposed great hopes in the apparent cordiality of Hortensius, who held a command under Caesar; but we find from what he says in the next letter that his hopes were ill founded.

1. *Pridie Idus*] 'On the 14th of May Hortensius called on me just as I had finished my letter to you. I only hope the rest of his conduct towards me will be of a piece with his present demeanour. You would have hardly believed he could have gushed so. I mean to take advantage of it.' *Vellem cetera eius* is highly elliptical, but not more so than is characteristic of Cicero's epistolary style. The same sentiment is again expressed below. Cicero fears the amiability of Hortensius is too great to last. And so it proved. The Greek word corresponds to a slang expression with us. In the same way in the correspondence we find ἀμορφον, 'bad form'; ἐπίτηκτα, 'veneering'; ἐξοχή, 'a lead'; ὀξύπεινος, 'peckish'; ἐξακανθίζειν, 'to pick holes.' [*Vellem cetera = scripta essent*: 'I would rather he had confined himself entirely to writing.'—J. S. R.]

aperuissem] This is the reading of the mss, which many editors retain; '*foedo mendo*,' says Wesenberg, 'because Cicero never uses the subjunctive when one thing is simply said to have occurred before another.' True; but this passage does not say simply that Cicero before opening the letter told Serapion how kindly Atticus

had already written about him. No; 'prior to opening the letter,' and deliberately so, was Cicero's statement about Atticus. If he had waited till he had opened the letter which Serapion brought, the latter would not have believed that Atticus had already recommended him; so 'as a preliminary to opening' the letter of recommendation, Cicero told Serapion how kindly Atticus had already written and spoken. The subjunctive is quite requisite to express that thought. Then 'after skimming the letter,' says Cicero, 'I entered on the whole matter in the fullest detail,' telling Serapion all that Atticus had written in his praise.

stricta] The reading of the mss is *scripta*, which is clearly wrong. Most editors read *lecta*, which of course gives a very good sense; but why was it superseded by *scripta*? The corrupt word must have been some rare one which the copyists did not understand, and some word far more like *scripta* than *lecta* is. Such a word we have in *stricta*, which nowhere else is used in the sense of 'to skim,' or 'hastily read.' But *strictim attingere*, *legere*, *scribere*, &c., are common enough expressions, and *stringere cautes* is 'to graze the cliffs'; *stringere* is also 'to treat a subject concisely,' and *strictus* is 'concise.' These senses come so near to that ascribed to the word here that we think we are justified in supposing that Cicero in a familiar letter used the word in this sense, and that, being misunderstood by the copyists, it gave place to the very common word *scripta* of the mss. [*Stricta*.

hominem bonum et doctum et probum existimo: quin etiam navi eius me et ipso convectore usurum puto. 2. Crebro refricat lippitudo, non illa quidem perodiosa, sed tamen quae impediatur descriptionem meam. Valetudinem tuam iam confirmatam esse et a vetere morbo et a novis temptationibus gaudeo. 3. Ocellam vellem haberemus. Videntur enim esse haec paullo faciliora *futura*. Nunc quidem aequinoctium nos moratur, quod valde perturbatum erat. Inde si ἀκραὲς erit, utinam idem maneat Hortensius! si quidem, *ut* adhuc erat, liberalius esse nihil potest. 4. De diplomate admiraris, quasi nescio cuius te flagitii insimularim. Negas enim te reperire qui mihi id in mentem venerit. Ego autem, quia scripseras, te proficisci cogitare—etenim audieram nemini aliter licere—, eo te habere censebam, et quia pueris diploma sumpseras. Habes causam opinionis meae, et tamen velim scire quid cogites in primisque, si quid etiam nunc novi est. XVII. Kal. Iun.

I think this passage is one of many where confusion has been caused by the contraction *apta* for *aperta*, which I think to be the original reading.—J. S. R.]

quin . . . puto] ‘nay, even I think I will make use of his vessel and take him as my fellow-passenger.’ Cicero seems to have contemplated taking Serapion as a tutor for his boys, and as a successor to Dionysius.

2. *Crebro refricat*] ‘My sore eyes give me annoyance from time to time—no very great annoyance indeed, but enough to make writing inconvenient.’

3. *perturbatum*] ‘boisterous,’ ‘tempestuous.’

Inde si ἀκραὲς erit] ‘then if a brisk breeze for sailing springs up (and thus I am enabled to sail), I only pray that Hortensius may maintain his present amiability (and assist me); since so far nothing could be more courteous than his demeanour.’ It is possible, however, that there is a certain humorousness in the passage: ‘if the wind proves fair, I only hope the temper of Hortensius will be like it.’ The word ἀκραὲς is the conjecture of Bosius for *cras* of the mss. The very word for the wind that Cicero wanted is ἀκραῆς, which is always used in Homer for a ‘brisk, steady’ breeze, enabling a man to start on a voyage. Hitherto the wind was boisterous and squally, chopping and changing, all of which is implied in *perturbatum*. The very opposite kind of weather to that indicated by ἀκραῆς is a calm; and that was the weather which it

was his lot to meet: see next letter where he complains of the *mirificae tranquillitates*. He hoped to be enabled to sail by the connivance of Hortensius, who held a command under Caesar, and who might have made himself very disagreeable to Cicero, but who so far was all that could be desired. It turned out, however, that his ‘gush’ was all ‘humbug’ (*infantia*), as we read in the next letter. We have accepted *inde*, Dr. Reid’s correction of the ms reading *id*. One might say that the *aequinoctium* was *perturbatum*, but one could not call it ἀκραὲς, which could only be used of a wind. *Erit* is impersonal.

4. *diplomate*] This word generally refers (1) to a state letter of recommendation given to a person travelling in the provinces; (2) to a document drawn up by a magistrate, securing to the holder some favour or privilege, especially to soldiers. Here the reference seems to be to ‘a pass or passport’ which Caesar himself issued permitting persons to leave Italy, or to return to Rome from abroad: cp. Fam. vi. 12, 3 (490). Cicero seems to have said something implying that Atticus had procured such a passport, and Atticus seems to have resented this, as if Cicero had thought him capable of a crime. It seems Atticus had secured a passport for the young Ciceros, which led Cicero to suppose he would use one himself; moreover, Cicero was under the impression that such a document was indispensable for those who wished to leave Italy or to re-enter Rome.

CCCCIV. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. X. 18).

CUMAE; MAY 19; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

De partu Tulliae, de navigatione impedita adhuc, de custodiis, quibus adservetur; Attici epistolas exspectat, maxime si quid de Hispaniis, de Balbo, de misera condicione sua.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Tullia mea peperit XIII. Kal. Iun. puerum ἑπταμηνιαῖον. Quod ὑπόκησεν est quod gaudeam. Quod quidem est natum, perimbecillum est. Me mirificae tranquillitates adhuc tenuerunt atque maiori impedimento fuerunt quam custodiae, quibus adservor. Nam illa Hortensiana omnia fuere infantia. Ita fiet: homo nequissimus a Salvio liberto depravatus est. Itaque posthac non scribam ad te quid facturus sim, sed quid fecerim: omnes enim Κωρυκαῖοι videntur subauscultare quae loquor. 2. Tu tamen, si quid de Hispaniis sive quid aliud, perge quaeso scribere, nec meas litteras exspectaris, nisi cum quo opto pervenerimus aut si quid ex cursu, sed hoc quoque timide scribo: ita omnia tarda

1. ἑπταμηνιαῖον] 'a seven-months' child.' For this and ὑπόκησε cp. I², p. 67, note.

est quod gaudeam] 'I have reason to be glad.'

Quod natum] It is the habit of Cicero to use the neuter gender with reference not only to the unborn, but to the newly born, infant.

Nam illa Hortensiana] Cicero, in telling Atticus that he is under surveillance, adds that all his hopes founded on the amiability of Hortensius have been dissipated, 'all the gush of Hortensius turns out to be mere moonshine.' The word *infantia* is very probably corrupt; whether we take it as the nominative singular of the substantive or the nominative plural of the adjective it is not a suitable word. It ought to indicate, as it does elsewhere in the writings of Cicero, 'a want of eloquence,' 'incapability of expressing oneself,' but here it must bear the rarer meaning of 'folly,' 'drivelling.' The force of *nam* is this: 'the calms are a worse obstacle to me than the surveillance to which I am subjected; (I am under surveillance), for the gush of Hortensius turns out to be all nonsense.' Atticus might have judged from the previous letter of Cicero that the surveillance of Hortensius was a mere form, if Cicero had not here put him in possession

of the real facts of the case. [For *fuere infantia* I would read *fuerunt* (the other form is highly improbable in Cicero) *fatua*; if *fatua* were accidentally written *fantua*, *infantia* would result, like *temperantius* above for *temperatius*. A subject for *depravatus est* seems to have dropped out; probably the name of a letter-carrier who had allowed Salvius (freedman of Hortensius?) to open Cicero's letters and betray Cicero's designs to Hortensius. This supposition seems necessary to account for Cicero's resolve to say no more about his plans.—J. S. R.]

Ita fiet] 'so it will be found to be'; cp. *quiescet*, Juv. i. 126, and Mayor's note there. The most common example of this use of the future is *sic erit*, 'you will find it to be so,' which is frequent in the comic drama, so that we need not regard with suspicion a similar usage in the letters of Cicero. Cp. *inerunt*, 'there will be found to be in the purse,' Plaut. As. iii. 3, 144 (727); *conveniet*, 'you'll find it right, Ter. Phorm. i. 2, 3 (53).

Κωρυκαῖοι] A general term for 'spies,' 'eaves-droppers,' borrowed from the name of a seafaring folk who lived on the promontory of Corycus in Pamphylia, and earned a livelihood by gathering information for the pirates who infested the coasts of Asia Minor.

2. nec . . . cursu] 'do not count on

adhuc et spissa. Ut male posuimus initia, sic cetera sequuntur. Formias nunc sequimur, eodem nos fortasse Furiae persequentur. Ex Balbi autem sermone, quem tecum habuit, non probamus de Melita. Dubitas igitur quin nos in hostium numero habeat? Scripsi equidem Balbo te ad me et de benevolentia scripsisse et de suspicione. Egi gratias. De altero ei me purgavi. 3. Ecquem tu hominem infeliciorem? Non loquor plura, ne te quoque ex-cruciem. Ipse conficior venisse tempus cum iam nec fortiter nec prudenter quidquam facere possim.

CCCCV. CICERO TO TERENTIA (FAM. XIV. 7).

FORMIAE; JUNE 7; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 49; AET. CIC. 57.

M. Cicero sollicitudinem se deposuisse cum ipsa causa rei significat. Uxorem ad fortitudinem animi et ad valetudinis curam hortatur.

TULLIUS TERENTIAE SUAE S. P.

1. Omnes molestias et sollicitudines, quibus et te miserrimam habui, id quod mihi molestissimum est, et Tulliolam, quae nobis nostra vita dulcior est, deposui et eieci. Quid causae autem

any letters from me unless I reach my destination, or possibly get a chance of communicating with you from shipboard.'

tarda et spissa] 'everything so far goes so slowly and heavily.' *Spissa* contains a metaphor drawn from a heavy muddy road.

sequimur] 'Formiae is my present destination'; cp. Virg. Aen. iv. 361, *Italiam non sponte sequor*.

non probamus de Melita] 'to judge from your talk with Balbus, my project of going to Melita does not meet the views of Caesar'; literally, 'we do not approve, commend, to Caesar.'

Egi gratias. De altero] 'I thanked him (for his good will). As regards the other point (his suspicion that I was seeking an opportunity to join Pompey), I put myself right with him.' Cicero may have possibly written *de altero* twice, which would be a little clearer, but the text as it stands in the ms is quite accurate enough for the demands of the epistolary style.

3. *infeliciorem*] sc. *nosti, vidisti*.

conficior venisse] 'I am tortured (by the thought) that the time has come when I can no longer act either with boldness or discretion.' For the infinitive as oblique predicate with its subject in the

accusative, the whole expression forming the object after a verb, see Roby, ii. 1351, 1352. A good parallel example is Att. xi. 17, 1 (432), *incredibili sum dolore affectus tale ingenium in tam misera fortuna versari*.

1. *te miserrimam habui*] 'I kept you in a state of intense wretchedness,' cp. Flacc. 71, *Cur ergo unus tu Apollonidenses . . . miseriores habes quam aut Mithridates aut etiam pater tuus habuit unquam?* Hofmann quotes *mare infestum habere*, 'to make the sea dangerous,' Att. xvi. 1, 3; *sollicitum te habebat cogitatio*, Fam. vii. 3, 1 (464); *nihil aequae Tiberium anxium habebat*, Tac. Ann. ii. 65, 1; Plaut. Men. iv. 2, 19 (575); Tac. Ann. ii. 57, 1.

deposui et eieci] 'I got rid of and discharged'; *eicere* is technical in this sense, cp. Quintil. xi. 3, 27, *nam crudum quidem aut saturum aut ebrum aut eiecto modo vomitu . . . declamare neminem, qui mentis sit compos, puto*.

Quid causae fuerit] Most probably in this common phrase *causae* is the predicative dative, cp. Roby ii. p. xxxviii: but Madv. § 285 b, and Prof. Sonnenschein on Plaut. Rud. iii. 4, 53 (758) take it as a partitive genitive.

fuerit postridie intellexi, quam a vobis discessi. *Χολὴν ἄκρατον* noctu eieci : statim ita sum levatus, ut mihi deus aliquis medicinam fecisse videatur. Cui quidem tu deo, quem ad modum soles, pie et caste satis facies [id est Apollini et Aesculapio]. 2. Navem spero nos valde bonam habere : in eam simul atque conscendi, haec scripsi. Deinde conscribam ad nostros familiares multas epistolas, quibus te et Tulliolam nostram diligentissime commendabo. Cohortarer vos, quo animo fortiores essetis, nisi vos fortiores cognossem quam quemquam virum. Et tamen eius modi spero negotia esse, ut et vos istic commodissime sperem esse et me aliquando cum similibus nostri rem publicam defensuros. 3. Tu primum valetudinem tuam velim cures : deinde, si tibi videbitur, villis iis utere, quae longissime aberunt a militibus. Fundo Arpinati bene poteris uti cum familia urbana, si annona carior fuerit. Cicero bellissimus tibi salutem plurimam dicit. Etiam atque etiam vale. D. vii. Id. Iun.

Χολὴν ἄκρατον] lit. 'unmixed bile.' The physicians of antiquity made an extensive study of *χολή*, classifying its many kinds under such heads as *έρυθρά*, *μέλαινα*, *ξανθή*, *ύγρὰ*, &c., for which see Stephanus s. v. *χολή*. Here Cicero's complaint is possibly what Horace alludes to in Epod. 9, 35 (*fluentem nauseam*). *medicinam fecisse*] 'to have effected the cure.'

Cui quidem . . . satis facies] cp. vol. I², p. 40.

id est . . . Aesculapio] This is probably a gloss, though found in all mss.

2. *quo*] = *ut eo*, cp. Leg. ii. 65, *sublata etiam erat celebritas virorum ac mulierum quo lamentatio minueretur*; Ter. Heaut, i. 1, 75 (127), *pro se quisque sedulo faciebat quo illum mihi lenirent miseriam*. It appears to have *quoniam*, so that possibly we should read *quo iam*.

fortiores] Lehmann (p. 83) has shown that there is no reason to alter this the mss reading. He quotes *te tranquillorem esse animo*, Fam. iv. 5, 6 (572); *et animo et consilio paratum*, ii. 8, 2 (201); *alacres animo sumus* v. 12, 9 (109); *erectiorem esse animo*, Att. xi. 12, 4 (427); *quietus animo*, Tusc. iv. 37.

Et tamen] 'and (though I know well that you will be brave) yet.'

ut . . . sperem] 'to justify my hopes.'

commodissime . . . esse] For adverbs with *esse* in the sense of staying at a place cp. *Tu ipse cum Sexto etiam nunc*

mihi videris Romae recte esse posse, Att. vii. 17, 1 (315); *cui si esse in urbe tuto licebit vicinus*, Att. xiv. 20, 3: and see Stinner, p. 28.

me . . . cum similibus nostri . . . defensuros] This construction, according to which a singular substantive which has another substantive joined to it by *cum* is followed by a plural verb, is very rare in Cicero; there probably is only one other example, i.e. Phil. xii. 27, *Sulla cum Scipione . . . contulerunt*. It is not found in Caesar, but is fairly common in Sallust, Livy, and later writers: see Dräger, i. 178.

3. *utere*] Wesenberg says (Em. Alt. 49) 'Cicero post *videbitur* certe scripsisset *utitor* non *utere*: post *primum . . . velim cures* ne *utere* quidem aptum est. Ego: *utare* ut pendeat ex *velim*.' But the futures *videbitur* and *aberunt* on each side of the tense in question would seem to show that it should be taken as future.

si annona carior fuerit] 'if the price of food rises.'

Cicero bellissimus] For this peculiarity of epistolary style whereby the attribute is joined directly with the substantive, and is not put in apposition with any such word as (in this case) *puer*, cp. *mellito Cicerone*, Att. i. 18, 1 (24); *Lepta suavissimus ediscat Hesiodum et habeat in ore τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἰδρῶτα*, Fam. vi. 18, 5 (534). These passages are quoted by Stinner (p. 33) in the course of an excellent discussion on the question.

LETTERS OF THE TWENTY-FIRST YEAR OF CICERO'S
CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. CCCCVI.-CCCCXXII.

A. U. C. 706 ; B. C. 48 ; AET. CIC. 58.

COSS C. JULIUS CAESAR II. AND P. SERVILIUS VATIA ISauricus.

CICERO left Italy for the camp of Pompey on June 7th, 705 (49), and we have no letters from him during the next nine months. At the beginning of the year he received letters from Caelius and Dolabella, and wrote a few to Terentia and Atticus. They are mostly on domestic matters, and when he does touch on the condition of his party he is despondent. Then follows another long break in the correspondence, there being no letters until Cicero, after Pharsalia, returned about October to Brundisium. He stayed in that town for the rest of the year. His correspondents were still Atticus and Terentia. He was depressed, both from uncertainty as to the nature of Caesar's feelings towards him, and by reason of the treacherous conduct of Quintus and his son, who were endeavouring to injure him with Caesar. During the whole of this miserable sojourn at Brundisium Cicero never had the spirit to engage in any literary work.

CCCCVI. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XI. 1).

EPIRUS; JANUARY; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 48; AET. CIC. 58.

M. Cicero Attico res suas domesticas suscipiendas et tuendas commendat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Accepi a te signatum libellum, quem Anteros attulerat, ex quo nihil scire potui de nostris domesticis rebus: de quibus acerbissime adffictor, quod qui eas dispensavit neque adest istic neque ubi terrarum sit scio. Omnem autem spem habeo existimationis privatarumque rerum in tua erga me mihi perspectissima benevolentia, quam si his temporibus miseris et extremis praestiteris, haec pericula, quae mihi communia sunt cum ceteris, fortius feram: idque ut facias, te obtestor atque obsecro. 2. Ego in cistophoro in Asia habeo ad HS bis et viciens. Huius pecuniae permutatione fidem nostram facile tuebere, quam quidem ego nisi expeditam relinquere me putassem, credens ei, cui tu scis iam pridem minime *me* credere, commoratus essem paullisper nec domesticas res impeditas reliquissem: ob eamque causam serius ad te scribo, quod sero intellexi quid timendum esset. Te etiam atque etiam oro, ut me totum tuendum suscipias, ut, si ii salvi erunt, quibuscum sum, una cum iis possim incolumis esse salutemque meam benevolentiae tuae acceptam referre.

1. *signatum*] 'sealed,' not 'signed.' The practice of sealing among the Romans was merely for security. It was not, as with us, an element in the due execution of a document (Roby, *Classical Review*, vol. i., p. 69).

qui eas dispensavit] Philotimus.

existimationis] 'my credit.' Cp. *ut bonum nomen existimer*, Fam. v. 6, 2 (16). 'Credit' is more usually *fides*, as below,

§ 2.

2. *cistophoro*] An Asiatic coin, so called from the device stamped on it, the sacred *cista* of Dionysius half open, with a snake creeping out of it. The value of the *cistophorus* was probably about three *denarii*.

permutatione] 'by negotiating a bill of exchange to that amount.'

credens ei] sc. Philotimo.

CCCCVII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XI. 2).

EPIRUS; FEBRUARY 5; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 48; AET. CIC. 58.

De hereditate, quae ipsi obvenerit, de dote filiae, de pecunia sua Asiatica et aliis rebus domesticis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Litteras tuas accepi pridie Non. Febr. eoque ipso die ex testamento crevi hereditatem. Ex multis meis *et* miserrimis curis est una levata, si, ut scribis, ista hereditas fidem et famam meam tueri potest, quam quidem te intellego etiam sine hereditate tuis opibus defensurum fuisse. 2. De dote quod scribis, per omnes deos te obtestor, ut totam rem suscipias et illam miseram mea culpa et negligentia tueare meis opibus, si quae sunt, tuis, quibus tibi molestum non erit [facultatibus]; cui quidem deesse omnia, quod scribis, obsecro te, noli pati. In quos enim sumptus abeunt fructus praediorum? Iam illa HS LX., quae scribis, nemo mihi umquam dixit ex dote esse detracta: numquam enim essem passus. Sed haec minima est ex iis iniuriis, quas accepi: de quibus ad te dolore et lacrimis scribere prohibeor. 3. Ex ea pecunia, quae fuit in Asia, partem dimidiam fere exegi. Tutius videbatur fore ibi, ubi est, quam apud publicanos. Quod me hortaris, ut firmo sim animo, vellem posses aliquid adferre quam ob rem id facere possem. Sed si ad ceteras miseras accessit etiam id, quod mihi

1. *crevi*] *Cernere hereditatem* is 'to accept an inheritance formally,' whether in person or by letter; it is used metaphorically in Att. vi. 1, 10 (252), of feelings of affection, which the legatee ought to have inherited along with a property bequeathed to him.

fidem et famam] 'my credit and reputation.'

2. *De dote*] the second instalment of Tullia's marriage portion due to Dolabella on July 1.

facultatibus] This word is certainly spurious. The meaning is 'you must help the poor girl out of my money, if I have any, [if not], out of your own so far as you can do it without inconvenience.'

The construction is *obtestor ut illam miseram tueare meis opibus si quae sunt, tuis* (opibus) *quibus tibi molestum non erit* (tueri illam).

In quos sumptus] 'on what are the rents of my farms spent?'

HS LX.] about 500 guineas, which Terentia had managed to hold back out of the first instalment.

3. *ibi ubi est*] sc. *apud Egnatium*, as we learn from Att. xi. 3, 3 (411). This Egnatius was not the same person as the Egnatius mentioned in Att. x. 15, 4 (401), as being in Cicero's debt.

id facere] sc. *firmiter esse animo*; for this use of *facere* in taking the place of a foregoing verb see L. S. ii. E.

Chrysippus dixit parari—tu nihil significasti—de domo, quis me miserior uno iam fuit? Oro, obsecro, ignosce: non possum plura scribere. Quanto maerore urguear profecto vides. Quod si mihi commune cum ceteris esset, qui videntur in eadem causa esse, minor mea culpa videretur et eo tolerabilior esset: nunc nihil est quod consoletur, nisi quid tu efficis, si modo etiam nunc effici potest, ut ne qua singulari adficiar calamitate et iniuria. 4. Tardius ad te remisi tabellarium, quod potestas mittendi non fuit. A tuis et nummorum accepi HS LXX. et vestimentorum quod opus fuit. Quibus tibi videbitur velim des litteras meo nomine. Nosti meos familiares. Si signum requirent aut manum, dicas velim me propter custodias ea vitasse.

CCCCVIII. CAELIUS TO CICERO (FAM. VIII. 17).

ROME; MARCH; A. U. C. 706; B. C. 48; AET. CIC. 58.

Queritur M. Caelius se Curionis amore et odio App. Claudii in eas partes vocatum esse, unde nunc multa incommoda sibi nascentur. A Caesare enim cum Romae praetor relictus esset, ait se rebus urbanis Trebonio mandatis multa sibi mala invidia et aemulatione contraxisse et consilii sui se iam paene paenitere.

CAELIUS CICERONI S.

1. Ergo me potius in Hispania fuisse tum quam Formiis, cum tu profectus es ad Pompeium! Quod utinam aut Appius Claudius in *hac parte fuisset aut in ista parte C. Curio*, quodius amicitia me paullatim in hanc perditam causam imposuit; nam mihi sentio bonam mentem iracundia et amore ablatam. Tu porro, cum ad te proficiscens Arpino noctu venissem, dum mihi pacis man-

de domo] Chrysippus had told Cicero that it was contemplated to confiscate his house on the Palatine.

quis me miserior uno iam fuit] 'who was more wretched than I am of all men in the world.'

4. *potestas*] 'an opportunity.'

HS LXX.] nearly £600. The clothing was, no doubt, for his household.

On this letter see vol. iii. Introd., pp. lvi. ff.

1. *Ergo*] 'To think that'; cp. Hor. Sat. ii. 5, 101, *Ergo nunc Dama sodalis Nusquam est*: Carm. i. 24, 5.

Quod utinam] cp. Fam. xiv. 4, 1 (62); *quod* is connexive, as in *quod si*, 'but if.'

aut Appius Claudius in hac parte fuisset aut in ista parte C. Curio] The words in italics in the text are not found in the mss. The addition in this exact form is due to Klotz: the old editors read *aut non in ista parte Appius Claudius aut non in hac C. Curio fuisset*; but this will not account so well for the corruption.

iracundia et amore] sc. anger with Appius Claudius, affection for Curio.

Arpino] The mss read *Arimini*: but there can be no allusion to Ariminum here. Cicero was not in North Italy at

data das ad Caesarem et mirificum civem agis, amici officium neglexisti neque mihi consuluisti. Neque haec dico, quod diffidam huic causae, sed, crede mihi, perire satius est quam hos videre. 2. Quod si timor vestrae crudelitatis non esset, eiecti iam pridem hinc essemus. Nam hic nunc praeter feneratores paucos nec homo nec ordo quisquam est nisi Pompeianus. Equidem iam effeci, ut maxime plebs et, qui antea noster fuit, populus vester esset. Cur hoc, inquis? Immo reliqua expectate: vos invitos vincere coëgero. † Arruntanum me Catonem. Vos dormitis, nec haec adhuc mihi videmini intellegere, qua nos pateamus et qua simus imbecilli. Atque hoc nullius praemii spe faciam, sed quod apud me plurimum solet valere, doloris atque indignitatis causa. Quid istic facitis? Proelium expectatis, quod firmissimum† haec? Vestras copias non novi: nostri valde depugnare et facile algere et esurire consuerunt.

all at the time to which Caelius must be alluding, viz. early in 705 (49), just after, or possibly just before, the outbreak of the civil war. Grotefrend suggests *Arpino*, which we have adopted.

mirificum civem agis] 'playing the admirable citizen.' This use of *agere* is a feature of Caelius' style; cp. *Fam. viii. 2, 2* (196); cp. *9, 1* (211); and he is the earliest writer we know who adopts it. It is also found in *Liv. xlv. 25, 2, lenem mitemque senatorem egit*, and occasionally also in post-classical writers, e.g. *Suet. Claud. 29*: cp. *Schmalz, Antibarbari, i. 119 ff.*

hos] the Caesarians at Rome, and perhaps especially Trebonius.

2. *vestrae crudelitatis*] The violent threatenings of the Pompeian party tended in no small degree to keep the Italians from opposing Caesar: cp. *Att. viii. 11, 4* (342): *16, 2* (352).

feneratores] Caesar won the favour of the capitalists by not abolishing debts. That he refrained from doing so was a sore point with the deeply-involved Caelius.

plebs, populus] 'the lower orders,' 'the mass of the citizens.'

† *Arruntanum me Catonem*] Orelli and Btr. suggest *Geram alterum me Catonem*, 'I mean to pose as a Cato,' which is rather far from the mss. The corrupt word looks as if it were a deponent ending in *-amini*, e.g. *aversamini*. Were it not that Caelius hardly ever uses Greek

words, we might conjecture the clause to be a question beginning with *ἀρα*, e.g. *ἀρα μανθάνεις*.

qua nos pateamus et qua simus imbecilli] 'our exposed and our weak points.' Cratander followed by Baiter reads *quam* . . . *quam*; but there is no necessity to alter the mss. Some editors alter *haec* to *hoc*; but there are *two* points of which Caelius says the Pompeians are ignorant, the exposed positions and the weak spots of the Caesarians.

quod] *Madv. 315 b* notices that the neuter relative referring to the entire contents of a proposition is usually inserted before the predicate to which it refers.

indignitatis] 'sense of wrong'; cp. *Att. x. 8, 3* (392), *Tanta esse poterit indignitas nostra?*: *Liv. v. 45, 6, indignitas atque ex ea ira animos cepit*.

quod firmissimum† haec] The usual reading adopted for the corrupt *haec* is Orelli's conjecture *habet*, 'on which Caesar rests quite assured.' Watson quotes *Att. ii. 19, 4* (46), *Videor mihi nostrum illum consularem exercitum . . . habere firmissimum*, 'to place full reliance on that force.' Possibly we should read *huic*, 'on which he (Caesar) can rely for certain'; or *hac*, 'on this side.' The opposition between 'on your side' and 'on our side' runs all through this letter.

nostri] Caelius has alluded before to the powers of endurance possessed by Caesar's forces, *Fam. viii. 15, 1* (344). Schütz says that the concluding sentence

CCCCIX. DOLABELLA TO CICERO (FAM. IX. 9).

CAESAR'S CAMP IN EPIRUS; MAY; A. U. C. 706; B. C. 48; AET. CIC. 58.

Dolabella socero suo suadet, ut aut cum Caesare se coniungat aut certe in otium se referat.

DOLABELLA S. D. CICERONI.

1. S. V. G. V. et Tullia nostra recte V. Terentia minus belle habuit, sed certum scio iam convaluisse eam. Praeterea rectissime sunt apud te omnia. Etsi nullo tempore in suspicionem tibi debui venire partium causa potius quam tua tibi suadere, ut te aut cum Caesare nobiscumque coniungeres aut certe in otium referres, praecipue nunc iam inclinata victoria, ne possum quidem in ullam aliam incidere opinionem nisi in eam, qua scilicet tibi suadere videar, quod pie tacere non possim. Tu autem, mi

of the letter shows that Caelius thought the wisest course Pompey could adopt would be to return to Italy instead of fighting a pitched battle in Greece; and perhaps Caelius was right. Among the courses open to Pompey when he escaped from Caesar's lines at *Dyrrhachium*, according to Mommsen (R. H. 410) one was that he 'might leave Caesar himself and his best troops in Greece, and might cross in person, as he had long been making preparations for doing, with the main army to Italy, where the feeling was decidedly anti-monarchical, and the forces of Caesar, after the despatch of their best troops and their brave and trustworthy commandant (M. Antonius) to the Greek army, would not be of very much moment.'

For Dolabella, see Introduction.

1. S. V. G. . . . V.] = *Si vales gaudeo: valeo, et Tullia nostra recte valet.*

minus belle habuit] 'was not very well.' Watson refers to Att. xii. 37, 1, *Piliam et Atticam plane belle se habere.*

certum scio] 'I know for certain,' cp. Sull. 38, *se nescire certum*: the adjective is used as a substantive. Reid compares Sull. 39, *falsum dicere*, and Att. viii. 11 D, 2 (343), *dum certum nobis referretur*: and Att. ix. 9, 4 (364) *cum certum habebo*. At this time Cicero was in the camp of Pompey, which was blockaded by

Caesar (§ 2 *circumvallato nunc denique*). Hofmann fixes the date of this letter approximately from the fact that Caesar says at the time of the blockade the corn was beginning to ripen (Bell. Civ. iii. 49, 1). Watson notices that Dolabella would have later news of Cicero's family than Cicero himself, as Italy was held by Caesar's friends.

in otium referres] 'retire to a life of leisure.'

iam inclinata victoria] 'and especially, now that victory is settling to our side.' When a neutral term like *fortuna* or *res* is used with *inclinare*, the latter usually means going *against* the person who is principally referred to: cp. Caes. Bell. Civ. i. 52, 3, *ac se fortuna inclinaverat ut nostri magna inopia necessariorum rerum conflictarentur*: Fam. i. 1, 3 (95) *Laboratur vehementer: inclinata res est*, 'the matter is going against us.'

ne possum quidem . . . possim] 'now too no other interpretation can be put on my conduct than one like this, namely, a general impression that I am persuading you to that course which I cannot as your son omit to urge': *ne . . . quidem*, very often = οὐδὲ, 'not . . . either,' 'neither,' rather than, 'not even,' Reid on Acad. i. 5, Arch. 2. We have omitted *in* before *qua* with Wesenberg: *videar* is the generic subjunctive.

Cicero, sic haec accipies, ut, sive probabuntur tibi sive non probabuntur, ab optimo certe animo ac deditissimo tibi et cogitata et scripta esse iudices. 2. Animadvertis Cn. Pompeium nec nominis sui nec rerum gestarum gloria neque etiam regum ac nationum clientelis, quas ostentare crebro solebat, esse tutum, et hoc etiam, quod infimo cuique contigit, illi non posse contingere, ut honeste effugere possit, pulso Italia, amissis Hispaniis, capto exercitu veterano, circumvallato nunc denique: quod nescio an ulli umquam nostro acciderit imperatori. Quam ob rem quid aut ille sperare possit aut tu, animum adverte pro tua prudentia: sic enim facillime quod tibi utilissimum erit consilii capies. Illud autem a te peto, ut, si iam ille evitaverit hoc periculum et se abdiderit in classem, tu tuis rebus consulas et aliquando tibi potius quam cuivis sis amicus. Satis factum est iam a te vel officio vel familiaritati, satis factum etiam partibus et ei rei publicae, quam tu probabas. 3. Reliquum est *ut*, ubi nunc est res publica, ibi simus potius quam, dum illam veterem sequamur, simus in nulla. Qua re velim, mi iucundissime Cicero, si forte Pompeius pulsus his quoque locis rursus alias regiones petere cogatur, ut tu te vel Athenas vel in quamvis quietam recipias civitatem. Quod si eris factururus, velim mihi scribas, ut ego, si ullo modo potero, ad te advolem. Quaecumque de tua dignitate ab imperatore erunt impetranda qua est humanitate Caesar, facillimum erit ab eo tibi ipsi impetrare, et meas tamen preces apud eum non minimum auctoritatis habituras puto. Erit tuae quoque fidei et humani-

ab optimo animo] 'with the very best intentions and entire devotion to your interests.' The *ab* seems superfluous; it is like the *ab* which Livy so often uses meaning 'out of,' e. g. vii. 10, 5, *Gallum . . . linguam ab irrisu . . . exerentem*, and Weissenborn on iii. 15, 7.

2. *circumvallato nunc denique*] dat., not abl. abs. This letter shows how fully convinced the Caesarians were that Pompey's case was now hopeless, or at any rate that his only hope was escape by sea, which he still commanded. Yet this circumvallation of Pompey was one of the few military undertakings of Caesar which were complete failures. 'Caesar was entirely beaten, not merely in tactics but also in strategy' (Mommsen, R. H. iv. 410).

aliquando tibi potius quam cuivis sis

amicus] 'and sometime or other be a friend to yourself, and not to this, that, or the other person.' The advice was perhaps sensible: it is certainly good evidence of the unselfish nature of Cicero.

Satis factum est . . . probabas] 'You have by this fulfilled all obligations whether to conscience or to friendship you have fulfilled all obligations likewise to your party, and to that system of government of which you approve.'

3. *et meas tamen preces*] 'and in any case I think that my prayers, &c.' For *et tamen* = 'be that as it may,' cp. Fam. xiv. 7, 2 (405).

Erit tuae quoque fidei et humanitatis] 'it will be incumbent on your honour and good-feeling to see': *quoque* = 'on your part' as a return for my services, as Watson says.

tatis curare, ut is tabellarius, quem ad te misi, reverti possit ad me et a te mihi litteras referat.

CCCCX. CICERO TO TERENTIA (FAM. XIV. 8).

CAMP OF POMPEY ; JUNE 2 ; A. U. C. 706 ; B. C. 48 ; AET. CIC. 58.

M. Cicero Terentiam hortatur, ut valetudinem curet et, si quod novi, pergat scribere.

TULLIUS TERENTIAE SUAE S.

Si vales bene est ego valeo. Valetudinem tuam velim cures diligentissime. Nam mihi et scriptum et nuntiatum est te in febrim subito incidisse. Quod celeriter me fecisti de Caesaris litteris certiores, fecisti mihi gratum. Item posthac, si quid opus erit, si quid acciderit novi, facies ut sciam. Cura ut valeas. Vale. D. IIII. Nonas Iun.

CCCCXI. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XI. 3).

CAMP OF POMPEY ; JUNE 13 ; A. U. C. 706 ; B. C. 48 ; AET. CIC. 58.

M. Cicero de re familiari sua has ad Atticum litteras misit ex castris Cn. Pompeii.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Quid hic agatur scire poteris ex eo, qui litteras attulit : quem diutius tenui, quia cotidie aliquid novi expectabamus, neque nunc mittendi tamen ulla causa fuit praeter eam, de qua tibi rescribi voluisti, quod ad Kal. Quinct. pertinet, quid vellem.

febrim] Terentia's illness is alluded to by Dolabella, Fam. ix. 9, 1 (409).

Caesaris litteris] These were official letters sent by Caesar to Rome.

facies] polite future, 'you will kindly let me know.'

D.] = *Data*, 'despatched.'

1. *hic*] the camp of Pompey near Dyrrhachium.

quod ad Kal. Quinct. pertinet] 'the

point on which you wanted an answer, namely, what were my intentions as regards that 1st of July,' on which day Cicero must make up his mind either to pay the second instalment of the marriage portion to Dolabella, or to set on foot proceedings for a divorce. Both alternatives were formidable; the risk of losing the money if Dolabella should have to be divorced after all, and the risk of breaking with Caesar in breaking with Dolabella while the issue of events was still doubtful.

Utrumque grave est, et tam gravi tempore periculum tantae pecuniae, et dubio rerum exitu ista, quam scribis, abruptio. Quare, ut alia, sic hoc vel maxime tuae curae benevolentiaeque permitto et illius consilio et voluntati, cui miserae consulissem melius, si tecum olim coram potius quam per litteras de salute nostra fortunisque deliberavissem. 2. Quod negas praecipuum mihi ullum *in communibus* incommodis impendere, etsi ista res *non* nihil habet consolationis, tamen etiam praecipua multa sunt, quae tu profecto vides et gravissima esse et me facillime vitare potuisse: ea tamen erunt minora, si, *ut* adhuc factum est, administratione diligentia tua levabuntur. 3. Pecunia apud Egnatium est. Sit a me, ut est. Neque enim hoc, quod agitur, videtur diuturnum esse posse, ut scire iam possim quid maxime opus sit: etsi egeo rebus omnibus, quod is quoque in angustiis est, quicum sumus, cui magnam dedimus pecuniam mutuam, opinantes nobis constitutis rebus eam rem etiam honori fore. Tu, ut antea fecisti, velim, si qui erunt ad quos aliquid scribendum a me existimes, ipse conficias. Tuis salutem dic. Cura ut valeas. In primis id, quod scribis, omnibus rebus cura et provide, ne quid ei desit, de qua scis me miserrimum esse. Idibus Iuniis ex castris.

de salute nostra fortunisque] 'in a matter concerning my position and my fortune,' both of which he might lose now by offending Dolabella.

2. *in communibus*] Lehmann inserts these words, the mss giving *incommodis*, not *incommodum*. For *communis* opposed to *praecipuus* see Att. xi. 14, 1 (429); Fam. iv. 3, 1 (494).

administratione diligentia] For the asyndeton see on *pipulo convicio*, Q. Fr. ii. 10, 1 (133), and Lehmann, pp. 25, 26.

3. *Sit a me, ut est*] 'let it remain, as far as I am concerned, as it is' in the hands of Egnatius. *A* is similarly used, meaning 'as regards whom' in a quo

mihi exploratum est, Fam. v. 20, 1 (302).

ut scire] 'so that I shall soon know' when the present crisis has declared itself, and things cannot long remain in their present state.

is quicum sumus] sc. *Pompeius*.

constitutis rebus] 'when things settle down.' Cicero thought then that whoever was victor his generosity now to Pompey would tell in his favour, and all that we know of Caesar leads us to think that he was right in that forecast. It is unfair to Cicero to interpret these words as meaning 'in the event of Pompey's success.'

ei] sc. *Tulliae*.

CCCCXII. CICERO TO TERENTIA (FAM. XIV. 21).

CAMP OF POMPEY; JUNE (?); A. U. C. 706; B. C. 48; AET. CIC. 58.

M. Cicero uxorem res suas administrare et de iis rebus litteras ad se mittere iubet.

TULLIUS TERENTIAE SUAE S. D.

S. V. B. E. V. Da operam ut convalescas; quod opus erit, ut res tempusque postulat, provideas atque administres et ad me de omnibus rebus quam saepissime litteras mittas. Vale.

CCCCXIII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XI. 4).

CAMP OF POMPEY; JULY; A. U. C. 706; B. C. 48; AET. CIC. 58.

M. Cicero de rebus privatis et familiaribus ex Pompeii castris scribit et una significat sibi quae eo loco gerantur minime placere.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Accepi ab Isidoro litteras et postea datas binas. Ex proximis cognovi praedia non venisse. Videbis ergo ut sustentetur per te. De Frusinati, si modo fruituri sumus, erit mihi res opportuna. Meas litteras quod requiris, impediō inopia rerum, quas nullas habeo litteris dignas, quippe cui nec quae accidunt nec quae aguntur ullo modo probentur. Utinam coram tecum olim potius quam per epistolas! Hic tua, ut possum, tueor apud hos: cetera Celer. Ipse fugi adhuc omne munus, eo magis, quod ita nihil poterat agi, ut mihi et meis rebus aptum esset. 2. Quid sit

convalescas] referring to the fever, cp. Fam. xiv. 8 (410). This very hasty letter would run a little more smoothly if we read *quodque opus erit*.

1. *proximis*] 'the last received told me that the farms had not been sold'; these were the farms to the rents of which he was trusting for Tullia's support.

ut sustentetur] sc. *Tullia*.

fruituri] We have accepted the excellent conjecture of Lehmann for *futuri*, which could not mean 'if I am to exist at

all'; at least Cicero would not have expressed that sentiment in that way; for *frui*, 'to enjoy' a purchase, see Att. ix. 13, 6 (369); for the future participle see Tusc. iii. 38. In Fam. v. 21, 5 (458), M gives *fuere* for *fruere*. For this property at Frusino see Att. xi. 13, 4 (428).

tua . . . apud hos] 'I protect your interests with these supporters of Pompey here' by preventing them from seizing Atticus' property.

cetera Celer] sc. *tuebitur*. Q. Pilius Celer was father-in-law of Atticus.

gestum novi quaeris : ex Isidoro scire poteris : reliqua non videntur esse difficiliora. Tu id velim, quod scis me maxime velle, cures, ut scribis, ut facis. Me conficit sollicitudo, ex qua etiam summa infirmitas corporis : qua levata ero una cum eo, qui negotium gerit estque in spe magna. Brutus amicus : in causa versatur acriter. Hactenus fuit quod caute a me scribi posset. Vale. De pensione altera, oro te, omni cura considera quid faciendum sit, ut scripsi iis litteris, quas Pollex tulit.

CCCCXIV. CICERO TO HIS FAMILY (FAM. XIV. 6).

CAMP OF POMPEY ; JULY 15 ; A. U. C. 706 ; B. C. 48 ; AET. CIC. 58.

M. Cicero excusat infrequentiam litterarum, Terentiae in Tulliam officia laudat, Pollicem expectat.

TULLIUS SUI S. D.

Nec saepe est cui litteras demus nec rem habemus ullam quam scribere velimus. Ex tuis litteris, quas proxime accepi, cognovi praedium nullum venire potuisse. Qua re videatis velim, quo modo satis fiat ei, cui scitis me satis fieri velle. Quod nostra tibi gratias agit, id ego non miror te mereri, ut ea tibi merito tuo gratias agere possit. Pollicem, si adhuc non est profectus, quam primum fac extrudas. Cura ut valeas. Idibus Quinctilibus.

2. *reliqua*] 'it is thought that the rest of Pompey's task will be no harder'; the reference is to the defeat sustained by Caesar near Dyrrhachium, which he himself owns, B. C. iii. 66-72. The letter must have been resumed here after a considerable interval.

ut facis] sc. *curas*; 'which you do, according to what you tell me in your letters'; we should have expected *quod, ut scribis, facis*.

qua levata] *infirmitas levata est* and *infirmitate levatus sum* are both possible constructions.

cum eo qui negotium gerit] 'with him (Pompey) who is very busy.'

Brutus amicus] 'Brutus is friendly, and is working hard for the cause.' The punctuation in the text is required, for *Brutus amicus* is not Ciceronian Latin for 'my friend Brutus.' But very probably we should read *amicus tuus*. Cicero constantly speaks of Brutus as Atticus's

friend: see Att. vi. *passim*, and especially 1, 25 (252).

Hactenus fuit quod] 'this is all I can write.' *Fuit* and *posset* are epistolary tenses.

Following Baiter and Wesenberg, we have added to the superscription TULLIUS. The mss have only SUI S. D. The letter is really a letter to Terentia.

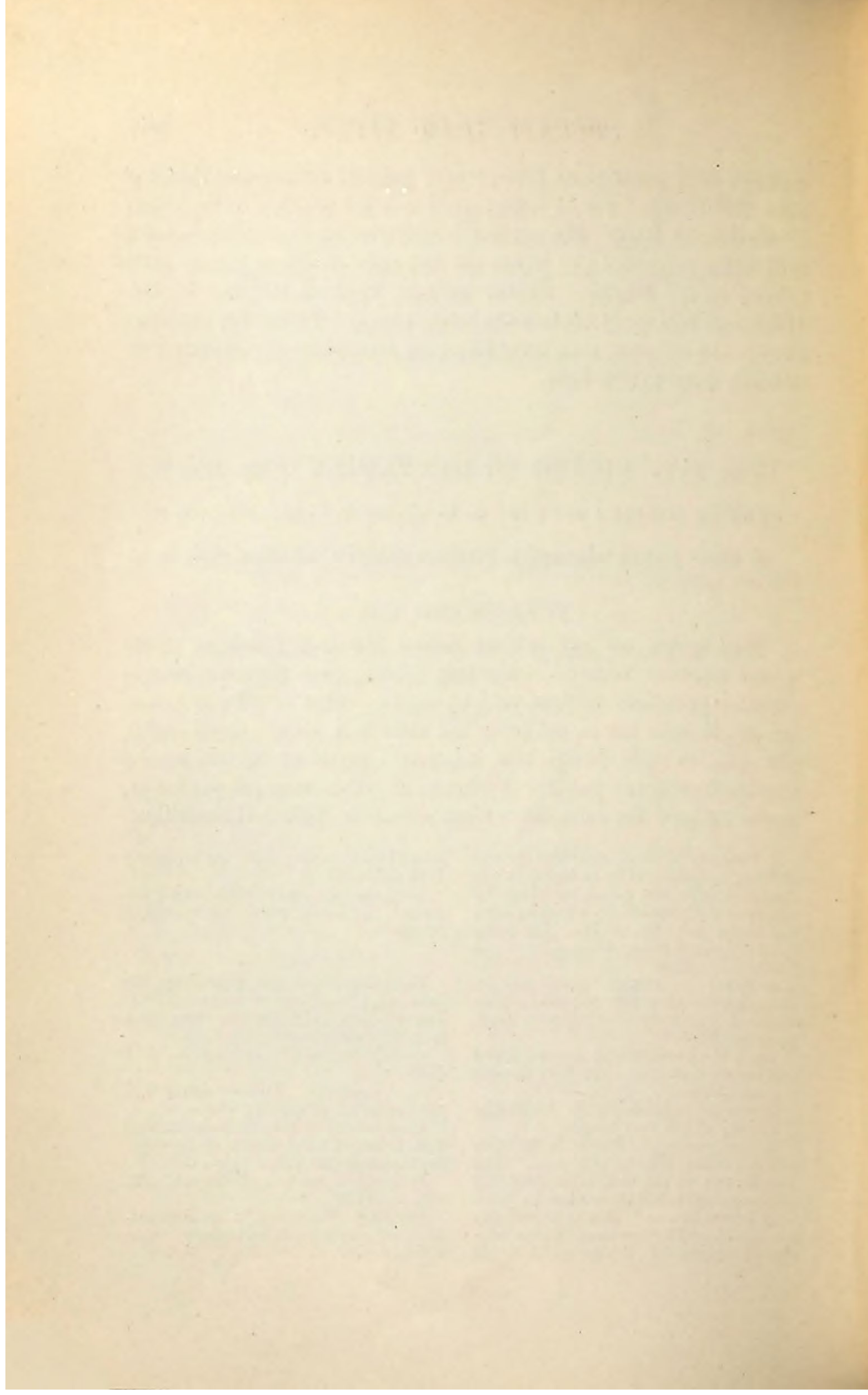
venire] 'be sold'; cp. Att. xi. 4, 1 (413).

ei] Dolabella. Tullia's dowry had not yet been fully paid by Cicero.

Quod nostra] 'As to Tullia's thanking you, I do not wonder at your deserving her thanks for all your services to her.'

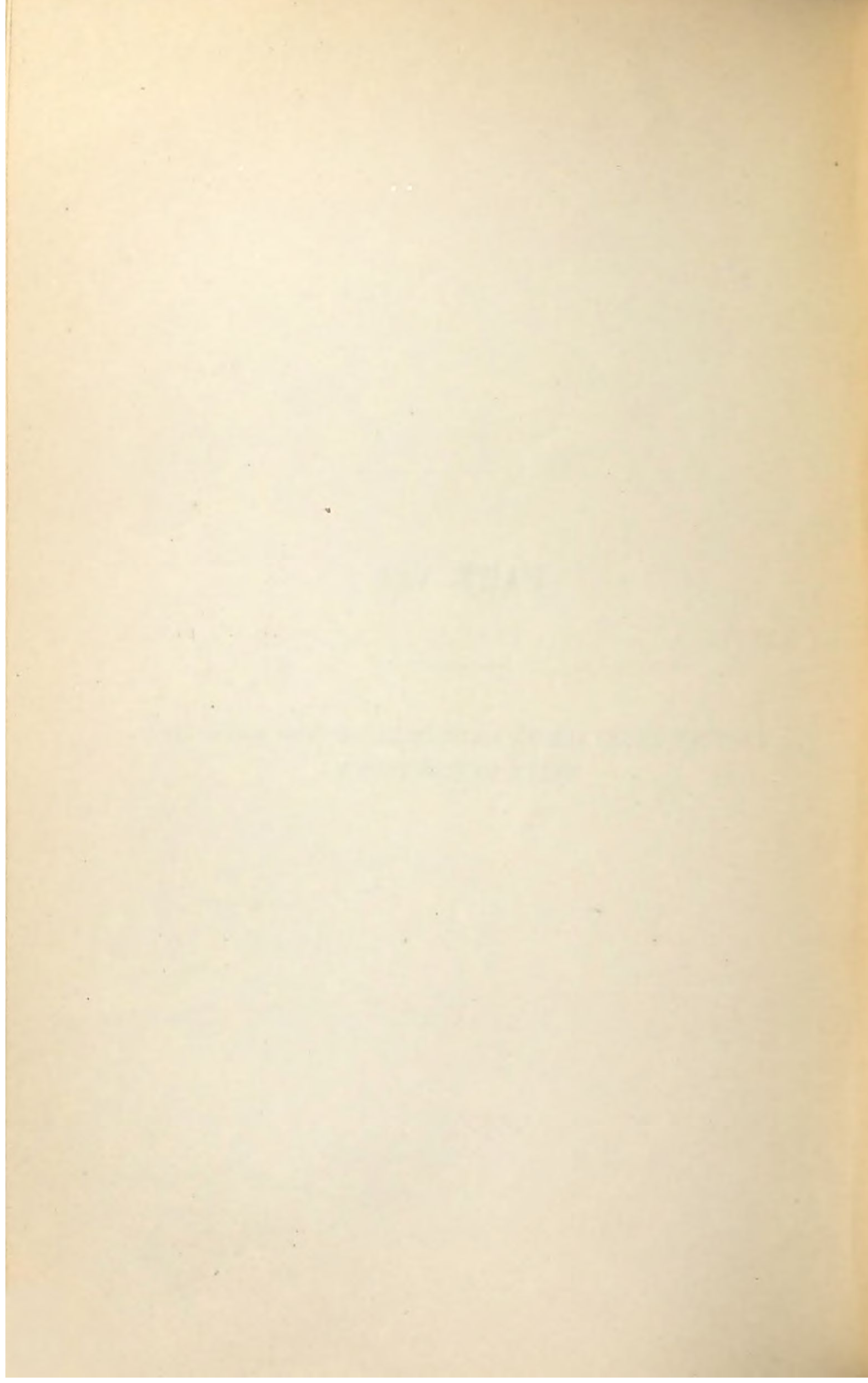
Pollicem] a servant of Cicero's, Att. viii. 5, 1 (336).

extrudas] 'drive out'; cp. Att. xvi. 2, 4, *sed cum furcilla extrudimur Brundisium cogito*.



PART VII.

PATRIAM ELUXI IAM ET GRAVIUS ET DIUTIUS QUAM ULLA
MATER UNICUM FILIUM.

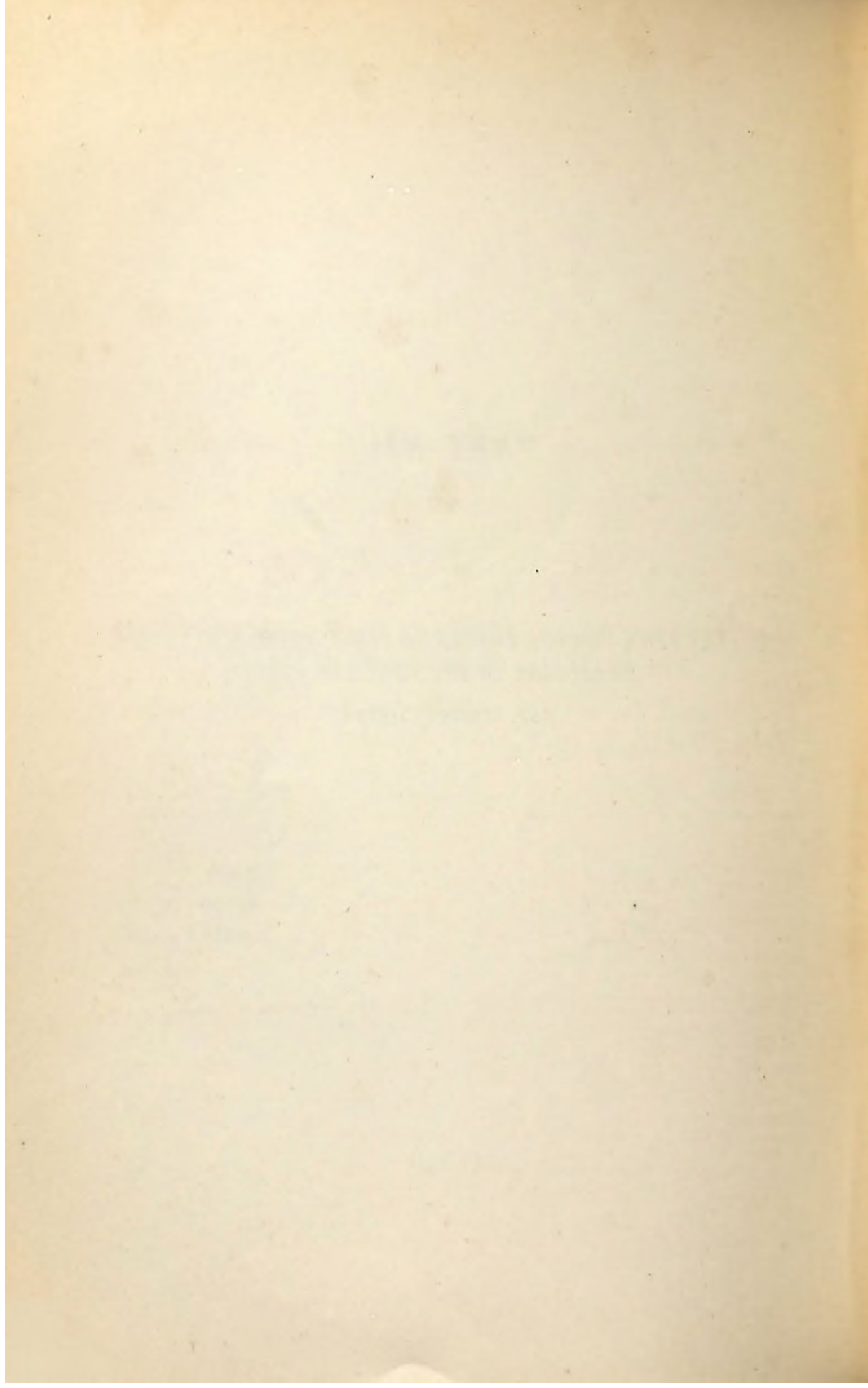


PART VII.

LETTERS FROM CICERO'S RETURN TO ITALY AFTER THE BATTLE
OF PHARSALIA TO THE DEATH OF TULLIA.

EPP. CCCCXV.—DXLIV.

A. U. C.	.	.	.	.	.	706—709
B. C.	.	.	.	.	.	48—45
AET. CIC.	.	.	.	.	.	58—61



CCCCXV. CICERO TO TERENTIA (FAM. XIV. 12).

BRUNDISIUM; NOVEMBER 4; A. U. C. 706; B. C. 48; AET. CIC. 58.

M. Cicero Terentiae salvus in Italiam reversus ad gratulationem respondet.

TULLIUS TERENTIAE SUAE S. D.

QUOD nos in Italiam salvos venisse gaudes, perpetuo gaudeas velim. Sed perturbati dolore animi magnisque iniuriis metuo ne id consilii ceperimus, quod non facile explicare possimus. Qua re quantum potes adiuva. Quid autem possis mihi in mentem non venit. In viam quod te des hoc tempore nihil est: et longum est iter et non tutum, et non video quid prodesse possis, si veneris. Vale. D. prid. Nonas Novembr. Brundisio.

Quod . . . velim] 'Your joy at my safe arrival in Italy I trust you may continue to feel.'

Sed perturbati . . . possimus] 'But I am afraid that, agitated as I was by distress of mind and the grievous wrongs I had sustained, I have taken a step which it is not easy to see the way out of.' For *explicare* cp. Att. xiv. 1, 1. After the battle of Pharsalia, at a conference held at Corcyra, Cato had offered the supreme command of the Pompeian army to Cicero as the senior consular (Plut. Cicero 39). Cicero, anxious as ever for peace, refused; whereupon the fiery young Pompey wanted to kill Cicero, and was with difficulty restrained by Cato. Cicero then crossed over to Italy so as to be ready to meet Caesar (who he thought would return at once), and to use whatever influence he might have in the interests of peace. Doubtless the extreme party of the Pompeians had given vent to expressions of bitter contempt at this—as they considered—pusillanimous conduct on the part of Cicero; and these are what Cicero

means by *iniuriae*. At the time when this letter was written the Pompeians had gone to Africa and were reorganizing their forces, while Caesar was staying at Alexandria instead of returning straight to Italy. So Cicero was full of anxiety, lest after all, perhaps, in the final issue of the war the Pompeians might prevail, and then he would find it hard to explain his conduct. Besides he had information that he was being calumniated to Caesar. Uncertainty as to what to do and which party would ultimately be victor runs through all the letters which Cicero wrote at this time from Brundisium. Never in the whole course of his life was he more distressed or wretched.

In viam quod te des] 'that you should travel,' lit. 'take to the road': cp. *dare sese in fugam*, Verr. iv. 95.

non tutum] The disorder of the times had rendered travelling most insecure, especially for Pompeians. M. Antonius had been left as governor of Italy, and does not appear to have been attending to his business very well.

CCCCXVI. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XI. 5).

BRUNDISIUM ; NOVEMBER ; A. U. C. 706 ; B. C. 48 ; AET. CIC. 58.

M. Cicero redux in Italiam post pugnam Pharsalicam de misera condicione sua queritur amicumque rogat, ut quibus ipsi videatur litteras suo nomine conscribat, de Vatino, de Q. fratre.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Quae me causae moverint, quam acerbae, quam graves, quam novae, coëgerintque impetu magis quodam animi uti quam cogitatione non possum ad te sine maximo dolore scribere : fuerunt quidem tantae, ut id, quod vides, effecerint. Itaque nec quid ad te scribam de meis rebus nec quid a te petam reperio. Rem et summam negotii vides. Equidem ex tuis litteris intellexi et iis, quas communiter cum aliis scripsisti, et iis, quas tuo nomine, quod etiam mea sponte videbam, te subita re quasi debilitatum novas rationes tuendi mei quaerere. 2. Quod scribis placere, ut propius accedam iterque per oppida noctu faciam, non sane video quem ad modum fieri possit. Neque enim ita apta habeo deversoria, ut tota tempora diurna in iis possim consumere, neque ad id, quod quaeris, multum interest utrum me homines in oppido videant an in via. Sed tamen hoc ipsum, sicut alia considerabo, quem ad modum commodissime fieri posse videatur. 3. Ego propter incredibilem et animi et corporis molestiam conficere plures litteras non potui : iis tantum rescripsi, a quibus acceperam. Tu velim et Basilo et quibus praeterea videbitur, etiam Servilio conscribas, ut tibi videbitur, meo nomine. Quod

1. *Quae me causae moverint*] 'what reasons induced me to act on impulse rather than on reflection': cp. note on Fam. xiv. 12 (415).

Rem et summam negotii] 'the whole state of the case.'

subita re] 'by the suddenness of the step I took in returning to Italy.'

2. *ad id quod quaeris*] 'with a view to securing privacy.' If Cicero had not suitable lodges (between the towns) in which to spend the whole day he would have to travel by day, and it would be as dangerous for him to be recognised on the

journey as in any of the towns between Brundisium and Rome.

3. *corporis molestiam*] The climate of Brundisium : see Att. xi. 22, 2 (446).

Basilo] L. Minucius Basilus, who had served under Caesar in Gaul, and seems to have remained faithful to him during the civil war, ultimately joined the conspiracy against him, and was afterwards murdered by his own slaves.

Servilio] P. Servilius Isauricus, afterwards mentioned in Att. xi. 8, 19 (422) ; 10, 25 (425) ; xii. 2, 5 (459). He was now consul with Caesar as his colleague.

tanto intervallo nihil omnino ad vos scripsi, his litteris profecto intelleges rem mihi deesse de qua scribam, non voluntatem. 4. Quod de Vatinio quaeris, neque illius neque cuiusquam mihi praeterea officium deesset, si reperire possent qua in re me iuarent. Quintus aversissimo a me animo Patris fuit. Eodem Corcyra filius venit. Inde profectos eos una cum ceteris arbitror.

CCCCXVII. CICERO TO TERENTIA (FAM. XIV. 19).

BRUNDISIUM; NOVEMBER; A. U. C. 706; B. C. 48; AET. CIC. 58.

M. Cicero dolet de valetudine Tulliae, se multis rebus impediri quo minus propius ad urbem accedat significat.

TULLIUS TERENTIAE SUAE S. D.

In maximis meis doloribus excruciat me valetudo Tulliae nostrae. De qua nihil est quod ad te plura scribam: tibi enim aequae magnae curae esse certo scio. Quod me propius vultis accedere, video ita esse faciendum. Etiam ante fecissem, sed me multa impediverunt, quae ne nunc quidem expedita sunt. Sed a Pomponio exspecto litteras, quas ad me quam primum perferendas cures velim. Da operam ut valeas.

4. *de Vatinio*] who was now governor of Brundisium.

neque illius] There does not seem to be any reason for regarding these words as ironical.

aversissimo] 'showed the bitterest ill-feeling towards me.'

venit] After the stormy meeting at Corcyra Cicero appears to have gone to Patrae before he returned to Italy: cp. Att. xi. 9, 2 (424), *initio navigationis*.

profectos] 'I fancy they have gone to Asia with other Pompeians,' to make

their peace with Caesar: see Att. xi. 6, 7 (418).

Tulliae] cp. Att. xi. 6, 4 (418).

Quod me . . . accedere] cp. Att. xi. 5, 3 (416).

multa] e.g. the lictors which he still had with him: cp. Att. xi. 6, 2 (418), *Propius accedere, ut suades, quo modo sine lictoribus quos populus dedit possum? qui mihi incolumi adimi non possunt*. Manutius remarks that Cicero writes more cautiously, and less explicitly, to a woman than to a prudent man like Atticus.

CCCCXVIII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XI. 6).

BRUNDISIUM; NOVEMBER 27; A. U. C. 706; B. C. 48; AET. CIC. 58.

M. Cicero Attico se consolanti rescribit se numquam paenituisse, quod discesserit ab armis, sed tamen malle se in oppido aliquo resedissee, Brundisii iacere sibi molestum esse, operam dari vult, ut a Caesare restituatur, de exitu Pompeii, de Fannii, L. Lentuli aliorumque Pompeianorum sermonibus, de Q. fratre.

CICERO ATTICO SAL. DICIT.

1. Sollicitum esse te cum de tuis communibusque fortunis tum maxime de me ac de dolore meo sentio: qui quidem [meus dolor] non modo non minuitur, cum socium sibi adiungit dolorem tuum, sed etiam augetur. Omnino pro tua prudentia sentis qua consolatione levare maxime possim. Probas enim meum consilium negasque mihi quidquam tali tempore potius faciendum fuisse. Addis etiam—quod etsi mihi levius est quam tuum iudicium, tamen non est leve—ceteris quoque, id est, qui pondus habeant, factum nostrum probari. Id si ita putarem, levius dolerem.

2. 'Crede' inquis 'mihi.' Credo equidem, sed scio quam cupias minui dolorem meum. Me discessisse ab armis numquam paenituit: tanta erat in illis crudelitas, tanta cum barbaris gentibus coniunctio, ut non nominatim, sed generatim proscriptio esset informata, ut iam omnium iudicio constitutum esset omnium vestrum bona praedam esse illius victoriae, 'vestrum' plane dico: numquam enim de te ipso nisi crudelissime cogitatum est. Qua re voluntatis me meae numquam paenitebit: consilii paenitet.

1. *si ita putarem*] sc. *esse*.

2. *Crede, inquis, mihi*] Cicero always, except in two places, Att. v. 10, 1 (198); viii. 14, 1 (349), writes *mihi crede*; his correspondents usually write *crede mihi*: see I², p. 72. Here, however, the *crede mihi* of Atticus was not the parenthetical phrase of familiar discourse, but an assurance that he was sincere when he said he thought Cicero had taken the right course.

discessisse ab armis] 'I never regretted leaving Pompey's camp.'

in illis crudelitas] 'the atrocious de-

signs of the Pompeians,' especially the design to starve out Italy.

coniunctio] such as with Juba of Numidia.

informata] 'a plan was sketched out for a proscription of whole classes, not merely of individuals.'

vestrum] 'of all of you' who remained in Italy.

voluntatis] 'my resolve' to abandon the struggle: *consilii*, 'my mode of action' in carrying it out by returning to Brundisium. When he then goes on to say he ought to have 'waited in some

In oppido aliquo mallem resedissee quoad arcesserer; minus sermonis subissem, minus accepissem doloris, ipsum hoc me non angeret. Brundisii iacere in omnes partes est molestum. Propius accedere, ut suades, quo modo sine lictoribus, quos populus dedit, possum? qui mihi incolumi adimi non possunt. Quos ego nunc paullisper cum bacillis in turbam conieci ad oppidum accedens, ne quis impetus militum fieret. Recipio tempore me domum. 3. Mitte nunc ad Oppium et *Balbus* quonam his placeret modo propius accedere, ut hac de re considerarent. Credo fore auctores. Sic enim recipiunt, Caesari non modo de conservanda, sed etiam de augenda mea dignitate curae fore, meque hortantur, ut magno animo sim, ut omnia summa sperem: ea spondent, confirmant, quae quidem mihi exploratiora essent, si remansissem. Sed ingero praeterita. Vide, quaeso, igitur ea, quae restant, et explora cum istis, et si putabis opus esse et si istis placebit, quo magis factum nostrum Caesar probet quasi de suorum sententia factum adhibeantur Trebonius, Pansa, si qui alii, scribantque ad Caesarem me

town' until he was sent for by Caesar, the word *oppidum* plainly does not refer to Brundisium. Hence it is inferred that by *oppido aliquo* he means some town out of Italy, but this cannot be supplied, except in so far as *resedissee* implies it, 'I should have stayed where I was in some town,' and not crossed the sea back to Brundisium. Possibly we should read *alio quo* for *aliquo*, i.e. other than Brundisium: cp. the emphatic position of *Brundisii* in the next sentence but one.

ipsum hoc] sc. *quod consilii mei me paenitet*.

in omnes partes] 'however one looks at it.'

incolumi] 'without depriving me of my political rights.' To take away his lictors would be to deprive him of his *imperium*, which he held as a political right conferred by a curiate law (*quos populus dedit*).

cum bacillis] 'with staves.' Apparently he made them untie the *fascies*, or 'bundles of staves,' and enter the town of Brundisium unobserved by mixing with the crowd, lest, if recognised as the lictors of a Pompeian partisan, they might provoke an exhibition of hostile feeling from the Caesarean garrison (*militum*).

Recipio] 'I intend to return to Rome in due time.' The present is often used in

the letters for the future in announcing a settled resolution. For *domum* = *Romam* see note on *domi*, Att. vi. 5, 1 (269); also II², p. xxi.

3. *Mitte . . . considerarent*] 'do you now write to Oppius and Balbus (asking them) in what fashion they would advise me to approach Rome, and (asking them) to turn over the matter in their minds.' For this use of *mitte* see Att. x. 16, 5 (402), and note there. We have arranged the passage mainly on the lines admirably laid down by Orelli and Boot. Oppius and Balbus are constantly coupled together as leading Caesareans.

Sic enim recipiunt] 'they guarantee that Caesar will devote himself not only to the maintenance, but to the enhancement, of my dignity.' In *de augenda dignitate* he refers to a triumph, which he still keeps before his eyes, and in view of which he will not dismiss his embarrassing lictors. For *curae esse de* cp. *de Tirone mihi curae est*, Att. xii. 49, 2.

spondent, confirmant] For the asyndeton see on *pipulo convicio*, Q. Fr. ii. 10, 1 (133).

ingero praeterita] 'I am forcing on your consideration what belongs to the past,' his chances of a triumph.

quae restant] 'the future,' his chances of being allowed to return to Rome unmolested.

quidquid fecerim de sua sententia fecisse. 4. Tulliae meae morbus et imbecillitas corporis me exanimat, quam tibi intellego magnae curae esse, quod est mihi gratissimum. 5. De Pompeii exitu mihi dubium numquam fuit. Tanta enim desperatio rerum eius omnium regum et populorum animos occuparat, ut, quocumque venisset, hoc putarem futurum. Non possum eius casum non dolere: hominem enim integrum et castum et gravem cognovi. 6. De Fannio consoler te? Perniciosa loquebatur de mansione tua. L. vero Lentulus Hortensii domum sibi et Caesaris hortos et Baias desponderat. Omnino haec eodem modo ex hac parte fiunt, nisi quod illud erat infinitum. Omnes enim, qui in Italia manserant, hostium *in* numero habebantur. Sed velim haec aliquando solutiore animo. 7. Quintum fratrem audio profectum in Asiam, ut deprecaretur. De filio nihil audiui. Sed quaere ex Diochare, Caesaris liberto, quem ego non vidi, qui istas Alexandria litteras attulit. Is dicitur vidisse euntem an iam in Asia. Tuas litteras, prout res postulat, exspecto: quas velim cures quam primum ad me perferendas. IIII. Kal. Decembr.

5. *mihi dubium*] 'I had no doubt' that he would be killed, as everyone would be afraid to give him a refuge. The coldness of this reflection on the death of his old leader has often been noticed. Pompey was murdered near Alexandria the day before his 58th birthday, September 28, 706 (48).

6. *Fannio*] He was the Pompeian praetor of Asia, and was killed with Pompey. L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus had been consul in 705 (49). He met his death in Egypt shortly after Pompey's murder.

de mansione tua] 'about your staying in Italy,' and not joining Pompey.

Baias] 'an estate at Baiae.' So he calls his property at Caieta, *Caietam*, not *Caietanum*, in Att. i. 4, 3 (9), and *Misenum* means his 'estate at Misenum,' Att. x. 8, 10 (392).

nisi quod] 'the only thing is, that (the confiscation on Pompey's side) would have had no limit.' This elliptico-adversative use of *nisi* (for which see note on Plaut. Mil. 24) is common in the comic

drama, not very rare in Cicero's letters, and is found in his early speeches, as in *nescio: nisi hoc video*, Rosc. Am. 99. We have *nescio: nisi scio*, Plaut. Rud. iii. 4, 45 (751); *nescio: nisi credo*, Ter. Eun. v. 1, 11 (827). For *erat* cp. *si per Metellum licitum esset matres . . . illorum veniebant*, 2 Verr. v. 129. 'The imperfect indicative is put of a thing which was on the point of happening, and on a certain condition would have been completely effected,' Madv. 348 b.

velim . . . solutiore animo] 'we must talk this over when our minds are easier.'

7. *Alexandrea*] 'from Alexandria.' This is the proper correction of the *Alexandreas* of the mss, as Cicero would have used *Alexandrinus* for the adjective. *Alexandreas* would mean 'belonging to Alexander': cp. *nuntiis Brundisinis*, Att. viii. 13, 1 (348).

Is dicitur] 'Diochares is reported to have seen the young Quintus on the journey to Asia, or was it after his arrival there?' For this use of *an*, see on Att. i. 3, 2 (8).

CCCCXIX. CICERO TO TERENTIA (FAM. XIV. 9).

BRUNDISIUM ; DECEMBER ; A. U. C. 706 ; B. C. 48 ; AET. CIC. 58.

M. Cicero de Dolabellae valetudine et de Tulliae dolet.

TULLIUS TERENTIAE SUAE S. PLURIMAM.

Ad ceteras meas miserias accessit dolor et *de* Dolabellae valetudine et de Tulliae. Omnino de omnibus rebus nec quid consilii capiam nec quid faciam scio. Tu velim tuam et Tulliae valetudinem cures. Vale.

CCCCXX. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XI. 7).

BRUNDISIUM ; DECEMBER 17 ; A. U. C. 706 ; B. C. 48 ; AET. CIC. 58.

M. Cicero Attico scribit de eo, quod Romae de lictoribus suis actum sit, de existimatione bonorum, quam perdidisse videatur, quod non in Africam ierit : de Sulpicii consilio, de eorum, qui in Achaia sint : probare se, quod Atticus ad se non venerit, sed Romae remanserit et sibi et Tulliae filiae operam navans : de Q. filio, de Q. fratre, de litterarum commercio.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Gratae tuae mihi litterae sunt, quibus accurate perscripsisti omnia, quae ad me pertinere arbitratus [†]est ea factum[†] igitur, ut scribis, istis placere [iisdem istis] lictoribus me uti, quod con-

et de Dolabellae valetudine et de Tulliae]
This is the reading of H, adopted by Baiter. It is certainly to be retained. Wesenberg (*Em. Alt.* 49) wishes to extract from *dolor et Dolabellae* (as is read by M) *dolor ex Dolabellae* giving numerous examples of *dolor (dolere) ex* e.g. Fam. xvi. 21, 3, and the beautiful inscription of Cremona (Or. 4609) MATER MONVMENTVM FECIT MAERENS FILIO EX QVO NIHIL VMQVAM DOLVIT NISE CVM IS NON FVIT.

1. [†]*est ea factum*[†]] The old reading was *arbitratus es. Factum igitur, ut*

scribis, istis placere, which was supposed to mean 'it has turned out then, as you write, that Oppius and Balbus approve of my keeping my lictors' in coming back to Rome. But this is impossible Latin. The best conjecture is that of Boot, who would read *arbitratus es. Facetum igitur, &c.*, 'it is amusing that they should approve,' &c. Perhaps, however, we should read *facteon igitur, ut scribis istis placere*, 'I must do so then (keep my lictors), as you say that they approve of my keeping my lictors,' &c. For *facteon* cp. Att. i. 16, 13 (22).

cessum Sestio sit, cui non puto suos esse concessos, sed ab ipso, datos. Audio enim eum ea senatus consulta improbare, quae post discessum tribunorum facta sunt. Qua re poterit, si volet sibi constare, nostros lictores comprobare. 2. Quamquam quid ego de lictoribus, qui paene ex Italia decedere sim iussus? Nam ad me misit Antonius exemplum Caesaris ad se litterarum, in quibus erat se audisse Catonem et L. Metellum in Italiam venisse, Romae ut essent palam: id sibi non placere, ne qui motus ex eo fierent, prohiberique omnes Italia nisi quorum ipse causam cognovisset: deque eo vehementius erat scriptum. Itaque Antonius petebat a me per litteras, ut sibi ignoscerem: facere se non posse quin iis litteris pareret. Tum ad eum misi L. Lamiam, qui demonstraret illum Dolabellae dixisse, ut ad me scriberet, ut in Italiam quam primum venirem, eius me litteris venisse. Tum ille edixit ita, ut me exciperet et Laelium nominatim; quod sane nollem: poterat enim sine nomine res ipsa excipi. 3. O multas et graves offen-

cui non puto] What made it seem absurd, or 'amusing,' that Cicero should be allowed to retain his lictors, on the ground that the same privilege had been granted to Sestius, was this: Sestius, it is said, had received his commission to succeed Cicero in the government of Cilicia as pro-praetor in 705 (54), in the very beginning of which year the tribunes M. Antonius and Q. Cassius had left Rome with Curio to join Caesar at Ravenna. Caesar refused to recognize anything done in the Senate after their departure. Therefore the recognition of Sestius' commission was an act of pure favour on the part of Caesar (*ab ipso datos*), while that of Cicero, having been conferred long before, rested on quite a different basis. 'Wherefore,' adds Cicero, 'if he (Caesar) wishes to be consistent, he can recognize my right to keep my lictors.' But if Sestius succeeded Cicero in the government of Cilicia he had obtained the *imperium* and lictors some time before the beginning of 705 (49). If the view maintained on Fam. v. 20, 5 (302), is tenable, and the fact was that Sestius was sent out as a commissioner to Asia by Pompey, to see after supplies of money, probably at the beginning of 705 (49), when the civil war was on the point of breaking out, then it would appear that the lictors which Caesar allowed him to retain were lictors given by Pompey for this commission, and we

should either read *ab ipso Pompeio*, or understand by *ipso* Pompey as the central authority of the State. It is quite possible that Sestius was appointed to the province of Cilicia, and obtained the *imperium* for that governorship (cp. Att. viii. 15, 3 (350); Plut. Brut. 4); but owing to the disturbed state of politics at the end of 704 (50), he did not leave Rome for his province. Sestius may have been one of those referred to by Caesar (B. C. i. 6, 7) as having had lictors within the city. It was not, however, the lictors which he had in the capacity of Governor of Cilicia (those which Cicero calls *suos*) to which the concession had reference—no concession was required for the retaining of these—but it referred to those given him by Pompey for the special commissionership.

2. *Catonem*] Cato had not returned to Italy, but had gone, after Pharsalia, to Corcyra, and thence to Africa.

ipse causam cognovisset] 'th se whose claims Caesar himself has examined (and approved).'

ut sibi ignoscerem] an example of the very conciliatory tone adopted by Antonius towards Cicero: see on Att. x. 10, 1 (395).

res ipsa excipi] 'an exception could have been made in our case without mentioning us by name.' Cicero would thus have avoided incurring odium with the

siones! quas quidam tu das operam ut lenias. Nec tamen nihil proficis: quin hoc ipso minuis dolorem meum, quod ut minuas tam valde laboras, idque velim ne gravere quam saepissime facere. Maxime autem adsequere quod vis, si me adduxeris ut existimem me bonorum iudicium non funditus perdidisse. Quamquam quid tu in eo potes? Nihil scilicet. Sed, si quid res dabit tibi facultatis, id me maxime consolari poterit: quod nunc quidem video non esse, sed si quid, ex eventis, ut hoc nunc accidit. Dicebar debuisse cum Pompeio proficisci; exitus illius minuit eius officii praetermissi reprehensionem. Sed ex omnibus nihil magis tamen desideratur *quam* quod in Africam non ierim. Iudicio hoc sum usus, non esse barbaris auxiliis fallacissimae gentis rem publicam defendendam, praesertim contra exercitum saepe victorem. Non probant fortasse. Multos enim viros bonos in Africam venisse audio et scio fuisse antea. Valde hoc loco urgeor. Hic quoque opus est casu, *ut* aliqui sint ex eis aut, si potest, omnes qui salutem anteponant. Nam si perseverant et obtinent, quid nobis futurum sit vides. Dices 'Quid illis, si victi erunt?' Honestior est plaga. Haec me excruciant. 4. Sulpicii autem consilium non scripsisti cur meo non anteponeres: quod etsi non tam gloriosum est quam Catonis, tamen et periculo vacuum est et dolore. Extremum est eorum, qui in Achaia sunt. Ii tamen ipsi se hoc

Pompeians, and yet it would not have prevented his leaving Italy, which the present decree did; see on *exceptionibus retinear*, Att. xi. 9, 1 (424).

3. *Nec tamen*] 'and after all (even in the face of the objectionable *exceptio nominatim*) you are succeeding in this to some extent.'

iudicium] 'the good opinion' of the optimates. So *existimatio* sometimes means *bona existimatio*.

quod nunc quidem video non esse] 'I see that this (my winning the approval of the *boni*) is now impossible; the only chance that it should ever be possible is the chance of its being brought about by some unforeseen occurrence, like that which has just happened. For instance, it was said that I ought to have left Italy with Pompey; his death mitigates the blame attaching to the neglect of that duty.' *hoc* is the murder of Pompey.

desideratur] 'is regretted,' 'is quoted as a lapse from duty'; lit. 'is missed.'

Iudicio hoc sum usus] 'this is the way

I look at the question.'

barbaris auxiliis] see on Att. xi. 6, 2 (418).

hoc loco urgeor] 'on this topic I am very hard pressed.'

opus est casu] 'here too nothing but chance can befriend me: I mean the chance that some, or if possible, all (of those who have gone to Africa) should think more of their safety (and desert their standard). For if they stand fast, and carry their point (hold their own), you see what will become of me (what an ignominious position I shall be in).' Their failure in fidelity to their cause is the only thing which would place Cicero, who did not go to Africa, in a better position. *Potest = fieri potest* as often in the letters.

Honestior est plaga] Their defeat, if faithful to their cause, would leave them in a better position than Cicero.

4. *Sulpicii*] After the battle of Pharsalia he went to Asia and lived at Samos.

gloriosum] a distinct instance of this word meaning 'glorious,' not 'boastful.'

melius habent quam nos, quod et multi sunt uno in loco et, cum in Italiam venerint, domum statim venerint. Haec tu perge, ut facis, mitigare et probare quam plurimis. 5. Quod te excusas, ego vero et tuas causas nosco et mea interesse puto te istis esse, vel ut cum iis quibus oportebit agas, quae erunt agenda de nobis, ut ea, quae egisti; in primisque hoc velim animadvertas: multos esse arbitror qui ad Caesarem detulerint delaturive sint me aut paenitere consilii mei aut non probare quae fiant: quorum etsi utrumque verum est, tamen ab illis dicitur animo a me alienato, non quo ita esse perspexerint. In eo est totum ut hoc Balbus sustineat et Oppius et eorum crebris litteris illius voluntas erga me confirmetur; et hoc plane ut fiat diligentiam adhibebis. 6. Alterum est cur te nolim discedere, quod scribis T. efflagitare. O rem miseram! quid scribam? aut quid velim? Breve faciam. Lacrimae enim se subito profuderunt. Tibi permitto: tu consule. Tantum vide ne hoc tempore isti obesse aliquid possit. Ignosce, obsecro te: non possum prae fletu et dolore diutius in hoc loco commorari. Tantum dicam, nihil mihi gratius esse quam quod eam diligis. 7. Quod litteras quibus putas opus esse curas dandas, facis commode. Quintum filium vidi qui Sami vidisset, patrem Sicyone: quorum deprecatio est facilis. Utinam illi, qui prius illum viderint, me apud eum velint adiutum tantum, quantum ego illos vellem, si quid possem! 8. Quod rogas ut in bonam partem accipiam, si qua sint in tuis litteris quae me mordeant, ego vero in

domum] 'to Rome, as in Att. xi. 6, 2 (418), where see note. If they enter Italy, it can only be by permission of Caesar, and so they can repair to the city at once.

5. *Quod te excusas*] for not joining Cicero in Brundisium.

vel] The other reason is given at the beginning of § 6, *Alterum est cur te nolim discedere*.

quorum etsi utrumque] 'though both statements are true, yet the report is circulated by them, not because they have ascertained it to be true, but through ill feeling towards me.'

In eo est] 'everything depends on this, that Oppius and Balbus should take the matter on themselves, and that by frequent letters from them Caesar's good will towards me should be fostered.'

6. *Alterum est*] 'The other reason why

I do not wish you to leave Rome is that, as you tell me, Tullia implores your assistance.' Relations had become strained between Tullia and Dolabella, and a divorce appeared to be not unlikely: cp. Att. xi. 23, 3 (437). If we do not take *t.* of the mss for *Tulliam*—cp. QQ for 'Quintus, father and son,' in Att. xi. 10, 1 (425), and note to Att. xi. 15, 4 (373)—we can read with Lambinus *te flagitari*, sc. a Tullia.

isti] sc. Tulliae.

in hoc loco commorari] 'to dwell any longer on this passage' (in my letter).

7. *patrem Sicyone*] sc. vidi qui vidisset.

8. *Quod rogas ut in bonam partem*] 'you ask me to take kindly things which may give me pain in your letters; indeed I will with all my heart.' *Ego vero* indicates the answer to a question.

optimam, teque rogo, ut aperte, quem ad modum facis, scribas ad me omnia idque facias quam saepissime. Vale. XIII. Kalend. Ian.

CCCCXXI. CICERO TO TERENTIA (FAM. XIV. 17).

BRUNDISIUM ; DECEMBER (END) ; A. U. C. 706 ; B. C. 48 ; AET. CIC. 58.

M. Cicero suos ex Lepta et Trebatio quo modo sit adfectus cognoscere iubet.

TULLIUS TERENTIAE SUAE S. D.

S. V. B. E. V. Si quid haberem quod ad te scriberem, facerem id et pluribus verbis et saepius. Nunc quae sint negotia vides. Ego autem quo modo sim adfectus ex Lepta et Trebatio poteris cognoscere. Tu fac ut tuam et Tulliae valetudinem cures. Vale.

CCCCXXII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XI. 8).

BRUNDISIUM ; DECEMBER 25 ; A. U. C. 706 ; B. C. 48 ; AET. CIC. 58.

M. Cicero Attico de causa sua per Balbum et Oppium aliosque nuntios agenda scribit.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Quantis curis conficiam, etsi profecto vides, tamen cognosces ex Lepta et Trebatio. Maximas poenas pendo temeritatis meae, quam tu prudentiam mihi videri vis, neque te deterreo quo minus id disputes scribasque ad me quam saepissime. Non nihil enim me levant tuae litterae hoc tempore. Per eos, qui nostra causa volunt valentque apud illum, diligentissime contendas opus est,

Lepta et Trebatio] These men had come to see Cicero at Brundisium and had from thence set out for Rome. Q. Lepta was Cicero's praefectus fabrum in Cilicia: cp. Fam. iii. 7, 4 (244); v. 20, 4 (302). For Trebatius see Vol. ii, pp. lvii-lix.

1. *prudentiam*] Atticus had endeavoured to comfort Cicero by trying to prove to him that the course which he

took was the most prudent under the circumstances.

neque te deterreo] 'I do not wish to discourage you in urging these arguments.' *Deterreo* is here used in a much less emphatic sense than it often bears, and is like 'deter,' which is much less strong than *detertere* as ordinarily used: cp. *ut eum ab illa iniuria deterrerent*, Fam. v. 2, 6 (15).

apud illum] sc. *Caesarem*.

per Balbum et Oppium maxime, ut de me scribant quam diligentissime. Oppugnamur enim, ut audio, et a praesentibus quibusdam et per litteras. Iis ita est occurrendum, ut rei magnitudo postulat. 2. Fufius est illic mihi inimicissimus. Quintus misit filium non solum sui deprecatorem, sed etiam accusatorem mei. Dictitat se a me apud Caesarem oppugnari, quod refellit Caesar ipse omnesque eius amici. Neque vero desistit, ubicumque est, omnia in me maledicta conferre. Nihil mihi umquam tam incredibile accidit, nihil in his malis tam acerbum. Qui ex ipso audissent, cum Sicyone palam multis audientibus loqueretur, nefaria quaedam ad me pertulerunt. Nosti genus, etiam expertus es fortasse: in me id est omne conversum. Sed augeo commemorando dolorem et facio etiam tibi. Qua re ad illud redeo: cura ut huius rei causa dedita opera mittat aliquem Balbus. Ad quos videbitur velim cures litteras meo nomine. Vale. VI. Kal. Ian.

Oppugnamur] 'I am assailed': cp. *non oportuisse Metellum fratrem tuum ob dictum a me oppugnari*, Fam. v. 2, 6 (15).

2. *Fufius*] Q. Fufius Calenus, tribune 693 (61), now a lieutenant of Caesar's. He had been an enemy of Cicero's even in the quarrel with Clodius.

Qui ex ipso audissent] 'hearers of his at Sicyon.' The subjunctive makes the persons indefinite. *Qui audierant* would imply that Cicero knew who they were.

Nosti genus] 'you know how he can revile; perhaps you have experienced it; it is all concentrated on me.'

dolorem] sc. *meum*, which it is strange that Cicero did not add, as it is directly opposed to *facio etiam tibi*; but here again we must allow for the effect of his depression of spirits, which always makes him careless about his style: cp. above, *diligentissime contendas . . . ut de me scribant quam diligentissime*.

LETTERS OF THE TWENTY-SECOND YEAR OF CICERO'S
CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. CCCCXXIII.—CCCCL.

A. U. C. 707 ; B. C. 47 ; AET. CIC. 59.

C. JULIUS CAESAR II. DICTATOR ; M. ANTONIUS MAGISTER
EQUITUM.

COSS (FOR THE FIRST FEW MONTHS) Q. FUFIVS CALENVS AND
P. VATINIUS.

DURING the first nine months of this year Cicero was still at Brundisium. His correspondents were chiefly Atticus and Terentia, and his despondency was as deep as ever. A new anxiety was the reviving power of the Pompeians in Africa. What if they should prove victorious after all ? Again Cicero had family troubles. He suspected Terentia of defrauding him : while the treachery of his brother and nephew rankled in his affectionate heart. About September Caesar had a friendly interview with Cicero at Tarentum, and apparently gave him permission to live where he pleased. From that time the cloud appears to begin to rise. He became reconciled with Quintus, and towards the close of the year we have two letters to Cassius. We have no literary works from Cicero during this year.

CCCCXXIII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XI. 9).

BRUNDISIUM; JANUARY 3; A. U. C. 707; B. C. 47; AET. CIC. 59.

M. Cicero queritur cum de misera condicione sua tum de Q. fratris litteris, quas ille plenas in se probrorum ad Vatinius et Ligurium et ceteros miserit.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Ego vero et incaute, ut scribis, et celerius quam oportuit feci nec in ulla sum spe, quippe qui exceptionibus edictorum retinear: quae si non essent sedulitate effectae et benevolentia tua, liceret mihi abire in solitudines aliquas. Nunc ne id quidem licet. Quid autem me iuvat quod ante initum tribunatum veni, si ipsum quod veni nihil iuvat? Iam quid sperem ab eo, qui mihi amicus numquam fuit, cum iam lege etiam sim confectus et oppressus? In dies iam Balbi ad me litterae languidiores, multaeque multorum ad illum, fortasse contra me. Meo vitio pereo. Nihil mihi mali casus attulit, omnia culpa contracta sunt. Ego enim, cum genus belli viderem, imparata et infirma omnia contra paratissimos, statueram quid facerem ceperamque consilium non tam forte quam mihi praeter ceteros concedendum. 2. Cessi meis vel potius parui: ex quibus unus qua mente fuerit, is quem tu mihi commendas, cognosces ex ipsius litteris, quas ad te et ad alios misit, quas ego

1. *feci*] in returning to Italy.

exceptionibus edictorum] 'by the saving clauses in Antony's edicts,' which said: *Exceptis Cicerone et Laelio*.

ante initum tribunatum] The tribunes entered on their office on December 10. Atticus had expressed a hope that it would be advantageous to Cicero that he had returned to Italy before the new tribunes had entered on their office, because the new tribunes had, as we may infer, carried a new and more stringent statute against absentees.

ipsum quod veni] Atticus had said: 'Your arrival in Italy before December 10 was fortunate, for it exempts you from the provisions of the new and more stringent statutes'; Cicero says: 'What use was that when I see that my coming to Italy at all was *ab initio* a mistake?'

ab eo, qui mihi amicus] Dolabella, we think, not Antony, who as yet has shown no hostility to Cicero.

lege] probably an act carried by the tribunes of whom Dolabella was one; what the act was we can only conjecture. It applied, no doubt, to persons who had served with Pompey, and either excluded them from Italy or from Rome.

languidiores] 'cooler.'

ad illum] sc. *Caesarem*.

genus belli] 'the character of the war,' which is further explained by the next clause, 'that on one side there was nothing but weakness and unreadiness, on the other perfect organization.'

concedendum] 'a step which might be permitted in my case,' because he had always endeavoured to prevent things from coming to an open rupture.

2. *unus*] his brother Quintus.

numquam aperuissem, nisi res acta sic esset: delatus est ad me fasciculus; solvi, si quid ad me esset litterarum: nihil erat; epistola Vatinio et Ligurio altera; iussi ad eos deferri: illi ad me statim ardentes dolore venerunt scelus hominis clamantes: epistolas mihi legerunt plenas omnium in me probrorum. Hic Ligurius furere: se enim scire summo illum in odio fuisse Caesari, illum tamen non modo favisse, sed etiam tantam illi pecuniam dedisse honoris mei causa. Hoc ego dolore accepto volui scire quid scripsisset ad ceteros. Ipsi enim illi putavi perniciosum fore, si eius hoc tantum scelus percrebruisset. Cognovi eiusdem generis; ad te misi: quas si putabis illi ipsi utile esse reddi, reddes: nil me laedet. Nam quod resignatae sunt, habet, opinor, eius signum Pomponia. Hac ille acerbitate initio navigationis cum usus esset, tanto me dolore adfecit, ut postea iacuerim, neque nunc tam pro se quam contra me laborare dicitur. 3. Ita omnibus rebus urgeor, quas sustinere vix possum vel plane nullo modo possum. Quibus in miseriis una est pro omnibus, quod istam miseram patrimonio, fortuna omni spoliata relinquam. Qua re te, *ut* polliceris, videre plane velim. Alium enim cui illam commendem habeo neminem, quoniam matri quoque eadem intellexi esse parata quae mihi. Sed, si me non offendes, satis tamen habeto commendatam, patruumque in ea, quantum poteris, mitigato. Haec ad te die natali meo scripsi: quo utinam susceptus non essem aut ne quid ex eadem matre postea natum esset! Plura scribere fletu prohibeor.

solvi] On this incident see I², p. 43.

scelus hominis] 'a villain'; this use of the gen. is very characteristic of the colloquialism of the comic stage; Plautus not only has *scelus viri* (Mil. v. 41), but *hallex viri*, 'a hop o' my thumb of a man,' Poen. v. 5, 31; *hominum mendicabula* = *mendicos*, Aul. iv. 8, 3.

illum favisse] Another instance of the carelessness with which this letter was written; *illum* here must refer to Caesar, while just before *illum* and *illi* designate Quintus. It is a mistake, however, to correct *illum* to *hunc* as some would do.

initio navigationis] The two brothers apparently sailed in company for some time from Corcyra, perhaps to Patrae, and there parted, Quintus for Asia, Marcus for Italy.

iacuerim] 'I was prostrated.' Watson compares Fam. ix. 20, 3 (475) *ne ego te iacente bona tua comedim*.

3. *istam miseram*] Tullia.

eadem . . . quae mihi] Cicero expected that Terentia's fortune, as well as his own, would be confiscated.

si me non offendes] 'If you do not find me here when you come to Brundisium,' we are not justified in looking on these words as a hint that he contemplates suicide, though in the letters from exile such a design is frequently referred to.

patruum] Cicero's brother Quintus.

susceptus] reared; *tollere* is the more usual word for the formal acknowledgment of a child: see LS. *tollo*, 2^a.

ne quid] for the use of the neuter see on Att. x. 18, 1 (376).

CCCCXXIV. CICERO TO TERENTIA (FAM. XIV. 16).

BRUNDISIUM; JANUARY 4; A. U. C. 707; B. C. 47; AET. CIC. 59.

M. Cicero scribit de litteris, de Volumnia, de suo dolore.

TULLIUS TERENTIAE SUAE S. D.

S. V. B. E. V. Etsi eius modi tempora nostra sunt, ut nihil habeam quod aut a te litterarum expectem aut ipse ad te scribam, tamen nescio quo modo et ipse vestras litteras exspecto et scribo ad vos, cum habeo qui ferat. Volumnia debuit in te officiosior esse quam fuit et id ipsum, quod fecit, potuit diligentius facere et cautius. Quamquam alia sunt quae magis curemus magisque doleamus: quae me ita conficiunt, ut ii voluerunt, qui me de mea sententia detruserunt. Cura ut valeas. Pridie Non. Ianuar.

S. V. B. E. V.] = si vales bene est valeo.
Volumnia] It is uncertain who this Volumnia was to whom Terentia appears to have been in some degree indebted. Cicero was on friendly terms with a senator, P. Volumnius Eutrapelus, cp. Fam. vii, 32 (129); and she may have been the sister or daughter of this senator. It has been suggested as just possible that she was the actress Cytheris who was now the mistress of Antonius: and at this time, when the power of Antonius was so great, she appears to have been addressed as Volumnia (Cic. Phil. ii. 58), inasmuch as she was the freedwoman of the above-mentioned senator Volumnius. But it is not likely that a Roman matron and Cicero's wife would have had dealings with such a person as Cytheris, when even Cicero himself apologizes to Paetus (Fam. ix, 26, 2 (479) for dining at the same table with her. Terentia appears to have been in very straitened circum-

stances at this time: cp. Att. xi. 23, 3 (437).

quae me ita conficiunt] 'which are distracting me quite as much as those men wished, who forced me to abandon my original intention.' The reference is probably to Cicero's hasty abandonment of the Pompeian side after Pharsalia. This abandonment he ascribes to the malicious advice of some would-be friends; and perhaps he is especially thinking of Dolabella: for Dolabella appears to have written to Cicero saying that Caesar wished him to return to Italy: cp. Att. xi, 7, 2 (420), *Tum ad eum (Antonium) misi L. Lamiam qui demonstraret illum Dolabellae dixisse ut ad me scriberet ut in Italiam cum primum venirem; eius me litteris venisse.*

detruserunt] This verb has two technical senses: to dislodge an enemy from a position (Liv. ii. 10, 10), and to oust a man from his property (Cic. Caec. 47, 49).

CCCCXXV. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XI. 10).

BRUNDISIUM; JANUARY 19; A. U. C. 707; B. C. 47; AET. CIC. 59.

De Q. filii et Q. patris summis in se iniuriis, de rebus Africanis, de Attici litteris sibi gratissimis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Ad meas incredibiles aegritudines aliquid novi accedit ex iis, quae de Q.Q. ad me adferuntur. P. Terentius, meus necessarius, operas in portu et scriptura Asiae pro magistro dedit. Is Quintum filium Ephesi vidit VI. Id. Decembr., eumque studiose propter amicitiam nostram invitavit, cumque ex eo de me percontaretur, eum sibi ita dixisse narrabat, se mihi esse inimicissimum, volumenque sibi ostendisse orationis, quam apud Caesarem contra me esset habiturus, multa a se dicta contra eius amentiam: multa postea Patris simili scelere secum Quintum patrem locutum, cuius furorem ex iis epistolis, quas ad te misi, perspicere potuisti. Haec tibi dolori esse certo scio, me quidem excruciant et eo magis, quod mihi cum illis ne querendi quidem locum futurum puto. 2. De Africanis rebus longe alia nobis ac tu scripseras nuntiantur. Nihil enim firmitus esse dicunt, nihil paratius. Accedit Hispania et alienata Italia, legionum nec vis eadem nec voluntas, urbanae res perditae. Quid est ubi acquiescam, nisi quam diu tuas litteras lego? Quae essent profecto crebriores, si quid haberes quo putares meam molestiam minui posse. Sed tamen te rogo, ut ne intermittas scribere ad me quidquid erit eosque, qui mihi tam crudeliter

1. Q. Q.] 'the two Quinti.' Quintus, the brother of Cicero, and his son Quintus.

operas dedit] 'was deputy-collector of the port dues and pasture-tax of Asia'; *portus* is used for *portoria*; cp. *magistros scripturae et portus*, Att. v. 15 *fin.* (207) and note there.

invitavit] 'gave him an invitation'; the word is rarely used absolutely without *ad cenam* or some such words.

volumen orationis] a roll or packet containing the heads of a speech which he intended to make to Caesar.

simili scelere] *Scelus* especially refers

to *treason* and every kind of *treacherous* crimes.

2. *Nihil . . . paratius*] 'nothing could be better than the organization of the Pompeian party in Africa.'

Accedit Hispania] Q. Cassius Longinus, who had been left by Caesar in charge of Spain as pro-praetor, had completely alienated the country from Caesar's cause. Italy, too, had been alienated by the conduct of Antony and Dolabella.

urbanae res perditae] through the quarrels between the tribunes Trebellius and Dolabella and their want of harmony with Antony.

inimici sunt, si odisse non potes, accuses tamen, non ut aliquid proficias, sed ut tibi me carum esse sentiant. Plura ad te scribam, si mihi ad eas litteras, quas proxime ad te dedi, rescripseris. Vale.
XII. Kal. Febr.

CCCCXXVI. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XI. 11).

BRUNDISIUM; MARCH 8 (MORNING); A. U. C. 707; B. C. 47; AET. CIC. 59.

De commercio litterarum, de pecunia P. Sallustio curanda, de misera condicione sua.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Confectus iam cruciatu maximorum dolorum, ne, si sit quidem quod ad te debeam scribere, facile id exsequi possim, *nunc* hoc minus, quod res nulla est quae scribenda sit, cum praesertim ne spes quidem ulla ostendatur fore melius. Ita iam ne tuas quidem litteras exspecto, quamquam semper aliquid adferunt quod velim. Qua re tu quidem scribito, cum erit cui des: ego tuis proximis, quas tamen iam pridem accepi, nihil habeo quod rescribam. Longo enim intervallo video immutata esse omnia: illa esse firma quae debeant, nos stultitiae nostrae gravissimas poenas pendere.
2. P. Sallustio curanda sunt HS xxx, quae accepi a Cn. Sallustio. Velim videas ut sine mora curentur. De ea re scripsi ad Terentiam.

si odisse non potes] as brother-in-law of the elder Quintus and uncle of the younger.

1. *nunc*] Wesenberg saw that some such word as *nunc* is here required, and it might easily have fallen out between *possim* and *hoc*. The verb *possum* is to be supplied, but not to be introduced into the text.

Ita iam] 'so completely have I given up looking forward even to your letters' (as a source of hope). This explains or emphasizes what he has just said, that there is no hope for the future. *Ita* cannot of course be a conjunction, 'so' = 'accordingly.' The sentence would have been more easily and naturally expressed if Cicero had written *itaque* instead of *ita*.

Longo intervallo] 'I now see at last that the whole situation remains unchanged': *longo intervallo* is not at all the best way of expressing this idea, but we must not expect perfection of expression in the letters written during this period of depression and despair.

quae debeant] Wesenberg says the subjunctive has no place here, and would read *debent* or *debeant*. Boot suggests *debilia erant*. But, when Cicero says that the cause is strong which ought to be strong, in using the subjunctive *debeant* he does no more than indicate that *quae debeant* is a description of the Pompeian cause. He says 'the right cause is strong,' not 'the Pompeians are getting the best of it, and they are in the right.'

stultitiae nostrae] in leaving the camp of Pompey and returning to Italy.

Atque hoc ipsum iam prope consumptum est. Qua re id quoque velim, cum illa videas, ut sit qui utamur. Hic fortasse potero sumere, si sciam istic paratum fore. Sed prius quam id scirem nihil sum ausus sumere. Qui sit omnium rerum status noster vides. Nihil est mali quod non et sustineam et exspectem. Quarum rerum eo gravior est dolor quo culpa maior. Ille in Achaia non cessat de nobis detrahere. Nihil videlicet tuae litterae profecerunt. Vale. VIII. Idus Mart.

CCCCXXVII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XI. 12).

BRUNDISIUM; MARCH 8 (EVENING); A. U. C. 707; B. C. 47;
AET. CIC. 59.

M. Cicero Attico scribit de causa profectionis suae ex Italia Caesari adlata, de Q. fratre quae ipse Caesari scripserit, de rebus Africanis, de litteris ad Antonium et ad ceteros dandis, de actionibus generi sui, de Galeonis hereditate.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Cephalio mihi a te litteras reddidit a. d. VIII. Idus Mart. vespere. Eo autem die mane tabellarios miseram, quibus ad te dederam litteras. Tuis tamen lectis litteris putavi aliquid rescribendum esse, ea re maxime quod ostendis te pendere animi quamnam rationem sim Caesari adlaturus profectionis meae tum, cum ex Italia discesserim. Nihil opus est mihi nova ratione. Saepe enim ad eum scripsi multisque mandavi me non potuisse, cum cupissem, sermones hominum sustinere, multaque in eam sententiam. Nihil enim erat quod minus eum vellem existimare quam me tanta de re non meo consilio usum esse. Posteaque,

2. *hoc ipsum*] 'this very sum' of 30,000 sesterces (£250).

ut sit qui utamur] 'some money to go on with': cp. Att. xiii. 23, 3: Ter. Ad. v. 9, 24.

sumere] 'I could draw on my banker here if it were certain that I had a balance in Rome': cp. Att. xiii. 6, 2.

omnium rerum] objective genitive, for which Boot compares Fam. viii. 14, 2 (280); Fin. iv. 39; De Sen. 4.

Ille in Achaia] Quintus senior.

1. *pendere animi*] 'that you are in a state of uncertainty.'

mandavi] sc. *ut scriberent* 'I told him in my own letters (and charged my friends, to tell him the same) that I could not endure the way people spoke of me (for not joining Pompey), and I added much to the same effect.'

meo consilio usum esse] It is strange that he should claim to have acted solely on his own conviction, when he confesses that it was the comments of his former

cum mihi litterae a Balbo Cornelio minore missae essent, illum existimare Quintum fratrem lituum meae profectionis fuisse—ita enim scripsit—qui nondum cognossem quae de me Quintus scripsisset ad multos, etsi multa praesens in praesentem acerbè dixerat et fecerat, tamen nilo minus his verbis ad Caesarem scripsi:

‘2. De Quinto fratre meo non minus laboro quam de me ipso, sed eum tibi commendare hoc meo tempore non audeo. Illud dumtaxat tamen audebo petere abs te, quod te oro, ne quid existimes ab illo factum esse quo minus mea in te officia constarent minusve te diligerem, potiusque semper illum auctorem nostrae coniunctionis fuisse meique itineris comitem, non ducem. Qua re ceteris in rebus tantum ei tribues, quantum humanitas tua amicitiaeque vestra postulat. Ego ei ne quid apud te obsim, id te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.’

3. Qua re, si quis congressus fuerit mihi cum Caesare—etsi non dubito quin is lenis in illum futurus sit idque iam declaraverit—, ego tamen is ero, qui semper fui. Sed, ut video, multo magis est nobis laborandum de Africa, quam quidem tu scribis confirmari cotidie magis ad condicionis spem quam victoriae. Quod utinam

friends which moved him. He seems to be anxious to absolve his brother Quintus from all responsibility for his departure.

illum existimare] sc. *Caesarem*.

lituum meae profectionis] ‘sounded the bugle for my retreat’: cp. *de lituis* *Βολυπίδος* Att. ii. 12, 2 (37). See Fam. vi. 12, 3 (490), where we read that Ampius Balbus was called *tuba belli civilis*.

qui nondum cognossem] ‘not having yet heard.’ This detracts somewhat from the generosity of the passage. Cicero, who here quotes from his letter, as the subjunctive implies, owns that he would have adopted a different tone had he been aware of all the baseness of his brother. The *tamen* clause qualifies only the *etsi* clause.

2. *hoc meo tempore*] ‘at such a crisis in my fortunes’; *abl. modi*: see on Fam. v. 8, 4 (131).

petere abs te quod te oro] ‘this is the only petition I shall venture to make to you, my earnest request that.’ For the pleonasm see Madv. 481, b. A good example is *lex permittit ut . . . liceat*, Tull. 47. The most common case of this very common pleonasm is the use of *facere*, as in *invitus feci ut eicerem*, De Sen. 42: cp. also *persuasum est ut arbitrarentur*,

Fam. xii. 10, 2; *in eam opinionem venerat ut viderentur*, Fam. viii. 10, 2 (226); *in eam opinionem adducebat ut putaret*, Caecin 13.

quo minus . . . constarent] ‘to infringe upon my unbroken recognition of your claims on me, or to weaken my regard for you,’ Jeans.

potiusque] ‘If a negative proposition is followed by an affirmative in which the same thought is expressed or continued, *que, et, ac* are employed where we should use *but*, as *Socrates nec patronum quaesivit, nec supplex fuit, adhibuitque liberam contumaciam*, Tusc. i. 71.’—Madv. 433. Obs. 2.

ei ne quid apud te obsim] ‘that I may not injure him in your esteem.’

3. *qui semper fui*] He here declares that even the knowledge he has gained since writing the letter, will not make any change in his way of speaking about his brother, a statement not quite consistent with the use of the subjunctive *cognossem* above, § 1.

confirmari] ‘is growing strong’ in the republican interest.

magis ad condicionis] ‘in such a way as to inspire hopes of a composition rather than of a victory.’

ita esset ! Sed longe aliter esse intellego, teque ipsum ita existimare arbitror, aliter autem scribere, non fallendi, sed confirmandi mei causa, praesertim cum adiungatur ad Africam etiam Hispania. 4. Quod me admones ut scribam ad Antonium et ad ceteros, si quid videbitur tibi opus esse, velim facias id, quod saepe fecisti. Nihil enim mihi venit in mentem quod scribendum putem. Quod me audis erectiorem esse animo, quid putas, cum videas accessisse ad superiores aegritudines praeclaras generi actiones ? Tu tamen velim ne intermittas, quod eius facere poteris, scribere ad me, etiam si rem de qua scribas non habebis. Semper enim adferunt aliquid mihi tuae litterae. Galeonis hereditatem crevi. Puto enim cretionem simplicem fuisse, quoniam ad me nulla missa est. VIII. Idus Martias.

longe aliter esse intellego] Cicero thought the republican party would win, and peace would be out of the question.

adiungatur . . . etiam Hispania] i. e. Spain is now to be added to the strength of the Pompeian party, having been alienated from Caesar through the misconduct of his lieutenant Q. Cassius Longinus.

4. *erectiorem animo*] Lehmann, p. 83, shows that this need not be corrected to *erectiore animo*.

cretionem] *Cretio* is the declaration of a legatee that he will take an inheritance. That declaration had almost always to be made within some definite time: if the time was not specified in the will, the praetor fixed it in the interests of the creditors of the deceased. The limit was generally 100 days from the date on which the legatee received information that he had been instituted heir and was in a position to come to a decision. This was called *cretio vulgaris*. But occasionally a time was specified in the will to run from the date of the testator's death, not from the date on which the legatee received information; the important words *quibus sciet poteritque* were omitted in the will. This was called *cretio continua* (Gaius ii. 165-173). But, besides the limit of time, it is quite plain that the testator might make several other

conditions with regard to the *cretio*, e.g. the person before whom it was to be made, the place, and such like. One such condition is expressly mentioned, that the *cretio* should be made in the presence of witnesses: cp. Varro, L. L. vi. 81, *itaque in cretione adhibere iubent testes*; Cic. Att. xiii. 46, *ex eo cognovi cretionem* (*O Vestorium negligentem!*) *liberam cretionem testibus praesentibus sexaginta diebus*. No other conditions than the two specified are there mentioned, so that Cicero says the *cretio* is a *free* one, though we do not remember to have met the expression *libera cretio* elsewhere. Much the same meaning is to be attached to the word *simplicem* in the present passage. 'I declared,' says Cicero, 'my acceptance of the inheritance (that was sufficient); for I think that there were no special conditions laid down in the will as to how the *cretio* was to be made, and no statement of any such conditions was sent to me.' *Cretio* is understood with *nulla*: cp. Karlowa, Röm. Rechtsgeschichte ii. p. 897. The conditions attaching to *cretiones* were troublesome and annoying, and ultimately were abrogated by Justinian, Cod. vi. 30, 17. *Cretionum scrupulosam sollemnitatem hac lege penitus amputari decernimus*: cp. Cod. Theod. viii. 18, 8, 1.

CCCCXXVIII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XI. 13).

BRUNDISIUM ; APRIL ; A. U. C. 707 ; B. C. 47 ; AET. CIC. 59.

M. Cicero Attico scribit se neminem in se alieno animo esse intellexisse, de P. Lentulo patre, de Lentulo filio, de Cassio ubi versari dicantur, de Q. fratris litteris ad se datis, de coheredibus Fufidianis, de fundo Frusinati redimendo et de facultatibus suis imminutis, de litterarum inter se commercio.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. A Murenæ liberto nihil adhuc acceperam litterarum. P. Siser reddiderat eas, quibus rescribo. De Servii patris litteris quod scribis, item Quintum in Syriam venisse quod ais esse qui nuntient, ne id quidem verum est. Quod certiore te vis fieri quo quisque in me animo sit aut fuerit eorum, qui huc venerunt, neminem alieno intellexi. Sed quantum id mea intersit existimare te posse certe scio. Mihi cum omnia sint intolerabilia ad dolorem tum maxime, quod in eam causam venisse me video, ut sola utilia mihi esse videantur quae semper nolui. P. Lentulum patrem Rhodi esse aiunt, Alexandriae filium, Rhodoque Alexandream C. Cassium profectum esse constat. 2. Quintus mihi per litteras satis facit multo asperioribus verbis quam cum gravissime accusabat. Ait enim se ex litteris tuis intellegere tibi non placere, quod ad multos de me asperius scripserit, itaque se paenitere, quod animum

1. *certe scio*] The ordinary rule laid down as to the distinction between *certo scio* and *certe scio* is, that the former means 'I know for certain,' and the latter 'certainly I know.' Some editors deny the validity of the distinction, and Boot holds that *certe* may always be used for *certo*, though it is not true that *certo* can always take the place of *certe*. At all events there is no reason here to change *certe* of the mss to *certo*, because even if we rejected the doctrine of Boot, and accepted the distinction laid down, *certe scio* would suit the passage very well; Cicero would say, 'Surely I am aware that you can judge how important it is to me that no one should have feelings of enmity against me.' *Certe* can be used with all verbs, *certo* only with *scio*.

intolerabilia ad dolorem] 'insufferably

painful'; lit. 'as regards the distress they cause.' For the use of *ad cp. ad severitatem lenius et ad communem salutem utilius* Catil. i. 12; *ad existimationem turpius, ad dolorem acerbius*, De Or. ii. 200.

causam] 'my case is now this, that the issue I have always disliked seems now the only one that will serve my interests'; he means the victory of Caesar. In sentences like this, *causa* means much the same as *condicio*, and may be rendered 'case.'

Rhodi esse] Caesar, B. C. iii. 102, 7, tells us that the Rhodians refused to receive Lentulus, and this is confirmed by a letter from the son of Lentulus, Fam. xii. 14, 3.

2. *satis facit*] 'in excusing himself (apologising to me) he uses much bitterer expressions than in his most virulent denunciations of me.'

tuum offenderit, sed se iure fecisse. Deinde perscribit—sed spurcissime—quas ob causas fecerit. Sed neque hoc tempore nec antea patefecisset odium suum in me, nisi omnibus rebus me esse oppressum videret. Atque utinam vel nocturnis, quem ad modum tu scripseras, itineribus propius te accessissem! Nunc nec ubi nec quando te sim visurus possum suspicari. 3. De coheredibus Fufidianis nihil fuit quod ad me scriberes. Nam et aequum postulant et quidquid egisses recte esse actum putarem. 4. De fundo Frusinati redimendo iam pridem intellexisti voluntatem meam, etsi tum meliore loco res erant nostrae neque tam mihi desperatum iri videbantur, tamen in eadem sum voluntate. Id quem ad modum fiat tu videbis. Et velim, quod poteris, consideres ut sit unde nobis suppeditentur sumptus necessarii. Si quas habuimus facultates, eas Pompeio tum, cum id videbamur sapienter facere, detulimus. Itaque tum et a tuo vilico sumpsimus et aliunde mutuati sumus, cum Quintus queritur per litteras sibi nos nihil dedisse, qui neque ab illo rogati sumus neque ipsi eam pecuniam aspeximus. Sed velim videas quid sit quod confici possit quidque mihi de omnibus des consilii, et causam nosti. 5. Plura ne scribam dolore impediatur. Si quid erit quod ad quos scribendum meo nomine putes, velim, ut soles, facias: quotiensque habebis cui des ad me litteras, nolim praetermittas. Vale.

sed spurcissime] 'but most coarsely'; yet *spurcissime* seems to be far too violent an expression. We should much prefer to accept C. F. Hermann's correction of the ms *spurcissime*, and read *parcissime*, 'most grudgingly,' *parce* is often used in this kind of context: cp. a letter of Caecina, Fam. vi. 7, 3 (532), where the context illustrates the phrase *scripsi de te parce*: cp. also *et quidem multo parcius scripsi*, 'indeed I used much less qualified language than the occasion warranted,' Fam. xii. 14, 3. *Exigue* is similarly used in Att. xi. 16, 1 (431). Shakespeare uses *lenten* in a similar sense in *Twelfth Night*, i. 5, 9:—

Clown. Let her hang me; he that is well hanged in this world needs to fear no colours.

Maria. Make that good.

Clown. He shall see none to fear.

Maria. A good *lenten* answer.

3. *aequum postulant*] 'their demand is a fair one, and in any case I should

have approved of any step taken by you.'

4. *ut sit unde nobis*] = *ut sit qui utamur*, Att. xi. 11, 2 (426).

detulimus] 'put into the hands of Pompey'; this was a sum amounting to nearly £19,000, the profits of his government of Cilicia. Cicero tells Rufus, in a letter written two years before the present, that Pompey appropriated the whole sum, which was in the hands of publicans at Ephesus, for the purposes of the war, Fam. v. 20, 9 (302). He says that at the time of his brother's request he had 'never laid eyes on' the money: but he speaks as if it was not yet completely exhausted.

causam nosti] The meaning is, 'you know the details of the case'; but the expression is stronger, more like 'you have your brief.'

5. *Si quid erit quod ad quos*] cf. *ne quando quid emanet*, Att. x. 12, 3 (397), and note there.

CCCCXXIX. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XI. 14).

BRUNDISIUM ; APRIL OR MAY ; A. U. C. 707 ; B. C. 47 ; AET. CIC. 59.

De misera condicione sua, quod iam ne socios quidem habeat, certior cupit fieri quid Caesar ad Balbum et Oppium de se scripserit, de Dolabella genero, de Q. fratre de rebus domesticis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Non me offendit veritas litterarum tuarum, quod me cum communibus tum praecipuis malis oppressum ne incipis quidem, ut solebas, consolari faterisque id fieri iam non posse. Nec enim ea sunt, quae erant antea, cum, ut nihil aliud, comites me et socios habere putabam. Omnes enim Achaici deprecatores itemque in Asia, quibus non erat ignotum, etiam quibus erat, in Africam dicuntur navigaturi. Ita praeter Laelium neminem habeo culpae socium, qui tamen hoc meliore in causa est, quod iam est receptus. 2. De me autem non dubito quin ad Balbum et ad Oppium scripserit, a quibus, si quid esset laetius, certior factus essem, tecum etiam essent locuti: quibuscum tu de hoc ipso colloquare velim et ad me quid tibi responderint scribas, non quo ab isto salus data quidquam habitura sit firmitudinis, sed tamen aliquid consuli et prospici poterit. Etsi omnium conspectum horreo, praesertim hoc genero, tamen in tantis malis quid aliud velim non reperio. 3. Quintus pergit, ut ad me et Pansa scripsit et Hirtius, isque item Africam petere cum ceteris dicitur. Ad Minucium Tarentum scribam et tuas litteras mittam; ad te scribam, num

1. *communibus . . . praecipuis*] For the antithesis between these two words, by which Cicero denotes troubles which 'affect all in common,' and others which 'affect himself specially': cp. Att. xi. 3, 2 (411), and Lehmann, p. 27.

cum, ut nihil aliud] 'when, though I had nothing else, I thought I had companions and partners in the course I took'; *comites* only denotes those who accompany one, *socius* indicates a participation in a policy or design (his return to Italy).

Achaici deprecatores] 'the Achaian petitioners' for Caesar's pardon.

ignotum] participle from *ignoscere*; we find the pass. impers. of *ignoscere* in *ignotum est, tacitum est*, Ter. Ad. iii. 4, 28.

2. *ab isto salus data*] He distrusts Caesar's pardon, because he was in a position to revoke at any time what he had granted, Att. xi. 20, 1 (444).

hoc genero] 'with such a son-in-law'; for the ablative see on Fam. v. 8, 4 (131).

3. *pergit*] 'is going on as before,' i.e. is abusing me.

quid egerim. HS xxx potuisse mirarer, nisi multa de Fufidianis praediis. Sed avide tamen *te* exspecto, quem videre, si ullo modo potest—*poscit* enim res—pervelim. Iam extremum concluditur; tibi facile est quod quale sit hic gravius existimare. Vale.

CCCCXXX. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XI. 15).

BRUNDISIUM; MAY 14; A. U. C. 707; B. C. 47; AET. CIC. 59.

M. Cicero consilium requirit ab Attico quid sibi nunc, cum iam paene solus sit, agendum sit, de negotio Minuciano, de Q. fratre et Q. filio, de summo dolore suo, quod peccasse sibi videatur, et diutius Brundisii non amplius posse manere, de genero, de Aesopi filio, de Fufidianis coheredibus.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Quoniam iustas causas adfers, quod te hoc tempore videre non possim, quaeso quid sit mihi faciendum. Ille enim ita videtur Alexandream tenere, ut eum scribere etiam pudeat de illis rebus.

HS xxx *potuisse mirarer*] Atticus had undertaken to repay the representatives of Minucius in Rome any sum not exceeding 30,000 sesterces (£250). Cicero says that he would be surprised that Atticus could have undertaken the repayment of so large an advance were it not that he understood that the property inherited from Fufidius had turned out well.

potuisse] sc. *conficere*, 'to raise that sum.' But perhaps we should read *esse*, which could well have fallen out of the *potuisse*, 'that the sum could have been so large.'

Sed avide tamen] Though he had said above that he would tell Atticus by letter how the affair went, and how far he had succeeded (*ad te scribam numquid egerim*), 'yet,' he adds, 'all the same, I am eagerly looking forward to a personal interview with you.'

potest] sc. *feri*; the impersonal use of *potest*, 'it is possible,' is frequent in the letters.

Iam extremum concluditur] 'already the final issue is drawing to a close'; the meaning of these words is explained and developed in Att. xi. 25, 3 (436), where

he says that all hope of peace is gone, and that the Caesarean party has in it the elements of its own dissolution.

† *ibi facile est*] We can only obelise these words. They might possibly have run thus: *ibi facilius quid quare sit hic gravius existimare*, 'at that point (when things have come to the worst) it will be easier to judge what would be the more fatal issue of things here, and why.' But *ibi*, for 'at that point, when things have come to that' is an unlikely mode of expression. The passage might also have run (to develop a suggestion of Wesenberg) thus:—*ibi tibi facile <iudicium facere>, quod quale sit hic gravius est existimare*, 'where you are you will find it easy to form a judgment, but the task of greater difficulty will be to estimate its value here in Brundisium.'

1. *causas adfers, quod . . . possim*] Boot would read *cur* for *quod*, but there are abundant examples of *quod* with the subj. in Cicero's letters and the comic drama, as well as in later poetry, e. g. Hor. Ep. ii. 1, 30.

Ille] Caesar.

Hi autem ex Africa iam adfuturi videntur; Achaici item ex Asia redituri ad eos aut libero aliquo loco commoraturi. Quid mihi igitur putas agendum? Video difficile esse consilium. Sum enim solus aut cum altero, cui neque ad illos reditus sit neque ab his ipsis quidquam ad spem ostendatur. Sed tamen scire velim quid censeas, idque erat cum aliis cur te, si fieri posset, cuperem videre. 2. Minucium XII sola curasse scripsi ad te antea: quod superest, velim videas ut curetur. Quintus non modo non cum magna prece ad me, sed acerbissime scripsit, filius vero mirifico odio. Nihil fingi potest mali quo non urgear. Omnia tamen sunt faciliora quam peccati dolor, qui et maximus est et aeternus: cuius peccati si socios essem habiturus ego, quos putavi, tamen esset ea consolatio tenuis. Sed habet aliorum omnium ratio exitum, mea nullum. Alii capti, alii interclusi non veniunt in dubium de voluntate, eo minus scilicet, cum se expedierint et una esse coeperint. Ii autem ipsi, qui sua voluntate ad Fufium venerunt, nihil possunt nisi timidi existimari. Multi autem sunt, qui quocumque modo ad illos se recipere volent, recipientur. Quo minus debes mirari non posse me tanto dolori resistere. Solius enim meum peccatum corrigi non potest et fortasse Laelii. Sed quid me id levat? Nam C. quidem Cassium aiunt consilium Alexandream eundi mutavisse. 3. Haec ad te scribo, non ut queas tu demere sollicitudinem, sed ut cognoscam ecquid tu ad ea

Hi autem] He enumerates all the Pompeians; those in Africa, and those in Achaia, who afterwards went to Asia.

redituri] 'are going to join the Pompeians in Italy, or to remain in some place not in the hands of Caesar.'

cum altero] sc. *Laelio*.

ad illos] the Pompeians.

ab his ipsis] the Caesareans.

2. *xii sola*] 12,000 sesterces, only a little more than £100, whereas he required about £250.

cum magna prece] 'with earnest entreaty.'

peccati dolor] 'my mortification at the mistake I made' in returning to Italy after Pharsalia.

quos putavi] 'as I thought I should have had'; he refers to his brother and nephew.

Sed habet aliorum omnium ratio] 'the case of all the rest admits of some plea of extenuation (has a way out, ἐκβασις), but mine does not. Some were taken

captive, some cut off, and so cannot incur any suspicion of a want of loyalty to Pompey (in not going to Africa after Pharsalia), the more especially as they have now succeeded in effecting a junction there.'

ad Fufium] These are the *Achaici*, who yielded to Q. Fufius Calenus, whom Caesar had made governor of Greece after Pharsalia. Cicero fears that his return to Italy might be regarded as a distinct overture to Caesar.

Solius enim] see n. of Fam. v. 6, 1 (16).

Nam] This explains the clause *solius . . . Laelii*, the words *sed quid me id levat* referring parenthetically to Laelius: 'for the case of Cassius cannot be quoted as parallel to ours, as he has given up his design of going to Alexandria to join Caesar.' If he had persevered in that design he would have laid himself open to the imputation of having made direct overtures to Caesar like Cicero, and perhaps Laelius.

adferas, quae me conficiunt, ad quae gener accedit et cetera, quae fletu reprimor ne scribam. Quin etiam Aesopi filius me excruciat. Prorsus nihil abest quin sim miserrimus. Sed ad primum revertor, quid putes faciendum, occultene aliquo propius veniendum an mare transeundum. Nam hic maneri diutius non potest. 4. De Fufidianis qua re nihil potuit confici? Genus enim condicionis eius modi fuit, in quo non solet esse controversia, cum ea pars, quae videtur esse minor, licitatione expleri posset. Haec ego non sine causa quaero. Suspikor enim coheredes dubiam nostram

3. *gener*] 'the conduct of my son-in-law, Dolabella.'

Aesopi filius] another character common to Cicero's letters and Horace, who, as well as Cicero, designates him as *Aesopi filius*. He was an utter profligate, who had inherited a very large fortune from his father Aesopus, a celebrated tragic actor of the time when Roscius was so famous in comedy. This Aesopus junior was a rival of Dolabella's for the favours of a notorious adulteress, Metella, wife of P. Corn. Lentulus Spinther. Palmer, on Hor. Sat. ii. 3, 239, thinks that the coincidence of expression indicates a recent study of Cicero's letter on the part of Horace. It was the bad influence of this young man on Dolabella which gave Cicero such pain.

4. *licitatione*.] In the division of any common property in definite proportions, it must often happen that an exactly accurate partition cannot be effected. The instance taken by Justinian in the Institutes (iv. 17, 5) is that of 'a man or a mule'; and certainly in the case of these commodities a division could not be made with much profit to the persons interested. But even in the case of lands and houses difficulty would often be caused as to how to effect a division without serious inconvenience to the owners, or without entailing considerable diminution in the value of the property. So that the only method of procedure was to assign the property to one or more persons, and to compensate those who obtained a less share than was their due. This was generally done, no doubt, by friendly arrangement; but often all parties were unable to agree, with the result that an *actio familiae erciscundae* or *communi dividundo* ensued. The essential character of these two actions was the same: the only difference was that the former referred to inheritance, the latter

to property owned in common. The *iudex* adjudicated the property in the most advantageous manner to one or more persons, and fixed the amount of compensation to be paid to the person or persons who either had shares which were less than their due, or no shares at all. (Cp. Dig. x. 2, 55, *Si familiae erciscundae communive dividundo iudicium agatur et divisio tam difficilis sit ut paene impossibilis esse videatur, potest iudex in unius personam totam condemnationem conferre et adiudicare omnes res*.) But the *iudex* could also put up the integral portion (which it was impossible to divide) for auction among the co-heirs or co-partners (and sometimes, though exceptionally, even for public auction), and divide the sums thus realized among them. This is apparently the process to which Cicero is referring in our passage; and a somewhat similar procedure would appear to be laid down in the Code, iii. 37, 3, 1: *Cum autem regionibus dividi aliquis ager inter socios non potest, vel ex pluribus singuli aestimatione iusta facta unicuique sociorum adiudicantur, compensatione invicem pretii facta eoque, cui maioris res pretii obvenit, ceteris condemnato, ad licitationem nonnunquam etiam extraneo emptore admissio, maxime si se non sufficere ad iusta pretia alter ex sociis sua pecunia vincere vilius licentem profiteatur*.

dubiam nostram causam] What made Cicero so anxious about this matter was, that he feared his co-heirs looked on his chances of making his peace with Cæsar as problematical; if he failed, his property might be confiscated; they therefore wished the transaction to be kept open as long as possible, *rem in integro esse*, so that if Cicero incurred the anger of Cæsar, they might leave him out in the apportioning of the estate of Fufidius to the different legatees.

causam putare et eo rem in integro esse malle. Vale. Pridie Idus Maias.

CCCCXXXI. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XI. 16).

BRUNDISIUM; JUNE 3; A. U. C. 707; B. C. 47; AET. CIC. 59.

De misera condicione sua, qua quo modo se expediat et salutem inveniat nescire se ait, de Q. fratre et Q. filio, de Terentia.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Non meo vitio fit, hoc quidem tempore—ante enim est peccatum —, ut me ista epistola nihil consoletur. Nam et exigue scripta est et suspiciones magnas habet non esse ab illo, quas animadvertisse te existimo. De obviam itione ita faciam, ut suades. Neque enim ulla de adventu eius opinio est, neque, si qui ex Asia veniunt, quidquam auditum esse dicunt de pace, cuius ego spe in hanc fraudem incidi. Nihil video quod sperandum putem, nunc praesertim, cum ea plaga in Asia sit accepta, in Illyrico, in Cassiano negotio, in ipsa Alexandria, in urbe, in Italia. Ego vero, etiam si rediturus ille est, qui adhuc bellum gerere dicitur, tamen ante reditum eius negotium confectum iri puto. 2. Quod autem scribis quamdam laetitiam bonorum esse commotam, ut sit auditum de litteris, tu quidem nihil praetermittis, in quo putes aliquid solacii esse, sed ego non adducor quemquam

1. *ista ep.*] a letter sent to Cicero by Atticus, and purporting to have been written by Caesar.

exigue] 'grudgingly,' see on Att. xi. 13, 2 (428).

habet] 'causes, gives rise to,' a meaning which *habeo* often has, as *ἔχω* in Greek.

obviam itione] These words (sometimes written as one word) perhaps confirm the conjecture of *exitionem* for *EKI-TAONON* in Att. x. 13 fin. (399). He elsewhere uses the word *ἀπάντησις* to signify an *accueil* or welcome given to a returning friend or patron.

plaga in Asia] In Asia, Cn. Domitius, a lieutenant of Caesar's, had been unsuccessful against Pharnaces; in Illyricum, Gabinius had met with reverses; in Spain,

Q. Cassius Longinus had been abandoned by his army, and left to perish; in Alexandria, Caesar had received a check; in the city, there were dissensions between the Caesarean tribunes; and Italy was alienated from that cause by the misconduct of Antony. Boot quotes for the above details the writer *de bello Alexandrino*.

negotium confectum iri] sc. by the arrival of the Pompeians in Italy: cp. Att. xi. 15, 1 (430).

2. *ut sit auditum de*] 'on the news of Caesar's conciliatory letter to me.'

non adducor] *Adducor* is here used as if it were *adducor in opinionem*, *adducor ut credam*; and still more anomalously, the object clause *quemquam bonum . . . putare* is treated as if it depended directly on *non*

bonum ullam salutem putare mihi tanti fuisse, ut eam peterem ab illo, et eo minus, quod huius consilii iam ne socium quidem habeo quemquam. Qui in Asia sunt, rerum exitum exspectant. Achaici etiam Fufio spem deprecationis adferunt. Horum et timor idem fuit primo qui meus et constitutum: mora Alexandrina causam illorum correxit, meam evertit. 3. Quam ob rem idem a te nunc peto quod superioribus litteris, ut, si quid in perditis rebus dispiceres quod mihi putares faciendum, me moneres. Si recipior ab his, quod vides non fieri, tamen, quoad bellum erit, quid agam aut ubi sim non reperio: sin iactor, eo minus. Itaque tuas litteras exspecto, easque ut ad me sine dubitatione scribas, rogo. 4. Quod suades, ut ad Quintum scribam de his litteris, facerem, si me quidquam istae litterae delectarent. Etsi quidam scripsit ad me his verbis: 'Ego, ut in his malis, Patris sum non invitus: essem libentius, si frater tuus ea de te loqueretur, quae ego audire vellem.' Quod ais illum ad te scribere me sibi nullas litteras remittere, semel ab ipso accepi: ad eas Cephalioni dedi, qui multos menses tempestatibus retentus est. Quintum filium ad me acerbissime scripsisse iam ante ad te scripsi. 5. Extremum est

adducor rather than on *ut credam*, to be supplied; and accordingly *quemquam* is used instead of *aliquem*, *quemvis*, *quempiam*, which would have been the proper pronouns to use if he had written *non adducor ut credam aliquem bonum putare*. Madvig has a most masterly note on *adducor* = *adducor ad credendum* on Fin. i. 14. It is followed by *ut* with subjunctive, and by accusative and infinitive. Madvig points out that in like manner *dispexerim* means *me dispexisse credam* in *nec vero possum meo tantum ingenio dare ut tot res tam varias . . . dispexerim*, Sull. 40; and *dispexerit* = *dispexisse iudicetur* in *quid est causae quin . . . dispexerit*, Leg. Agr. iii. 3. By a similar brachylogy in De Or. i. 115, Cicero writes *neque haec ita dico ut ars aliquos limare non possit*, where complete perspicuity would have demanded *neque haec ita dico ut dicam artem . . . non posse*. (See Wilkins' note.)

spem deprecationis adferunt] 'keep before him a hope that they will at some time make their peace with Caesar,' but still put it off.

constitutum] 'their policy, their resolution' to put themselves into the hands of Caesar; but the check which Caesar

received at Alexandria prevented them from carrying out their design, and so saved them from breaking openly with the Pompeians. On the other hand the fact that Caesar's cause had suffered a reverse made the step which he took in leaving the Pompeian camp for Italy a still more significant declaration in favour of Caesar.

3. *dispiceres . . . putares . . . moneres*] depend on *petivi*, to be supplied with *quod superioribus litteris*.

ab his] sc. a Caesarianis.

iactor] 'if I am scorned, repudiated.' See on Att. iv. 9 (122). This sense of *iactare* has not yet found its way into the dictionaries, though it has been long since recognised by Madvig in his explanation of the Lucilian verse—

O lapathe ut *iactare* nec est sati' cognitu' qui sis;

by Munro, *Journal of Philology*, vii. 299 and by Palmer on Hor. Sat. ii. 2, 47.

4. *de his litteris*] the letter from Caesar already referred to, and in *istae litterae* the reference is the same.

Quod ais illum] sc. Quintum.

5. *Extremum est quod te orem*] 'the last thing I have to do is to beg you.'

quod te orem, si putas rectum esse et a te suscipi posse, cum Camillo communices, ut Terentiam moneatis de testamento. Tempora monent, ut videat ut satis faciat quibus debet. Auditum ex Philotimo est eam scelerate quaedam facere. Credibile vix est, sed certe, si quid est quod fieri possit, providendum est. De omnibus rebus velim ad me scribas, et maxime, quid sentias de ea, in qua tuo consilio egeo, etiam si nihil excogites: id enim mihi erit pro desperato. III. Non. Iun.

CCCCXXXII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XI. 17).

BRUNDISIUM ; JUNE 14 ; A. U. C. 707 ; B. C. 47 ; AET. CIC. 59.

M. Cicero Attico significat Tulliam ad se venisse, Ciceronem ad Caesarem cogitat mittere, Tulliam ad matrem remittere, de sermone Oppii cum Attico habito, inane esse illud de litteris a. d. v. Febr. datis, de L. Terentio.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Properantibus tabellariis alienis hanc epistolam dedi: eo brevior est et quod eram missurus nostros. Tullia mea venit ad me pridie Idus Iunias deque tua erga se observantia benevolentiaque mihi plurima exposuit litterasque reddidit trinas. Ego autem ex ipsius virtute, humanitate, pietate non modo eam voluptatem non cepi, quam capere ex singulari filia debui, sed etiam incredibili sum dolore adfectus, tale ingenium in tam misera fortuna versari idque accidere nullo ipsius delicto, summa culpa mea. Itaque a te neque consolationem iam, qua cupere te uti video, nec consilium, quod capi nullum potest, exspecto, teque omnia cum

cum Camillo] a real-property lawyer, a friend of Cicero's often mentioned in the letters, e.g. Att. v. 8, 3 (193); vi. 1, 19 (252); xi. 23, 1 (437).

de testamento] because, if Terentia made a will, she would be bound to make arrangements for the payment of her debts.

de ea in qua] sc. *re*, which is easily supplied from the foregoing *rebus*; it is a repetition of the request conveyed in § 3; such iterations are common in the concluding words of the letters.

etiam si nihil excogites] 'even if you cannot hit on any plan, I shall take that as a sign that the case is desperate.' Wesenberg is certainly right in correcting *excogitas* to *excogites*. M often gives a wrong mood, for instance, *debeat* for *debet* above.

1. *singulari filia*] 'a daughter who is one in a thousand.'

adfectus . . . versari] cp. *conficior venisse tempus*, Att. x. 18, 3 (404).

superioribus saepe litteris tum proximis temptasse intellego. Ego cum Sallustio Ciceronem ad Caesarem mittere cogitabam. Tulliam autem non videbam esse causam cur diutius mecum tanto in communi maerore retinerem. Itaque matri eam, cum primum per ipsam liceret, eram remissurus. Pro ea, quam ad modum consolantis scripsisti, putato ea me scripsisse, quae tu ipse intelleges responderi potuisse. 2. Quod Oppium tecum scribis locutum, non abhorret a mea suspicione eius oratio. Sed non dubito quin istis persuaderi nullo modo possit ea, quae faciant, mihi probari posse, quoquo modo loquar. Ego tamen utar moderatione qua potero. Quamquam quid mea intersit ut eorum odium subeam non intellego. 3. Te iusta causa impediri quo minus ad nos venias video, idque mihi valde molestum est. Illum [ab] Alexandria discessisse nemo nuntiat, constatque ne profectum quidem illum quemquam post Idus Mart. nec post Idus Decembr. ab illo datas ullas litteras; ex quo intellegis illud de litteris a. d. v. Id. Febr. datis, quod inane esset, etiam si verum esset, non verum esse. L. Terentium discessisse ex Africa scimus Paestumque venisse. Quid is adferat aut quo modo exierit aut quid in Africa fiat scire velim. Dicitur enim per Nasidium emissus esse. Id quale sit velim, si inveneris, ad me scribas. De HS x, ut scribis, faciam. Vale. xvii. Kalend. Quinctiles.

Ciceronem] his son Marcus.

eram remissurus] = *remissurus sum*: see on Att. v. 17, 1 (209).

Pro ea] sc. *epistola*.

2. *ut eorum . . . subeam*] 'my incurring their odium—what difference that makes to me I cannot see.' Edd. generally insert *ne* or *non*, but this is not necessary; see on Att. i. 5, 3 (1), where *missione* is defended against *intermissione* on a principle equally applicable to this passage.

3. *ab Alexandria*] *Ab* is probably an insertion of a copyist: cp. Att. xi. 18, 1 (434); 25, 2 (436).

ex quo intellegis] From this Cicero infers that, as he had surmised already, the

letter supposed to convey Caesar's friendly sentiments to himself was not a genuine letter of Caesar's at all. He adds that, even if it had been, there was 'nothing in it' (*inane*), so cold and grudging were the expressions of amity which it contained; but instead of saying, 'you see the letters were not genuine,' he writes, 'you see the report that Caesar had written me an amicable letter was not true'—a strange mode of expression. That there was an actual letter sent to Cicero, and purporting to come from Caesar, is plain from the words of Att. xi. 16, 1 (431), *nam et exiguae scripta est et suspiciones magnas habet, non esse ab illo; quas animadvertisse te existimo*.

CCCCXXXIII. CICERO TO TERENTIA (FAM. XIV. 11)

BRUNDISIUM ; JUNE 14 ; A. U. C. 707 ; B. C. 47 ; AET. CIC. 59.

M. Cicero Tulliam ad se venisse scribit, sibi autem in animo esse filium ad Caesarem mittere.

TULLIUS S. D. TERENTIAE SUAE.

S. V. B. E. V. Tullia nostra venit ad me pridie Idus Iunias, cuius summa virtute et singulari humanitate graviore etiam sum dolore adfectus nostra factum esse negligentia, ut longe alia in fortuna esset atque eius pietas ac dignitas postulabat. Nobis erat in animo Ciceronem ad Caesarem mittere et cum eo Cn. Sallustium. Si profectus erit, faciam te certiore. Valetudinem tuam cura diligenter. Vale. XVII. Kalendas Quinctil.

CCCCXXXIV. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XI. 18).

BRUNDISIUM ; JUNE 19 ; A. U. C. 707 ; B. C. 47 ; AET. CIC. 59.

M. Cicero Attico significat se amplius Brundisii morari non posse et ab eo rogat, ut conficiat ut exire possit.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. De illius Alexandria discessu nihil adhuc rumoris contraque opinio valde esse impeditum. Itaque nec mitto, ut constitueram,

S. V. B. E. V.] = *si vales bene est, valeo.*

cuius summa virtute . . . postulabat] 'her noble nature and marvellous sympathy have made me feel all the deeper grief that it is due to my own carelessness that her circumstances are so different from what her affection towards me and her position demanded.' For *humanitas* cp. Heitland on Cic. Muren. 66, '*Humanitas* expresses those small everyday allowances that men make for one another, without which society could not hold together.' The main idea of *humanitas*, then, is 'considerateness,' but it must

be translated by different words in different contexts. Here, referring to the considerateness shown by a loving daughter to her father, 'sympathy' will perhaps, in a measure, express what is meant.

dignitas] as daughter of Cicero and wife of Dolabella.

erat] Epistolary imperfect. For the mission here referred to, cp. Att. xi. 17, 1 (432). Cicero afterwards gave up the plan: see following letters.

1. *contraque*] This is one of those cases before commented on at Att. xi. 12,

Ciceronem et te rogo, ut me hinc expedias. Quodvis enim supplicium levius est hac permansione. Hac de re et ad Antonium scripsi et ad Balbum et ad Oppium. Sive enim bellum in Italia futurum est sive classibus utetur, hic esse me minime convenit: quorum fortasse utrumque erit, alterum certe. 2. Intellexi omnino ex Oppii sermone, quem tu mihi scripsisti, quae istorum ira esset, sed, ut eam flectas, te rogo. Nihil omnino iam exspecto nisi miserum. Sed hoc perditius, in quo nunc sum, fieri nihil potest. Qua re et cum Antonio loquere velim et cum istis et rem, *ut* poteris, expedias et mihi quam primum de omnibus rebus rescribas. Vale. XII. Kal. Quinctil.

CCCCXXXV. CICERO TO TERENTIA (FAM. XIV. 15).

BRUNDISIUM; JUNE 19; A. U. C. 707; B. C. 47; AET. CIC. 59.

M. Cicero significat Terentiae se filium iam nolle ad Caesarem mittere.

TULLIUS S. D. TERENTIAE.

Si vales, bene est. Constitueramus, ut ad te antea scripseram, ob viam Ciceronem Caesari mittere, sed mutavimus consilium, quia de illius adventu nihil audiebamus. De ceteris rebus, etsi nihil erat novi, tamen quid velimus et quid hoc tempore putemus opus esse ex Sicca poteris cognoscere. Tulliam adhuc mecum teneo. Valetudinem tuam cura diligenter. Vale. XII. Kalendas Quinctil.

2 (427), in which the Latin writers used a copulative where we should use an adversative conjunction: 'of Caesar's departure from Alexandria there is not yet a hint, but, on the contrary, the impression is that he is seriously hampered.' It is not likely that here Cicero gave to *contra* an adjectival force 'the contrary opinion does exist,' For a use of *contra* like the present, cp. *te rogo ne demittas animum . . . contraque erigas ac resistas*, Q. Fr. i. 1, 4 (30).

Ciceronem] see Att. xi. 17, 1 (432).

hinc] sc. *ex Brundisio*.

alterum] The two alternatives, one of which may be certainly expected, is an

invasion of Italy by the Pompeians from Africa, or the carrying of the war into foreign parts by Caesar.

2. *ira*] See on Att. viii. 11, 3 (342).

et cum istis] the Caesarians who were with Atticus in the city, and the same class are designated by *istorum* above.

mutavimus consilium . . . audiebamus] : cp. the previous letter, § 1. *De illius Alexandria discessu nihil adhuc rumoris, contraque opinio valde esse impeditum. Itaque nec mitto, ut constitueram, Ciceronem et te rogo ut me hinc expedias. Quodvis enim supplicium levius est hac permansione* (i.e. my stay at Brundisium).

CCCCXXXVI. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XI. 25).

BRUNDISIUM; JULY 5; A. U. C. 707; B. C. 47; AET. CIC. 59.

M. Cicero in summam desperationem omnium rerum adductus Attici litteras desiderat, Caesarem dici Alexandria discessisse nuntiat, de rebus domesticis et re familiari exponit et quid fieri velit significat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Facile adsentior tuis litteris, quibus exponis pluribus verbis nullum *consistere* consilium, quo a te possim iuvare. Consolatio certe nulla est, quae levare possit dolorem meum. Nihil est enim contractum casu—nam id esset ferendum—, sed omnia fecimus iis erroribus et miseriis et animi et corporis, quibus proximi utinam mederi maluissent! Quam ob rem, quoniam neque consilii tui neque consolationis cuiusquam spes ulla mihi ostenditur, non quaeram haec a te posthac. Tantum velim, ne intermittas, scribas ad me quidquid veniet tibi in mentem, cum habebis cui des et dum erit ad quem des, quod longum non erit. 2. Illum discessisse Alexandria rumor est non firmus, ortus ex Sulpicii litteris, quas cuncti postea nuntii confirmarunt: quod verum an falsum sit quoniam mea nihil interest, utrum malim nescio. 3. Quod ad te iam pridem de testamento scripsi, apud *†epistolas* velim ut possim adservari. Ego huius miserrimae fatuitate confectus conflictor.

1. *Consistere*] This word is inserted by Lehmann, who compares Att. viii. 11, 1 (342); xii. 50.

utinam mederi] 'would that my nearest and dearest had chosen to relieve my sufferings, rather than to aggravate them'; he refers to the Quincti and Terentia.

dum erit ad quem des] He hints that he may not long survive his present misery.

2. *Illum*] Caesarem.

3. *epistolas . . . possim*] We are disposed to correct this desperately corrupt passage by reading *apud ἐπισφαλῇ vereor ut possit adservari*; the sentiment is that of Att. xi. 24, 2 (441), where he wishes Terentia to be advised to commit her will to the safe keeping of someone, *cuius extra periculum huius belli fortuna sit*, 'who is in

such a position as to have nothing to fear from either of the contending parties.' He now says that he fears the will could not be safely deposited with a person not in that position, with a person *in danger* from either side'; this he expresses by a Greek word ἐπισφαλῇ, which the copyists most naturally corrupted to a word so constantly present to their minds and eyes as *epistolas*. We have seen that Cicero often uses a Greek word, even when there was a Latin word quite as suitable, but in this case there was no convenient Latin word, though in a later letter, Att. xiii. 27, 1, he forces this meaning on the word *periculosus*, which he uses to signify 'one in danger.'

fatuitate] the 'infatuation' of Tullia for her unworthy husband Dolabella. The

Nihil umquam simile natum puto, cui si qua re consulere aliquid possum, cupio a te admoneri. Video eandem esse difficultatem quam in consilio dando ante, tamen hoc me magis sollicitat quam omnia. In pensione secunda caeci fuimus. Aliud mallem: sed praeteriit. Te oro, ut in perditis rebus, si quid cogi, confici potest, quod sit in tuto, ex argento atque satis multa ex supellectile, des operam. Iam enim mihi videtur adesse extremum nec ulla fore condicio pacis eaque, quae sunt, etiam sine adversario peritura. Haec etiam, si videbitur, cum Terentia loquitor opportune. Non queo omnia scribere. Vale. III. Non Quinctil.

CCCCXXXVII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XI. 23).

BRUNDISIUM; JULY 9; A. U. C. 707; B. C. 47; AET. CIC. 59.

M. Cicero Attico de rebus domesticis et privatis plura significat, maxime de iuvanda Tullia.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Quod ad te scripseram ut cum Camillo communicares, de eo Camillus mihi scripsit te secum locutum. Tuas litteras expectabam, nisi illud quidem mutari, si aliter est et oportet, non video posse. Sed cum ab illo accepissem litteras, desideravi tuas etsi

word is rare, and in *De inv. Rhet.* ii. 99, it rather means 'want of energy,' but there is no reason why it should not have the meaning here ascribed to it, and it would easily have been corrupted to the *facultate* of M, as *c* and *t* are practically indistinguishable in mss. The words which follow show that some peculiarity of Tullia has been mentioned, 'she is the strangest creature that ever was born.'

In pensione secunda] 'I acted blindly in paying the second instalment; I wish I had not done so. But that is over.'

quod sit in tuto] 'if anything in the present state of the times could be raised from the sale of our plate and furniture, of which there is a good deal, and deposited in a safe place, pray, pray do so.' But the perverse order of the Latin words renders the soundness of this passage more than doubtful.

eaque, quae sunt] 'and that the power

now in the ascendant will collapse of its own inherent weaknesses,' the dissensions between Dolabella, Trebellius, and Antony.

loquitor] 'speak with her as occasion may serve.' He probably uses the rare form of the imperative because the succeeding vowel would make *loquere* cacophonous.

1. *Quod ad te scripseram*] Att. xi. 16, 5 (431).

nisi illud quidem] 'the only thing is this—I see it (the will) cannot be changed, even if it is not as it should be.' This elliptico-adversative use of *nisi* has already been commented on: cp. *malum*; *nisi hoc peius est*, Fam. iv. 5, 3; *nescio: nisi hoc video*, Rosc. Am. 99; *nisi unum epityrum illi estur insanum bene*, Plaut. Mil. i. 1, 24: cp. also Fam. xiii. 1, 4 (199); xiii. 73, 2.

putabam te certiore factum non esse; modo valeres! scripseras enim te quodam valetudinis genere temptari. 2. Agusius quidam Rhodo venerat viii. Id. Quinct. Is nuntiabat Quintum filium ad Caesarem profectum iiii. Kal. Iun., Philotimum Rhodum pridie eum diem venisse, habere ad me litteras. Ipsum Agusium audies. Sed tardius iter faciebat. Eo feci, ut celeriter eunti darem. Quid sit in iis litteris nescio, sed mihi valde Quintus frater gratulatur. Equidem in meo tanto peccato nihil ne cogitatione quidem adsequi possum quod mihi tolerabile possit esse. 3. Te oro, ut de hac misera cogites, et illud, de quo ad te proxime scripsi, ut aliquid conficiatur ad inopiam propulsandam et etiam de ipso testamento. Illud quoque vellem antea, sed omnia timuimus. Melius quidem in pessimis nihil fuit discidio. Aliquid fecissemus ut viri, vel tabularum novarum nomine vel nocturnarum expugnationum vel Metellae vel omnium malorum: nec res perisset et videremur aliquid doloris virilis habuisse. Memini omnino tuas litteras, sed et tempus illud: etsi quidvis praestitit. Nunc quidem ipse videtur denuntiare: audimus enim de †staturi elodi. Generumne nostrum potissimum, †ut hoc, vel

certiorem factum non esse] 'that you were not informed' that there was an opportunity of communicating with me through the letter-carriers of Camillus.

2. *pridie eum diem*] *pridie* often takes accusative, as *pridie Idus*, *pridie Compitalia*; sometimes also a genitive, as *pridie eius diei*, Fam. i. 4, 1.

gratulatur] See on Att. xi. 21, 1 (445).

3. *de hac misera*] sc. *Tullia*.

Illud quoque] This refers to the divorce of Tullia from Dolabella; he wishes he had proposed it before Dolabella had spoken of it.

Aliquid fecissemus] 'then I should have had one manly step to look back on; I could have alleged as my reason either his proposal to abolish debts, or his raids on private dwelling-houses by night, or his relations with Metella, or any of his outrages: I should not then have lost the money (the instalment of Tullia's portion already paid to Dolabella), and I should have shown some sign of a manly indignation.'

Memini] 'I well remember your letters, but I also remember what the juncture seemed to demand; though, indeed, anything would have been better than what

I did. Now it appears that he is himself threatening a divorce.'

de †staturi elodi] We venture to suggest as a possible correction *de statua Clodi*, altering *ut* before *hoc* to *vel*. Anyone acquainted with manuscripts will at once acknowledge the possibility of the latter correction: and the emendation of the other words is, from a palæographical point of view, not greater than the serious nature of the corruption must require. We saw that a year before this Caelius had advocated most revolutionary measures (vol. iii., p. lvii.); and now Dolabella, the 'second fool,' was in a similar manner playing the ultra-democrat (cp. Mommsen, R. H. iv. 460). It is not at all impossible that in his mad career Dolabella set up a statue in honour of Clodius, who had been the idol of the extreme democracy, and whose memory was still warmly cherished both for other reasons, and especially because he had passed the law which legalized anew the collegia (vol. iii., p. 294). This erection of statues of a former favourite was a far from unusual demonstration on the part of the democracy: thus Caesar himself, when a young man, won great glory by erecting again the statues and

tabulas novas? Placet mihi igitur et item tibi nuntium remitti. Petet fortasse tertiam pensionem. Considera igitur tumne, cum ab ipso nascetur, an prius. Ego, si ullo modo potuero, vel nocturnis itineribus experiar ut te videam. Tu et haec et si quid erit quod intersit mea scire, scribes velim. Vale.

CCCCXXXVIII. CICERO TO TERENTIA (FAM. XIV. 10).

BRUNDISIUM ; JULY 9 ; A. U. C. 707 ; B. C. 47 ; AET. CIC. 59.

M. Cicero iubet uxorem de rebus suis cum Attico loqui.

TULLIUS S. D. TERENTIAE SUAE.

Quid fieri placeret scripsi ad Pomponium serius quam oportuit. Cum eo si locuta eris, intelleges quid fieri velim. Apertius scribi, quoniam ad illum scripseram, necesse non fuit. De ea re et de ceteris rebus quam primum velim nobis litteras mittas. Valetudinem tuam cura diligenter. Vale. VII. Idus Quinctil.

trophies of Marius, after their removal in the Sullan times (Mommsen, R. H. iv. 161). The meaning would then be as follows:— 'We have news, too, about Dolabella's erection of the statue to Clodius. To think that my son-in-law of all people in the world should be the author of either this or of abolition of debts.' That a connexion of Cicero's should honour the memory of his bitterest opponent, and propose an abolition of debts, while one of the chief glories of Cicero was that he had protected the interests of creditors—cp. *vindicem aeris alieni*, Att. ii. 1, 11 (27)—was a sore blow to the conservative statesman. We forbear to read this suggestion, as the most vital link in the chain of evidence is wanting, viz. confirmatory evidence that Dolabella *did* erect a statue to Clodius.

Tut hoc] Reading *vel*, the meaning is clear, 'to think that it should be *my* son-in-law who should propose such a thing as this or a clear sheet'!

nuntium remitti] 'I agree with you, therefore, that he should be divorced by Tullia. Perhaps he will ask for the third instalment of Tullia's portion. Do you turn over the question, whether it should be paid only when the request originates with him, or before it is made.'

Quid fieri placeret] i.e. concerning the divorce of Tullia from Dolabella, who at this time had begun his wild agitation about abolishing debts, and had also been recently living a life of more than usual profligacy; see preceding letter.

CCCCXXXIX. CICERO TO TERENTIA (FAM. XIV. 13).

BRUNDISIUM; JULY 10; A. U. C. 707; B. C. 47; AET. CIC. 59.

M. Cicero permittit uxori, ut de nuntio remittendo consilium capiat ex tempore.

TULLIUS S. D. TERENTIAE SUAE.

Quod scripsi ad te proximis litteris de nuntio remittendo, quae sit istius vis hoc tempore et quae concitatio multitudinis ignoro. Si metuendus iratus est, quiesce: sed tamen ab illo fortasse nascetur. Totum iudicabis quale sit, et quod in miserrimis rebus minime miserum putabis, id facies. Vale. VI. Idus Quinctil.

CCCCXL. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XI. 19).

BRUNDISIUM; JULY 22; A. U. C. 707; B. C. 47; AET. CIC. 59.

M. Cicero Atticum vult sibi scribere, maxime si quid de pace agatur, de Philotimo.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Cum tuis dare possem litteras, non praetermisi, etsi quid scriberem non habebam. Tu ad nos et rarius scribis quam solebas

de nuntio remittendo] i.e. to send a notice of divorce to Dolabella: *nuntium remittere* is the regular phrase: cp. Top. 19. The message was *tuas res tibi habeto*. In later times, by the Lex Julia de Adulteriis, the message was brought by a freedman of the family, and delivered in the presence of seven citizens as witnesses: cp. Wilkins on De Orat. i. 185.

quae sit istius vis . . . ignoro] 'I do not know what is the nature of his appeal to force and what the rising of the people.' For Dolabella's 'demagogic war' cp. note to Att. xi. 23, 3 (437).

Si metuendus iratus est] *εἰ φοβερός ὂν ὀργίζεται*, 'If he should be angry and at the same time formidable, keep quiet.'

quiesce: sed tamen] H reads *quiesce*, omitting *sed*. M has *quiesces*, which makes fair sense, 'Pray keep quiet,' polite fut. But from this it has been badly conjectured that we should read *quies tamen*, (found in many mss) or *quiesces: quies tamen*. Lamb. declared for *quies* supposing *ces* a gloss for *Cæsar*, and appears

to interpret thus—'If Caesar is angry with Dolabella for stirring up disorder and is able to make himself formidable to Dolabella, peace, however (notwithstanding all Dolabella's revolutionary bluster), will come from him (Caesar).' But nothing could be harsher than the whole sentence, and especially the use of *tamen*. Besides Cicero is not thinking at all of how Caesar will deal with Dolabella, but how Terentia will negotiate with him in the matter of divorce. From the tradition of M and H we may fairly derive the reading given in the text.

ab illo fortasse nascetur] 'the initiative will be taken by him'; *nascetur* would appear to be quasi-impersonal. Cicero uses the same phrase in Att. xi. 23, 3 (437), referring to the same subject, *cum ab ipso nascetur*.

1. *quid scriberem non habebam*] 'I did not know what to write'; *quod scriberem non habebam* would mean 'I had nothing to write about.'

et brevius: credo, quia nihil habes quod me putes libenter legere aut audire posse. Verum tamen velim, quidquid erit, qualecumque erit, scribas. Est autem unum quod mihi sit optandum, si quid agi de pace possit, quod nulla equidem habeo in spe; sed, quia tu leviter interdum significas, cogis me sperare quod optandum vix est. 2. Philotimus dicitur Idib. Sext. Nihil habeo de illo amplius. Tu velim ad ea mihi rescribas, quae ad te antea scripsi. Mihi tantum temporis satis est, dum, ut in pessimis rebus, aliquid caveam, qui nihil umquam cavi. Vale. XI. Kal. Sextil.

CCCCXLI. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XI. 24).

BRUNDISIUM; AUGUST 6; A. U. C. 707; B. C. 47; AET. CIC. 59.

M. Cicero de misera Tullia condicione et de rebus suis domesticis, de Terentia, de Philotimo, vehementer queritur et de salute sua paene desperat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Quae dudum ad me et—quae etiam ad me vis—ad Tulliam de me scripsisti, ea sentio esse vera. Eo sum miserior—etsi nihil videbatur addi posse —, quod mihi non modo irasci gravissima iniuria accepta, sed ne dolere quidem impune licet. Qua re istuc feramus. Quod cum tulerimus, tamen eadem erunt perpetienda

leviter significas] 'hint remotely'; cp. *leviter eruditus*, 'a shallow scholar,' De Or. iii. 24; *levius miser*, 'more slightly afflicted,' Hor. Sat. ii. 7, 19; *ut levissime dicam*, 'to use the mildest term,' Catil. iii. 17.

2. *Idib. Sext.*] sc. *adfuturus*. Philotimus was not expected till August 13, with his despatch from Caesar for Cicero; but we know, from Att. xi. 23, 2 (437), that Philotimus had got as far as Rhodes, on his journey from Asia, on July 9; we know, further, from Fam. xiv. 23 and 24 (443, 442), that Philotimus did not actually deliver the packet till August 14.

tantum temporis satis est, dum] 'I require no longer delay at Brundisium than what will admit of my taking some precautions—a thing I have hitherto considerably neglected—so far as my wretched position will allow.' He refers, no doubt, to his

want of caution, shown in his dealings with Clodius, and afterwards in his recent attitude towards Pompey and Caesar.

1. *quae etiam ad me vis*] 'what you have written to me, and about me to Tullia, with a request that she should let me know it.' Thus Lehmann explains the passage, correcting *bis* of the ms to *vis*, and comparing for the elliptical mode of expression *illam alteram . . . puto* (sc. *ad te missam*), Att. xiii. 30, 1, and other passages; see I², 70. Possibly *ad me bis* arose from a note of a copyist drawing attention to the fact that *ad me* was written twice over. *Dudum* often means 'some time ago,' not merely 'just now.'

iniuria accepta] from Dolabella, which he could not resent without incurring the danger of Caesar's anger.

quae tu ne accidant ut caveamus mones. Ea enim est a nobis contracta culpa, *ut* omni statu omnique populo eundem exitum habitura videatur. 2. Sed ad meam manum redii: erunt enim haec occultius agenda. Vide, quaeso, etiam nunc de testamento, quod tum factum, cum illa haerere coeperat. Non, credo, te commovit: neque enim rogavit, ne me quidem. Sed quasi ita sit, quoniam in sermonem iam venisti, poteris eam monere, ut alicui committat, cuius extra periculum huius belli fortuna sit. Equidem tibi potissimum velim, si idem illa vellet: quam quidem celo miseram me hoc timere. De illo altero, scio equidem venire nunc nil posse, sed seponi et occultari possunt, ut extra ruinam sint eam, quae impendet. 3. Nam quod scribis nobis nostra et tua Tulliae fore parata: tua credo, nostra quae poterunt esse? De Terentia autem—mitto cetera, quae sunt innumerabilia,—quid ad hoc addi potest? Scripseras, ut HS XII permutaret, tantum esse reliquum de argento. Misit illa CCIOO. mihi et ascripsit tantum esse reliquum. Cum hoc tam parvum de parvo detraxerit, perspicis quid in maxima re fecerit? 4. Philotimus non modo nullus venit, sed ne per litteras quidem aut per nuntium certiore facit me quid egerit. Epheso qui veniunt, ibi se eum de suis controversiis in

omni statu omnique populo] 'whatever the state of affairs or the feeling of the people may be'; for examples of *ablativi modi*, like these, see on Fam. v. 8, 4 (131).

2. *ad meam manum*] 'I resume the letter in my own handwriting,' no longer employing an amanuensis, on account of the private nature of the topics treated.

haerere] 'to be in difficulties.'

commovit] 'she did not trouble you about the matter, or put any question to you, or even to me; but just as if it were so (as if she had consulted you), now that you have got an opportunity of talking to her, you could advise her to entrust it to some one whose position exposes him to no danger from either side.'

quam quidem celo miseram] 'I am keeping the poor woman (Terentia) in the dark about my fears of what you know'; *hoc* refer to the possibility that her property might be confiscated.

De illo altero] 'the possibility of raising money on the plate and furniture.'

scio equidem] 'I know the plate and furniture would not be sold now, but it could be stowed away and hidden, to save

it from the impending cataclysm': cp. Att. xi. 25, 3 (436).

3. *quod scribis nobis*] Many editors strike out *nobis* as superfluous, but Cicero means 'in your letter to me' as distinct from Atticus's letter to Tullia; so it is quite necessary.

Scripseras ut] 'you had written to Terentia, telling her to remit to me by bill of exchange 12,000 sesterces (about 100 guineas), that being the balance; she sent 10,000 (about £85), and said that was the whole balance. When she makes such a petty theft from so small a sum you can see what she has done in very large matters.' *Scribere ut* is 'to give an order,' and must be carefully distinguished from *scribere* with accusative and infinitive. We have preserved the reading of the MSS *permutaret*, which editors usually changed to *permutarem*. But *permutare* is 'to remit by bill of exchange', and, though Atticus and Terentia were both at Rome, he might have preferred *writing* to her on a matter of business.

4. *nullus venit*] see I², p. 61, 'not a bit of him came.'

ius adeuntem vidisse nuntiant, quae quidem—ita enim veri simile est—in adventum Caesaris fortasse reiciuntur. Ita aut nihil puto eum habere quod putet ad me celerius perferendum aut adeo me in malis esse despectum, ut, etiam si quid habet, id nisi omnibus suis negotiis confectis ad me referre non curet. Ex quo magnum equidem capio dolorem, sed non tantum, quantum videor debere. Nihil enim mea minus interesse puto quam quid illinc adferatur. Id quam ob rem, te intellegere certo scio. 5. Quod me mones de vultu et oratione ad tempus accommodanda, etsi difficile est, tamen imperarem mihi, si mea quidquam interesse putarem. Quod scribis litteris putare *te* Africanum negotium confici posse, vellem scriberes cur ita putares: mihi quidem nihil in mentem venit quare id putem fieri posse. Tu tamen velim, si quid erit quod consolationis aliquid habeat, scribas ad me, sin, ut perspicio, nihil erit, scribas id ipsum. Ego ad te, si quid audiero citius, scribam. Vale. VIII. Idus Sextil.

CCCCXLII. CICERO TO TERENTIA (FAM. XIV. 24).

BRUNDISIUM ; AUGUST 11 ; A. U. C. 707 ; B. C. 47 ; AET. CIC. 59.

M. Cicero se de Caesaris ex Aegypto et Asia adventu nihil certe scire nuntiat.

TULLIUS TERENTIAE SUAE S. D.

S. V. B. E. V. Nos neque de Caesaris adventu neque de litteris, quas Philotimus habere dicitur, quidquam adhuc certi habemus. Si quid erit certi, faciam te statim certiore. Valetudinem tuam fac ut cures. Vale. III. Idus Sextiles.

in ius adeuntem] 'going to law,' a phrase which would not seem good Latin if we had not Ciceronian authority for it.

reiciuntur] 'are held over.'

5. *litteris*] 'by an interchange of letters, between the contending parties.'

scribas . . . scribas] both depend on *velim*.

S. V. B. E. V.] = *si vales bene est, valeo*.

Si quid erit certi] 'If any reliable information arrives, I shall let you have full information about it at once.' News did arrive on the following day: cp. Fam. xiv. 23 (443); Caesar was to return to Italy next month.

CCCCXLIII. CICERO TO TERENTIA (FAM. XIV. 23).

BRUNDISIUM; AUGUST 12; A. U. C. 707; B. C. 47; AET. CIC. 59.

M. Cicero uxori se a Caesare litteras accepisse nuntiat.

TULLIUS TERENTIAE SUAE S. D.

S. V. B. E. V. Redditae mihi tandem sunt a Caesare litterae satis liberales, et ipse opinione celerius venturus esse dicitur. Cui utrum ob viam procedam an hic eum expectem cum constituero, faciam te certiore. Tabellarios mihi velim quam primum remittas. Valetudinem tuam cura diligenter. Vale. D. pridie Idus Sext.

CCCCXLIV. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XI. 20).

BRUNDISIUM; AUGUST 15; A. U. C. 705; B. C. 47; AET. CIC. 59.

M. Cicero Attico scribit quae C. Trebonius sibi dixerit de Q. fratre, Sallustio, Caesaris cursu.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. xvii. Kal. Sept. venerat die xxviii. Seleucea Pieria C. Trebonius, qui se Antiocheae diceret apud Caesarem vidisse Quintum filium cum Hirtio; eos de Quinto quae voluissent impetrasse nullo quidem negotio. Quod ego magis gauderem, si ista nobis impetrata quidquam ad spem explorati haberent. Sed et alia

satis liberales] 'generous enough.' Cicero doubtless informed Atticus of the receipt of this epistle from Caesar; but the letter in which he did so is lost, for there is no allusion to it in Att. xi. 20 (444) written a few days later: Cicero alludes to this epistle from Caesar again in Ligar. 7, *qui* (sc. Caesar) *ad me ex Aegypto litteras misit, ut essem idem qui fuisset.*

1. *Seleucea Pieria*] a city of Syria, not far from the mouth of the Orontes.

eos de Quinto] 'He said that these (Quintus junior and Hirtius) without difficulty got what they wanted from Caesar about my brother Quintus.' What they wanted was that Caesar should take back Quintus into favour.

nobis . . . haberent] 'if the granting of such petitions afforded in my opinion any sure basis for hope'; *nobis* goes with *haberent*. Schmidt, however (p. 229), argues that the order of words necessitates our taking *nobis* with *impetrata*: and refers it to Caesar's letter which Cicero had

timenda sunt ab aliis Quintisque, et ab hoc ipso quae dantur, ut a domino, rursus in eiusdem sunt potestate. 2. Etiam Sallustio ignovit. Omnino dicitur nemini negare: quod ipsum est suspectum, notionem eius differri. M. Gallius Q. F. mancipia Sallustio reddidit. Is venit, ut legiones in Siciliam traduceret: eo protinus iturum Caesarem Patris. Quod si faciet, ego, quod ante mallet, aliquo propius accedam. Tuas litteras ad eas, quibus a te proxime consilium petivi, vehementer exspecto. Vale. XVI. Kal. Septembres.

CCCCXLV. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XI. 21).

BRUNDISIUM; AUGUST 25; A. U. C. 707; B. C. 47; AET. CIC. 59.

De epistola Q. fratris ab Attico ad se missa, de re familiari, de rebus Asiaticis, de Caesaris cursu protinus Patris in Siciliam constituto, de commoratione sua Brundisina, de rebus praesentibus, de Q. fratre.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Accepi VI. Kal. Sept. litteras a te datas XII. Kal. doloremque, quem ex Quinti scelere iam pridem acceptum iam abieceram,

received a few days previously: cp. Fam. xiv. 23 (443). This letter was reassuring, it bid Cicero 'entertain good hopes' (Deiot. 38, cp. Lig. 7), but did not explicitly guarantee a complete pardon. Now Cicero must have informed Atticus in some detail of the receipt and tenor of that letter: so that Schmidt acutely supposes that an epistle to Atticus of August 12 has been lost. This is confirmed by a fact noted by Sternkopf that the concluding words of the present letter *ad eas quibus a te proxime consilium petivi*, i.e. about his meeting with Caesar, does not suit the contents of Att. xi. 24 (441) of August 6.

ab aliis Quintisque] The reading of M is *ab aliisque*, and the course uniformly followed by edd. was to strike out the *que*. But this is unscientific criticism, as was at once perceived by Lehmann, who judiciously remarks, 'probarem si perspicuum esset istud *que* quo errore natum esset.' He shows by a multitude of examples (Quaest. Tull. p. 102) that *Quintus* is very frequently corrupted into *que*, and this curious phenomenon cannot fail to have

struck every reader of Baiter's critical notes. We consider the correction certain.

2. *Sallustio*] not the historian, who was faithful to Caesar's side all along, and would not otherwise have been governor of Africa with proconsular authority, as he was this year. Probably this is the Cn. Sallustius to whom is written Fam. ii. 17.

quod ipsum est suspectum] 'and this very fact gives rise to a surmise that full consideration of each case is but postponed' (by the present indiscriminate amnesty). Schöne, quoted by Boot, would take *notio* 'in the sense which it bears in *notio censoria*,' but there, too, *notio* means 'investigation.'

mancipia Sallustio reddidit] We may infer that Gallius had taken possession of the slaves of Sallustius in the belief that Sallustius as a Pompeian would be unable to assert his rights. Now that Sallustius has been pardoned by Caesar he feels compelled to make restitution. This Gallius was a tribune in the army of Caesar, and has been mentioned above, Att. x. 15, 4 (401).

lecta eius epistola gravissimum cepi. Tu etsi non potuisti ullo modo facere, ut mihi illam epistolam non mitteres, tamen mallet non esse missam. Ad ea autem, quae scribis de testamento, videbis quid et quo modo. De nummis et illa sic scripsit, ut ego ad te antea, et nos, si quid opus erit, utemur ex eo, de quo scribis. 2. Ille ad Kal. Sept. Athenis non videtur fore. Multa eum in Asia dicuntur morari, maxime Pharnaces. Legio XII., ad quam primum Sulla venit, lapidibus egisse hominem dicitur. Nullam putant se commoturam. Illum arbitrabantur protinus Patris in Siciliam. Sed, si hoc ita est, huc veniat necesse est. Ac mallet illim: aliquo enim modo hinc evasissem! Nunc metuo ne sit expectandum et cum reliquis etiam loci gravitas huic miserrimae preferenda. 3. Quod me mones, ut ea, quae *agam*, ad tempus accomodem, facerem, si res pateretur et si ullo modo fieri posset. Sed in tantis nostris peccatis tantisque nostrorum iniuriis nihil est quod aut facere dignum nobis aut simulare possim. Sullana con-

1. *etsi non potuisti*] One hardly sees why Atticus was *obliged* to send on this disagreeable letter. Cicero points out in the next letter that he would have been glad had it never reached him, as it would have saved him distress, and could not have done any harm if it had fallen into the hands of any one else; for it told nothing that was not well known already, the bitter hostility of his brother Quintus. The letter was one written to Caesar by Quintus, full of invective against his brother Marcus. Caesar probably showed it to Balbus and Oppius, and they gave it to Atticus, perhaps to put Cicero on his guard against Quintus. In a letter prior to this, Att. xi. 23, 2 (437), we find Quintus spoken of as adopting an amicable tone to his brother; but the letter here referred to may have been written before the amicable one, and it may have been delayed in its transmission to Atticus, to whom it was sent to be conveyed to Cicero.

de testamento] sc. *Terentiae*.

quid et quo modo] sc. *agi possit*.

illa] *Terentia*.

utemur ex eo] 'draw on.' Boot, quoting Varro RR. i. 11, shows that *uti ex* is expressly used of cattle 'drawing on' a public cistern for their daily water.

2. *Ille*] Caesar.

Pharnaces] who had occupied Pontus.

Sulla] This was the P. Sulla whom

Cicero had defended in 692 (62), and who fought on Caesar's side at Pharsalia. He had come to take over the legions to Sicily, whither Caesar intended to proceed from Patrae. It is a question whether we should change *primum* to *primam* with Gron.; it seems more natural to write 'the legion to which he came first' (which he met first) than 'the legion which he met for the first time'; but both are possible, and *primum* has the MS authority.

Nullam putant] 'the impression is that not a legion will stir a step.' The construction is the same as *nullus venit*, 'not a bit of him came.' See I², p. 63. The soldiers refused to move until they had received the bounties which Caesar had promised them; see Att. xi. 22, 2 (446), *se negant usquam nisi acceperint*.

mallet illim] 'I should prefer that he should go by sea from there,' from Patrae to Sicily, even though this would bring him to Brundisium; for 'I should have made my escape from here by hook or by crook'; and anything is better than that he should march through Italy.

Nunc metuo] 'now I fear I shall have to await events here, and, in addition to all my other afflictions, my poor Tullia will have to endure this unhealthy climate.'

3. *nostrorum*] Quintus senior and junior and Terentia.

fers: in quibus omnia genere ipso praeclarissima fuerunt, moderatione paullo minus temperata. Haec autem eius modi sunt, ut obliviscar *mei* multoque malim quod omnibus sit melius, quorum utilitati meam adiunxi. Tu ad me tamen velim quam saepissime scribas eoque magis, quod praeterea nemo scribit, ac si omnes, tuas tamen maxime expectarem. Quod scribis illum per me Quinto fore placatiorem, scripsi ad te antea eum statim Quinto filio omnia tribuisse, nostri nullam mentionem. Vale.

CCCCXLVI. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XI. 22).

BRUNDISIUM; AUGUST (END); A. U. C. 707; B. C. 47; AET. CIC. 59.

De fasciculo litterarum a Balbi tabellario accepto, in quo Q. fratris litterae fuerunt, de Caesare, de Sulla, quem ait postero die Brundisii fore cum Messalla, de Pharnace, de commoratione Brundisina sibi molestissima.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Diligenter mihi fasciculum reddidit Balbi tabellarius. Accepi enim a te litteras, quibus videris vereri ut epistolas illas acceperim, quas quidem vellem mihi numquam redditas. Auxerunt enim mihi dolorem, *nec*, si in aliquem incidissent, quidquam novi attulissent. Quid enim tam pervulgatum quam illius in me odium

genere ipso] 'essentially,' 'in principle,' because all the nobility were on Sulla's side.

quorum utilitati] We cannot agree with Boot and Wesenberg in accepting Madvig's *quam* before *quorum*. The meaning of Cicero is this: his personal interests would be served best by the triumph of Caesar, but sometimes he feels so desperate that he forgets what his interests demand, and would much prefer to see the triumph of the Pompeian cause, with which he had originally identified his own: cp., among many other passages, *nunc vero si essent nostri potiti valde intemperantes fuissent, erant enim nobis perirati*, Fam. ix. 6, 3 (470). But the whole tenor of the recent letters shows that Cicero thought the triumph of the Pompeians the worst thing that could

happen him personally; so that in saying he 'forgets himself' when he wishes for their triumph, he says what he has often said before, and what is thoroughly consistent with his view of the situation. Madvig's emendations of the letters do not rest on a sufficiently careful study of them as a body of literature; he only regards them as pieces of Latinity. We have accepted Boot's *adiunxi*. The construction of *iungere* with abl. or dat. seems to be limited to the perf. part., and the gerundive: see Wilkins on De Or. ii. 237.

1. *enim*] ['this I tell you] because.' *epistolas illas*] the letter of Quintus to Caesar, and perhaps others from Oppius and Balbus: see on last letter for the explanation of this section.

et genus hoc litterarum? quod ne Caesar quidem ad istos videtur misisse, [quasi] quo illius improbitate offenderetur, sed, credo, uti notiora nostra mala essent. Nam quod te vereri scribis ne illi obsint eique rei mederi, ne rogari quidem se passus est de illo: quod quidem mihi molestum non est, illud molestius, istas impetrationes nostras nihil valere. 2. Sulla, ut opinor, cras erit hic cum Messalla. Currunt ad illum pulsi a militibus, qui se negant usquam, nisi acceperint. Ergo ille huc veniet, quod non putabant, tarde quidem. Itinera enim ita facit, ut multos dies in oppidum ponat. Pharnaces autem, quoquo modo aget, adferet moram. Quid mihi igitur censes? Iam enim corpore vix sustineo gravitatem huius caeli, quia mihi laborem adfert in dolore. An his illuc euntibus mandem ut me excusent, ipse accedam propius? Quaeso, attende et me, quod adhuc saepe rogatus non fecisti, consilio iuva; scio rem difficilem esse, sed, ut in malis, etiam illud mea magni interest, te ut videam: profecto aliquid profecero, si id acciderit. De testamento, ut scribis, animadvertes.

quod] sc. *genus hoc litterarum*; it would have been more normal if Cicero had written *quas*, but we must not change *quod*.

quo] 'not that he was offended'; we agree with Wes. that *quasi* is a gloss on *quo*.

eique rei mederi] sc. *te scribis*, 'you say that you are trying to counteract their bad effect.' Madvig's *me vis* inserted before *mederi* is bad. What could Cicero now do with Caesar?

ne rogari quidem] 'Caesar did not even wait to be asked,' but granted at once a complete pardon to Quintus when his son came to him to ask for it.

istas impetrationes] 'that these favours granted to us by Caesar are valueless,' that he can revoke them as easily as he

gave them. *Impetratio* is 'the gaining' of one's request, and so 'a granted petition' or 'favour.'

2. *Sulla . . . cum Messalla*] These men were invested by Caesar with the duty of taking the legions to Sicily. 'They are running to Caesar, beaten back by the legions who decline to stir a foot till they receive their bounty.' *Accipere* is absolute in Att. v. 21, 5 (250), where see note.

in oppidum] No possible explanation of these words can be given: the rendering 'in each town' would require *quodque*. Lambinus cuts the knot by altering to *in oppidis*: cp. Bell. Alex. 65.

laborem] 'physical suffering.' The meaning is, 'which causes me physical suffering in the midst of all my grief.'

CCCCXLVII. CICERO TO TERENTIA (FAM. XIV. 22).

BRUNDISIUM ; SEPTEMBER 1 ; A. U. C. 707 ; B. C. 47 ; AET. CIC. 59.

M. Cicero tabellarios suos se exspectare scribit.

TULLIUS S. D. TERENTIAE SUAE.

S. V. B. E. V. Nos totam diem tabellarios nostros exspectamus : qui si venerint, fortasse erimus certiores quid nobis faciendum sit faciemusque te statim certiore. Valetudinem tuam cura diligenter. Vale. Kalendis Septembribus.

CCCCXLVIII. CICERO TO CASSIUS (FAM. XV. 15).

BRUNDISIUM ; BEFORE ARRIVAL OF CAESAR ; A. U. C. 707 ; B. C. 47 ;
AET. CIC. 59.

M. Cicero consilium suum a bello discedendi demonstrat, Caesaris clementiam laudat, quid C. Cassio agendum videatur interrogat.

M. CICERO S. D. C. CASSIO.

1. Etsi uterque nostrum spe pacis et odio civilis sanguinis abesse a belli pertinacia voluit, tamen, quoniam eius consilii princeps ego fuisse videor, plus fortasse tibi praestare ipse debeo quam a te exspectare. Etsi, ut saepe soleo mecum recordari, sermo familiaris meus tecum et item mecum tuus adduxit utrum-

Nos totam diem] So we have ventured to read, instead of *cotidie* of the editors. M has *nostodie* ; H and Pal. Sext. *nos tota die*. Cicero probably received word that his letter-carriers might be expected on that day.

tabellarios] whom Cicero had sent either to Caesar or to his friends.

Kalendis Septembribus] Caesar arrived at Tarentum a few days later, and met Cicero at Brundisium. Plutarch (Cic. 39) relates that the meeting was most friendly, and that Caesar walked a long way with Cicero, and had a private discussion with him.

1 *pertinacia*] 'obstinate prosecution.'

plus . . . praestare] 'I am, perhaps, more bound to give you satisfaction on the point than to expect it from you.' *Plus* probably goes with *debeo*. It has, however, also been proposed to understand *consilii*. 'I, perhaps, am bound to give you advice rather than to expect it from you.'

Etsi] 'however,' 'be that as it may.' On Att. x. 8, 9 (392), Hofmann notices a large number of cases where *etsi* has that meaning. He says it belongs to epistolary style.

que nostrum ad id consilium, ut uno proelio putaremus si non totam causam, at certe nostrum iudicium definiri convenire. Neque quisquam hanc nostram sententiam vere umquam reprehendit praeter eos, qui arbitrantur melius esse deleri omnino rem publicam quam imminutam et debilitatam manere. Ego autem ex interitu eius nullam spem scilicet mihi proponebam, ex reliquiis magnam. 2. Sed ea sunt consecuta, ut magis mirum sit accidere illa potuisse quam nos non vidisse ea futura nec, homines cum essemus, divinare potuisse. Equidem fateor meam coniecturam hanc fuisse, ut illo quasi quodam fatali proelio facto et victores communi saluti consuli vellent et victi suae, utrumque autem positum esse arbitrabar in celeritate victoris. Quae si fuisset, eamdem clementiam experta esset Africa quam cognovit Asia, quam etiam Achaia, te, ut opinor, ipso legato ac deprecatore. Amissis autem temporibus, quae plurimum valent, praesertim in

ad id consilium . . . convenire] 'to this conclusion, namely, the opinion that the right course to take was that our own judgment at least, if not the whole cause, should be determined by the result of a single battle.' This recalls to one's mind a celebrated passage in Clarendon about Lord Falkland (vii. § 231):—'From his entrance into this unnatural war, his natural cheerfulness and vivacity grew clouded, and a kind of sadness and dejection of spirit stole upon him which he had never been used to. Yet being one of those who believed that one battle would end all differences, and that there would be so great a victory on one side that the other would be compelled to submit to any conditions from the victor (which supposition and conclusion generally sank into the minds of most men, and prevented the looking after many advantages that might have been laid hold of), he resisted those indispositions, *et in luctu bellum inter remedia erat*. But after the king's return from Brentford, and the furious resolution of the two Houses not to admit any treaty for peace, these indispositions, which had before touched him, grew into a perfect habit of uncheerfulness. And he who had been so exactly easy and affable to all men that his face and countenance was always present and vacant to his company, and held any cloudiness and less pleasantness of the visage a kind of rudeness or incivility, became, on a sudden, less communicable,

and thence very sad, pale, and exceedingly affected with the spleen.'

2. *Equidem fateor*] 'For my part I confess that I thought this, that after the battle had been fought, which seemed like one decreed by fate, the conquerors would take measures for the safety of society, and the conquered for their own lives.' As frequently after *animus, mens, consilium*, and such like words signifying 'opinion,' so here after *coniectura* we have an explanatory clause introduced by *ut* (Dräger ii. 249): *coniecturam meam fuisse* is virtually = *me exspectasse*. *Fatalis* means what was specially decreed by fate in her ordering of human destinies, generally with the additional idea that it was disastrous: cp. Verg. Aen. vi. 515, *cum fatalis equus saltu super ardua venit*. Mr. Jeans translates, 'on which, one may say, hung the issues of fate.'

ipso legato ac deprecatore] 'you yourself being the emissary sent to entreat indulgence.' Cassius appears to have met Caesar in Cilicia, at the mouth of the Cydnus, and was pardoned by him at the intercession of Brutus (Plut. Brut. 6), as is pointed out by Schmidt (p. 227). The story told by Cicero (Phil. ii. 26), that Cassius could have crushed Caesar here in Cilicia but for an accident, rests on a confusion of this meeting of Cassius and Caesar with that on the Hellespont shortly after Pharsalia: cp. Mayor, *Introd.* to Phil. ii., note 55.

bellis civilibus, interpositus annus alios induxit, ut victoriam sperarent, alios, ut ipsum vinci contemnerent. Atque horum malorum omnium culpam fortuna sustinet. Quis enim aut Alexandrini belli tantam moram huic bello adiunctum iri aut nescio quem istum Pharnacem Asiae terrorem illaturum putaret? 3. Nos tamen in consilio pari casu dissimili usi sumus. Tu enim eam partem petisti, ut et consiliis interesses et, quod maxime curam levat, futura animo prospicere posses. Ego, qui festinavi, ut Caesarem in Italia viderem—sic enim arbitrabamur—eumque multis honestissimis viris conservatis redeuntem, ad pacem currentem, ut aiunt, incitarem, ab illo longissime et absum et afui. Versor autem in gemitu Italiae et in urbis miserrimis querellis, quibus aliquid opis fortasse ego pro mea, tu pro tua, pro sua quique parte ferre potuisset, si auctor adfuisset. 4. Qua re velim pro tua perpetua erga me benevolentia scribas ad me quid videas, quid sentias, quid expectandum, quid agendum nobis existimes. Magni erunt mihi tuae litterae, atque utinam primis illis, quas Luceria miseris, paruissem! sine ulla enim molestia dignitatem meam retinuissem.

CCCCXLIX. CICERO TO TERENTIA (FAM. XIV. 20).

VENUSIA; OCTOBER 1; A. U. C. 707; B. C. 47; AET. CIC. 59.

M. Cicero in Tusculano res ad adventum suum necessarias parari iubet.

TULLIUS S. D. TERENTIAE SUAE.

In Tusculanum nos venturos putamus aut Nonis aut postridie. Ibi ut sint omnia parata. Plures enim fortasse nobiscum erunt

ipsum vinci] 'defeat itself.' For this substantival inf. Mr. Watson compares Att. vii. 11, 2 (304), *hoc ipsum velle*.

nescio quem istum Pharnacem] 'Pharnaces or whatever they call him' (Jeans). From October, 708 (48), to July, 709 (47), Caesar was at Alexandria. He defeated Pharnaces at Zela on August 2nd, and returned to Italy in September.

putaret] 'could suppose.' In absolute strictness this should be *putasset*, just as in English it should be 'could have supposed': cp. Phil. viii. 14, *Num igitur eum, si tum esses, temerarium civem putares*.

3. *consiliis interesses*] cp. Fam. vi. 6, 10

(488) *Cassium sibi legavit* (sc. Caesar).

currentem, ut aiunt, incitarem] cp. *σπεύδοντ' ὀτρύνειν* and note on Q. Fr. i. 1, 45 (30); also Otto, Sprichwörter, p. 102.

si auctor adfuisset] 'if the master himself were here': an *auctor* is one who can authorize actions to be done.

4. *primis illis quas Luceria miseris*] These letters were probably written from the headquarters of Pompey at Luceria before the departure of the latter for Greece, and advised Cicero not to leave Italy.

ut sint] It is not very usual to leave out *fac* or *cura*, yet sometimes the omission

et, ut arbitror, diutius ibi commorabimur. Labrum si in balineo non est, ut sit: item cetera, quae sunt ad victum et ad valetudinem necessaria. Vale. Kal. Octobr. de Venusino.

CCCCL. CICERO TO TREBONIUS (FAM. XV. 21).

ROME; TOWARDS THE END OF THE YEAR; A. U. C. 707; B. C. 47;
AET. CIC. 59.

M. Cicero C. Trebonium rogat, ut sui absentis desiderium epistolis crebris et longis leniat: de Calvo oratore iam mortuo quid sentiat exponit.

M. CICERO S. D. C. TREBONIO.

1. Et epistolam tuam legi libenter et librum libentissime, sed tamen in ea voluptate hunc accepi dolorem, quod cum incendisses cupiditatem meam consuetudinis augendae nostrae — nam ad amorem quidem nihil poterat accedere —, tum discedis a nobis meque tanto desiderio adficeis, ut unam mihi consolationem relinquas, fore ut utriusque nostrum absentis desiderium crebris et longis epistolis leniatur. Quod ego non modo de me tibi spondere possum, sed de te etiam mihi. Nullam enim apud me reliquisti dubitationem quantum me amares. 2. Nam ut illa omittam, quae civitate teste fecisti, cum mecum inimicitias com-

is found in Early Latin and in the Comic Drama. Dräger (i. 314) quotes Cato R. R. 2, *reliqua quae sient ut compareant: si quid desit in annum uti paretur: quae supersint ut veneant*; Plaut. Poen. iv. 2. 90; Ter. Ad. ii. 4. 16.

Labrum] In the Caldarium of the Old Baths at Pompeii there is an apse at one end, and in it a *labrum* (λούτήρ). This was a large round basin raised about 3 feet from the floor; and standing round this, the bathers used to wash themselves. It was different from the *piscina* into which they descended. For a picture of the *labrum* see Smith's Dict. of Antiq. i. p. 277.

quae sunt ad victum necessaria] 'which are necessary for any place where one is to live and enjoy health.' This is the last letter written to Terentia. All Cicero's letters to his wife at this time are very

business-like; this one is the most so, being almost brusque in tone. Shortly after this, Cicero, when in want of money, divorced Terentia.

For Trebonius see Introduction. At this time he was acting as pro-praetor in Spain, whither he had been sent by Caesar towards the end of 47.

1. *ut . . . leniatur*] 'that the loss of each other's society may be compensated by frequent and long letters.'

2. *inimicitias*] We gather from this passage that in the year 694 (60) Trebonius was quaestor, and vigorously supported the consuls Afranius and Metellus Celer, cp. Att. ii. 1, 4 (27), in opposing the tribune C. Herennius, who brought forward a law on the subject of the transference of Clodius to the plebeians: see Att. i. 18, 4 (26). Drumann (ii. 56) conjectures that

municavisti, cum me contionibus tuis defendisti, cum quaestor in mea atque in publica causa consulum partes suscepisti, cum tribuno pl. quaestor non paruisti, cui tuus praesertim collega pareret, ut haec recentia, quae meminero semper, obliviscar, quae tua sollicitudo de me in armis, quae laetitia in reditu, quae cura, qui dolor, cum ad te curae et dolores mei perferrentur, Brundisium denique te ad me venturum fuisse, nisi subito in Hispaniam missus esses,—ut haec igitur omittam, quae mihi tanti aestimanda sunt, quanti vitam aestimo et salutem meam, liber iste, quem mihi misisti, quantam habet declarationem amoris tui! primum quod tibi facetum videtur, quidquid ego dixi, quod aliis fortasse non item: deinde quod illa; sive faceta sunt sive secus, fiunt narrante te venustissima. Quin etiam ante, quam ad me veniatur, risus omnis paene consumitur. 3. Quod si in iis scribendis nihil aliud nisi, quod necesse fuit, de uno me tam diu cogitavisses, ferreus essem, si te non amarem. Cum vero ea, quae scriptura persecutus es, sine summo amore cogitare non potueris, non possum existimare plus quemquam a se ipso quam me a te amari. Cui quidem ego amoris utinam ceteris rebus possem! amore certe respondebo: quo tamen ipsi tibi confido futurum satis. 4. Nunc ad epistolam venio, cui copiose et suaviter scriptae nihil est quod multa respondeam. Primum enim ego illas Calvo litteras misi, non plus quam has, quas nunc legis, existimans exituras. Aliter enim scribimus quod eos solos, quibus mittimus, aliter quod multos lecturos putamus. Deinde ingenium eius maioribus extuli

the colleague of Trebonius in the quaestorship was a son of Metellus Creticus, comparing Att. iv. 7, 2 (111).

Brundisium . . . fuisse] governed by *obliviscar*.

igitur] resumptive as often: cp. on Att. i. 10, 1 (6).

liber iste] Trebonius appears to have made a collection of Cicero's *bons mots* (ἀποφθέγματα). For Cicero's witticisms see Macrob. Sat. ii. 3.

aliis] 'others might not think so.' The mss give *alii*, but we must read *aliis* with Cratander. *Alii* would naturally refer to a definite person, and who could that person be? Cicero is probably thinking of the offence which his sharp sayings had caused when he was in the camp of Pompey (Plut. Cic. 28: Cic. Phil. ii. 39, and Mayor's note). Pompey had been justly

annoyed at Cicero, and had expressed a wish that he would go over to the enemy. But, as Pompey was now dead, we cannot suppose that he is referred to.

sive secus] The mss give *sic*. But we cannot find a parallel for this use of *sic* = 'so, so.' Accordingly we have adopted the correction of Corradus approved by Lambinus and Wesenberg.

Quin etiam] 'why, even before you come to me, the laugh is almost over.' Trebonius had related, in such an amusing manner, the circumstances under which each of Cicero's *bons mots* were made, that the reader had laughed as much as he could before he came to the joke itself.

3. *quae scriptura persecutus es*] 'which you took the trouble to commit to writing.'

4. *maioribus*] The mss give *melioribus*

laudibus, quam tu id vere potuisse fieri putas. Primum, quod ita iudicabam: acute movebatur, genus quoddam sequebatur, in quo iudicio lapsus, quo valebat, tamen adsequebatur, quod probarat. Multae erant et reconditae litterae: vis non erat. Ad eam igitur adhortabar. In excitando autem et in acuendo plurimum valet, si laudes eum, quem cohortere. Habes de Calvo iudicium et consilium meum: consilium, quod hortandi causa laudavi, iudicium, quod de ingenio eius valde existimavi bene. 5. Reliquum est *ut* tuam profectionem amore prosequar, reditum spe expectem, absentem memoria colam, omne desiderium litteris mittendis accipiendisque leniam. Tu velim tua in me studia et officia multum tecum recordere: quae cum tibi liceat, mihi nefas sit oblivisci, non modo virum bonum me existimabis, verum etiam te a me amari plurimum iudicabis. Vale.

which is retained by Btr. Or. conjectures *amplioribus*. Ern., followed by Kl. and Wesenberg, reads *maioribus*.

acute movebatur] sc. *ingenio*. 'he was a man of keen mental activity.' This is Dr. Reid's translation: cp. his note on Acad. i. 35.

genus quoddam sequebatur] 'he followed a certain style,' i.e. the so-called Attic. For Calvus, see Teuffel, § 213, 5-7.

in quo . . . vis non erat] 'in which he failed where he was especially strong, namely in judgment, but for all that he succeeded in acquiring the style which commended itself to him. He was a man of wide and deep reading, but wanted vigour.'

In excitando . . . cohortere] 'In rous-

ing and stimulating a man the best way is to praise him if you wish to encourage him.'

Habes . . . bene] 'You understand now the judgment I expressed of Calvus and my reasons for it; my reasons were that I praised him in order to encourage him; my judgment was that I held his natural gifts in very high estimation.'

5. *Reliquum est*] 'It only remains for me to send my love with you on your departure, to hope for your return, to remember you in your absence, and to lessen our mutual regret by a frequent interchange of letters.' For *absentem* Lambinus proposed *absentiam*, and Boot adds *te* before *absentem* (obs. crit. 26). But no change is necessary.

LETTERS OF THE TWENTY-THIRD YEAR OF CICERO'S
CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. CCCCLI.-DXXX.

A. U. C. 708 ; B. C. 46 ; AET. CIC. 60.

COSS. C. JULIUS CAESAR III. AND M. AEMILIUS LEPIDUS.

THOUGH his relations with Terentia were rather strained, and finally issued in divorce, yet during this year, Cicero appears to have been fairly happy, at least after the time of the defeat of the Pompeians at Thapsus. Some time towards the end of the year, or beginning of the next, in order to extricate himself from money difficulties, he married his rich ward Publilia ; but the marriage was not happy, and he soon divorced her. During the whole of this year he was on friendly terms with many of the principal Caesarians, and he was able and willing to use a certain amount of influence in favour of exiled Pompeians. To those whom he could not help he addressed letters of sympathy. His sportive letters to Paetus are a sign of his recovery from the dark despair of his sojourn at Brundisium. He also spoke once or twice in public. He thanked Caesar in the Senate for granting the restoration of Marcellus, and defended Q. Ligarius before him in a brilliant speech. He also began again to write literary treatises, and composed during this year the *Paradoxa*, *Brutus*, *Orator*, a panegyric on *Cato*, and perhaps the *Partitiones Oratoriae*.

CCCCLI. CICERO TO M. JUNIUS BRUTUS (FAM. XIII. 10).

ROME; EARLY IN YEAR; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero M. Bruto, quem Caesar in Africanum bellum profecturus Galliae Cisalpinæ praefecerat, M. Varronem quaestorem sorte datum commendat.

CICERO BRUTO SAL.

1. Cum ad te tuus quaestor, M. Varro, proficisceretur, commendatione egere eum non putabam. Satis enim commendatum tibi eum arbitrabar ab ipso more maiorum, qui, ut te non fugit, hanc quaesturae coniunctionem liberorum necessitudini proximam voluit esse. Sed cum sibi ita persuasisset ipse, meas de se accurate scriptas litteras maximum apud te pondus habituras, a meque contenderet, ut quam diligentissime scriberem, malui facere, quod meus familiaris tanti sua interesse arbitraretur. 2. Ut igitur debere me facere hoc intellegas, cum primum M. Terentius in forum venit, ad amicitiam se meam contulit. Deinde, ut se corroboravit, duae causae accesserunt, quae meam in illum benevolentiam augerent: una, quod versabatur in hoc studio nostro, quo etiam nunc maxime delectamur, et cum ingenio, ut nosti, nec sine industria, deinde, quod mature se contulit in societates publi-

1. *M. Varro*] Of course not the great scholar; for after having held command of an army he was not likely to be a mere quaestor, and besides he was at this time living in retirement and study. The M. Varro here referred to is sometimes called M. Terentius Varro Gibba. In conjunction with Cicero he defended Saufeius when accused of *vis* in 52 (Ascon. in Mil. p. 55). In 43 he was trib. plebis; and when he found that the great Varro was proscribed he published a notice, says Dio Cassius (xlvii. 11), to assure the people that he was not the Marcus Varro referred to, and for this he incurred much ridicule.

proficisceretur] As the quaestor of Brutus is only leaving Rome now, we may suppose that this letter was written early in the year. The other letters written to Brutus during this year we place in immediate connexion with this letter, though it is uncertain in what months they were written.

quaesturae coniunctionem] cp. note on Fam. xiii. 29, 3 (457); and § 4, below.

2. *in forum venit*] 'entered on public life.'

ut se corroboravit] 'when he took a firm position in the world': cp. Cael. 11, *cum is iam se corroboravisset ac vir inter viros esset*.

in hoc studio nostro] i. e. public oratory.

se contulit in societates] 'he became acquainted with the companies of the publicans,' *ordinis* refers to the equites. These companies were called *societates vectigalium* in Cic. Sest. 32 and in the Digest (17, 2, 5), and *societates provinciarum* in Caesar, B. C. iii. 3, 2. The members are called *socii publicorum vectigalium* in the Digest (3, 4, 1 pr.): cp. Marq., St. V., ii. 300, 2. The mss give *publicorum*, wrongly altered to *publicanorum*. For *publica* = 'public taxes,' cp. Q. Fr. i. 1, 33 (30); Hor. Epp. i. 1, 77.

corum, quod quidem nollem: maximis enim damnis adfectus est. Sed tamen causa communis ordinis mihi commendatissimi fecit amicitiam nostram firmiorem. Deinde versatus in utrisque subselliis optima et fide et fama iam ante hanc commutationem rei publicae petitioni sese dedit honoremque honestissimum existimavit fructum laboris sui. 3. His autem temporibus a me Brundisio cum litteris et mandatis profectus ad Caesarem est: qua in re et amorem eius in suscipiendo negotio perspexi et in conficiendo ac renuntiando fidem. Videor mihi, cum separatim de probitate eius et moribus dicturus fuisset, si prius causam cur eum tanto opere diligerem tibi exposuissem, in ipsa causa exponenda satis etiam de probitate dixisse. Sed tamen separatim promitto in meque recipio fore eum tibi et voluptati et usui. Nam et modestum hominem cognosces et pudentem et a cupiditate omni remotissimum, praeterea magni laboris summaeque industriae. 4. Neque ego haec polliceri debeo, quae tibi ipsi, cum bene cognoris, iudicanda sunt: sed tamen in omnibus novis coniunctionibus interest qualis primus aditus sit et qua commendatione quasi amicitiae fores aperiantur. Quod ego his litteris efficere volui: etsi id ipsa per se necessitudo quaesturae effecisse debet. Sed tamen nihilo infirmius illud hoc addito. Cura igitur, si me tanti facis, quanti et Varro existimat et ipse sentio, ut quam primum intellegam hanc meam commendationem tantum illi utilitatis attulisse, quantum et ipse sperarit nec ego dubitarim.

in utrisque subselliis] as barrister and juryman.

3. *ad Caesarem]* We do not know the purpose for which Cicero sent Varro to Caesar; but it may have been to get his authorization to remain in Italy, which Antonius was not very ready to allow; or it may have been to refute the calumnies which his brother Quintus and young Quintus were pouring into Caesar's ears: cp. Att. xi. 10. 1 (425).

dicturus fuisset] 'I had intended to speak.'

pudentem] So Corr. rightly for *prudentem* of the mss, which could not well come in between two negative characteristics, as they may be called. 'For you will find him to be a quiet and modest man, altogether incapable of any kind of self-seeking; moreover, extremely hard working and very diligent.'

CCCCLII. CICERO TO THE SAME BRUTUS

(FAM. XIII. 11).

ROME; MONTH UNCERTAIN; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero commendat Bruto vectigalia, quae Arpinates in Gallia habebant, et legatos, qui ad ea exigenda proficiscebantur.

CICERO BRUTO S.

1. Quia semper animadverti studiose te operam dare, ut ne quid meorum tibi esset ignotum, propterea non dubito quin scias non solum cuius municipii sim, sed etiam quam diligenter soleam meos municipes Arpinates tueri. Quorum quidem omnia comoda omnesque facultates, quibus et sacra conficere et sarta tecta aedium sacrarum locorumque communium tueri possint, consistunt in his vectigalibus, quae habent in provincia Gallia. Ad ea visenda pecuniasque, quae a colonis debentur, exigendas totamque rem et cognoscendam et administrandam legatos equites Romanos misimus, Q. Fufidium Q. F., M. Faucium M. F., Q. Mamercium Q. F. 2. Peto a te in maiorem modum pro nostra necessitudine, ut tibi ea res curae sit operamque des, ut per te quam commodissime negotium municipii administretur quam primumque conficiatur, ipsosque, quorum nomina scripsi, ut quam honorificentissime pro tua natura et quam liberalissime tractes: 3. bonos

1. *Quorum . . . Gallia*] 'Now all their income and means whereby they can perform their religious rites and keep up the repairs of their temples and public buildings consist in rent from the property they own in Gaul.' *Sarta tecta* is a technical expression for 'repairs': the phrase is usually found agreeing with a substantive expressed, not, as here, understood, e. g. 2 Verr. i. 131: *quaesivit quis aedem Castoris sartam tectam deberet tradere*; but it is not unfrequently used by itself in the sense of 'repairs,' ib. 128, *In sartis tectis vero quem ad modum se gesserit quid ego dicam*, cp. Liv. xxix. 37, 2: rarely with a genitive as here. The lands belonging to townships were usually in their immediate vicinity, but not always: e. g.

Capua owned land in Crete, Vell. ii. 81, and Atella land in Gaul, Fam. xiii. 7, 1. The word *communium* is used, as the places belonged to a municipality; if they were State property we should have had *publicorum*: cp. Orelli-Henzen 5427, *curatores aedium sacrarum locorumque publicorum*, and Mommsen, St. R. ii². 443, 5. *colonis*] 'tenants.' This is the intermediate meaning of 'colonus' between its original sense of 'farmer' and later sense of 'serf.' It is the regular meaning which the word bears in the writings of the Early Empire: see Fustel de Coulanges (*Recherches*, p. 9 ff.).

Q. Fufidium] See § 3 and next letter.

Mamercium] This is the true reading, not *Mamercum*: cp. Adn. Crit.

viros ad tuam necessitudinem adiunxeris municipiumque gratissimum beneficio tuo devinxeris, mihi vero etiam gratius feceris, quod cum semper tueri municipes meos consuevi, tum hic annus praecipue ad meam curam officiumque pertinet. Nam constituendi municipii causa hoc anno aedilem filium meum fieri volui et fratris filium et M. Caesium, hominem mihi maxime necessarium: is enim magistratus in nostro municipio nec alius ullus creari solet. Quos cohonestaris in primisque me, si res publica municipii tuo studio diligentia bene administrata erit. Quod ut facias, te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

CCCCLIII. CICERO TO THE SAME BRUTUS

(FAM. XIII. 12).

ROME; MONTH UNCERTAIN; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero Bruto Q. Fufidium, legatum municipii Arpinatis, qui ipsius tribunus militum fuerat in Cilicia, commendat.

CICERO BRUTO SAL.

1. Alia epistola communiter commendavi tibi legatos Arpinatium ut potui diligentissime: hac separatim Q. Fufidium, quocum mihi omnes necessitudines sunt, diligentius commendo, non ut

3. *ad meam curam officiumque pertinet*] 'has especial claims on my interest and service in their behalf.'

Nam . . . volui] 'for to ensure the proper settlement of the affairs of the township, I have expressed a wish that my son be elected aedile for this year.' When the affairs of a municipality became embarrassed it was customary to appoint to the chief magistracy some person of considerable influence, in order to overawe the local peculators. The chief magistrates of country townships were called *duumviri* or *quattuorviri* (for the diff. see vol. i. p. 408); but occasionally we find a *Dictator*, as at Lanuvium and Tusculum; *Praetors*, as at Lavinium and Praeneste; *Consuls*, as (in old times) at Tusculum and Beneventum: cp. Marquardt, i. 148 ff. Two aediles appear in all provincial townships, but sometimes they were the only

magistrates (having been the original ones), and were three in number: cp. C. I. L. x. 5679 (found at Arpinum): A. AIGIVS C. F. | L. RVNTIVS C. F. SISIPVS | M. FVFIDIVS M. F. | AID. DE SS (= senatus sententia?) | ad colligendas | aquas caelestes | CLOVACAS FACIVNDAS | COER (= curaverunt) EIDEMQVE | PROBARVNT: cp. 5682. The inscription which is found in Or. 571, and would appear to have special reference to this letter, Q ET M TVLLIS Q. ET M. FF | CICERONIBVS | III VIREIS AED. POT. MVNICIPI | ARPINATIVM D.D., is unfortunately spurious: cp. C. I. L. x. p. 32* (No. 702).

Quos . . . cohonestaris] 'and you will have done honour to them, and especially to myself, if the public affairs of the township are well executed owing to your kind assistance and attention.' For the asyndeton cp. note to Fam. iv. 7, 6 (486).

aliquid de illa commendatione deminuam, sed ut hanc addam. Nam et privignus est M. Caesii, mei maxime et familiaris et necessarii, et fuit in Cilicia mecum tribunus militum: quo in munere ita se tractavit, ut accepisse ab eo beneficium viderer, non dedisse. 2. Est praeterea, quod apud te valet plurimum, a nostris studiis non abhorrens. Qua re velim eum quam liberalissime complectare operamque des, ut in ea legatione, quam suscepit contra suum commodum, secutus auctoritatem meam, quam maxime eius excellat industria. Vult enim, id quod optimo cuique natura tributum est, quam maximam laudem cum a nobis, qui eum impulimus, tum a municipio consequi: quod ei continget, si hac mea commendatione tuum erga se studium erit consecutus.

CCCCLIV. CICERO TO THE SAME BRUTUS
(FAM. XIII. 13).

ROME; MONTH UNCERTAIN; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero Bruto commendat L. Castronium Paetum.

CICERO BRUTO SAL.

L. Castronius Paetus, longe princeps municipii Lucensis, est honestus, gravis, plenus officii, bonus plane vir et cum virtutibus tum etiam fortuna, si quid hoc ad rem pertinet, ornatus: meus autem est familiarissimus, sic prorsus, ut nostri ordinis observet neminem diligentius. Qua re ut et meum amicum et tua dignum amicitia tibi commendo. Cui quibuscumque rebus commodaveris, tibi profecto iucundum, mihi certe erit gratum. Vale.

1. *ut hanc addam*] So we read with H (*ad hanc M*).

tribunus militum] He is not mentioned in the letters written from Cilicia. He is probably the same Fufidius as is referred to in Q. Fr. iii. 1, 3 (148) and Att. xi. 13, 3 (428): cp. Fam. xiii. 11, 1 (452).

2. *complectare*] 'admit him to your friendship.'

secutus auctoritatem meam] 'influenced by me.'

quam maxime . . . industria] 'his efforts may attain signal success.'

plenus officii] 'serviceable.'

tum . . . ornatus] 'endowed besides with considerable fortune, if this is of any importance': cp. ad Brut. i. 8, 2, *Fortem virum, Brute, tibi commendo, frugi hominem, et, si quid ad rem pertinet, etiam locupletem.*

nostri ordinis] i. e. senatorial.

CCCCLV. CICERO TO THE SAME BRUTUS
(FAM. XIII. 14).

ROME; MONTH UNCERTAIN; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero a Bruto petit, ut, quam L. Titio Straboni P. Cornelius debeat, pecuniam diligenter exigat.

CICERO BRUTO SAL.

1. L. Titio Strabone, equite Romano in primis honesto et ornato, familiarissime utor. Omnia mihi cum eo intercedunt iura summae necessitudinis. Huic in tua provincia pecuniam debet P. Cornelius. Ea res a Volcatio, qui Romae ius dicit, reiecta in Galliam est. 2. Peto a te hoc diligentius, quam si mea res esset, quo est honestius de amicorum pecunia laborare quam de sua, ut negotium conficiendum cures: ipse suscipias, transigās operamque des, quoad tibi aequum et rectum videbitur, ut quam commodissima condicione libertus Strabonis, qui eius rei causa missus est, negotium conficiat ad nummosque perveniat. Id et mihi gratissimum erit et tu ipse L. Titium cognosces amicitia tua dignissimum. Quod ut tibi curae sit, ut omnia solent esse, quae me velle scis, te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

1. *Omnia mihi...necessitudinis*] 'there have passed between us all the mutual duties which the closest friendship demands.'

Volcatio] L. Volcatius Tullus was praetor at Rome this year. In 721 (33) he became consul.

reiecta in Galliam est] 'The praetor urbanus, Volcatius, has changed the venue in this case to Gaul.' *Reicere* is the regular word for 'referring' or 'remanding' any public matter to some authorized body for settlement, Liv. ii. 27, 5, *senatus rem a se ad populum reiecit*.

It is rare to find it used, as here, with the name of a place; but it is found with *huc*, Fam. x. 16, 2, *ut nihil huc* (= ad Romam) *reicias*. When used with a word expressing time, it means 'to put off,' to 'postpone,' Q. Fr. ii. 1, 3 (93), *religua in mensem Ianuarium reicientur*. It is also used in the quite general sense of 'referring to,' Att. ix. 13, 8 (371), *ad ipsam te epistolam reicio*. A very common technical sense which the word has is 'to challenge a jury,' Att. i. 16, 3 (22).

2. *ad nummosque perveniat*] 'may come by his money.'

CCCCCLVI. CICERO TO M. TERENTIUS VARRO
(FAM. IX. 1.)

ROME; EARLY IN YEAR; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero M. Terentii Varronis adventum exspectat, ut adflicta re publica non minus ex consuetudine eius quam ex studiis ac libris, cum quibus iam in gratiam redierit, solacium doloris petat.

CICERO M. VARRONI SAL.

1. Ex iis litteris, quas Atticus a te missas mihi legit, quid ageres et ubi esses cognovi, quando autem te visuri essemus nihil sane ex iisdem litteris potui suspicari. In spem tamen venio appropinquare tuum adventum: qui mihi utinam solacio sit! Etsi tot tantisque rebus urgemur, ut nullam adlevationem ququam non stultissimus sperare debeat; sed tamen aut tu potes me aut ego te fortasse aliqua re iuvare. 2. Scito enim me, postea quam in urbem venerim, redisse cum veteribus amicis, id est, cum libris nostris, in gratiam: etsi non idcirco eorum usum dimiseram, quod iis suscenserem, sed quod eorum me suppudebat. Videbar enim mihi, cum me in res turbulentissimas infidelissimis sociis demissem, praeceptis illorum non satis paruisse. Ignoscunt mihi, revocant in consuetudinem pristinam teque, quod in ea permanseris,

On Varro's character see Introduction. Dr. Reid says (Academ. p. 49) that Cicero's letters to Varro 'are all cold, forced, and artificial: very different from the letters Cicero addressed to his real intimates, such as Sulpicius, Caelius, Paetus, Plancus, Trebatius. They all show a fear of giving offence to the harsh temper of Varro, and a humility in presence of his vast learning, which is by no means natural to Cicero.'

1. *nihil sane . . . suspicari*] 'I could not indeed form an idea.'

nullam . . . debeat] We should rather have expected some such sentence as *ut nemo nisi stultissimus ullam adlevationem sperare debeat*. The form *adlevationem*, which is attested by H, is quite sound: cp. Fin. i. 40; also *adlevato*, Att. vii. 1, 1 (284). Lehmann (p. 54) would insert *iam*

after *nullam*, which doubtless would make better sense, but is not absolutely necessary.

2. *cum veteribus amicis, id est, cum libris nostris*] cp. Southey, *The Scholar*:—

'My days among the dead are past
Around me I behold,
Where'er these casual eyes are cast,
The mighty minds of old—
My never-failing friends are they,
With whom I converse day by day.'

cum me . . . demissem] 'When I flung myself into the rushing vortex of politics with most untrustworthy companions.' For *demittere se in*, Att. vii. 12, 3 (338): Fam. viii. 16, 5 (383). *Infidelissimis sociis* is the abl. of attendant circumstances: cp. Roby, § 1240 ff. For the various readings of this passage see Adn. Crit.

sapientiore[m] quam me dicunt fuisse. Quam ob rem, quoniam placatis iis utor, videor sperare debere, si te viderim, et ea, quae premant, et ea, quae impendeant me facile transiturum. Quam ob rem sive in Tusculano sive in Cumano ad te placebit sive, quod minime velim, Romae, dum modo simul simus, perficiam profecto, ut id utrique nostrum commodissimum esse diiudicetur.

CCCCLVII. CICERO TO L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS
(FAM. XIII. 29).

ROME; EARLY IN THE YEAR; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero L. Planco C. Ateium Capitonem propter hereditatem T. Antistii diligentissime commendat.

M. CICERO L. PLANCO S.

1. Non dubito quin scias in iis necessariis, qui tibi a patre relict[um] sunt, me tibi esse vel coniunctissimum non iis modo causis, quae speciem habent magnae coniunctionis, sed iis etiam, quae familiaritate et consuetudine tenentur, quam scis mihi iucun-

transiturum] 'pass safely through.' The first hand of M reads *facile turum*, whence Baiter conjectures *facile laturum*, the reading of Pal. Sext. H reads *facile sciturum*.

ad te] = *apud te*. *Ad* often signifies rest after motion, Roby, § 1820. For *esse ad aliquem*: cp. Att. x. 4, 8 (382), and 16, 1 (402), where Boot wrongly alters to *apud*.

diuidicetur] So H, Pal. Sext.; M has *dividetur*; Ernesti reads *iudicetur*, and Cratander emended to *videatur*, which is the ordinary reading. But the reading of the text is plainly the source from which all the variants have arisen.

This Plancus, to whom Horace's Ode i. 7 is addressed, was Caesar's lieutenant among the Belgae in 54 B.C. (Caes. B. G. v. 24). In 47 he appears in command of Caesar's forces at Ilerda (B. C. i. 40). Next year, 46, we hear of him in Africa as trying to induce Q. Considius to surrender Hadrumetum

(Bell. Afr. 4), and also later on he was Praefectus Urbi at Rome (Cic. Phil. ii. 76; cp. Eckhel v. 257, vi. 6). But his history does not really begin till after Caesar's death; so that we shall defer to a future volume all further account of this creature, who was constitutionally a traitor (*morbo proditor*), as Velleius (ii. 83) says, but who was, perhaps, not on that account so very much worse than the majority of his compatriots. The date of this letter can be approximately fixed by the fact that, as we have seen, Plancus was serving with Caesar in Africa in the beginning of 46.

1. *coniunctissimum*] 'closely attached.' *habent . . . tenentur*] The mss give *habeant*, a mere slip, rightly altered by Cratander to *habent*; for there cannot be any such marked difference in the meanings of the two clauses as would justify a difference of mood. Translate 'not only in those cases which give an appearance of close attachment, but also in those which are matters of friendship and

dissimam cum patre tuo et summam fuisse. Ab iis initiis noster in te amor profectus auxit paternam necessitudinem et eo magis, quod intellexi, ut primum per aetatem iudicium facere potueris, quanti quisque tibi faciendus esset, me a te in primis coeptum esse observari, coli, diligere. Accedebat non mediocre vinculum cum studiorum, quod ipsum est per se grave, tum eorum studiorum earumque artium, quae per se ipsae eos, qui voluntate eadem sunt, etiam familiaritate devinciunt. 2. Expectare te arbitror haec tam longe repetita principia quo spectent. Id primum ergo habeto, non sine magna iustaque causa hanc a me commemorationem esse factam. C. Ateio Capitone utor familiarissime. Notae tibi sunt varietates meorum temporum. In omni genere et honorum et laborum meorum et animus et opera et auctoritas et gratia, etiam res familiaris C. Capitonis praesto fuit et paruit et temporibus et fortunae meae. 3. Huius propinquus fuit T. Antistius: qui cum sorte quaestor Macedoniam obtineret neque ei successum esset, Pompeius in eam provinciam cum exercitu venit. Facere Antistius nihil potuit. Nam si potuisset, nihil ei fuisset antiquius quam ad Capitonem, quem ut parentem diligebat, reverti, praesertim cum sciret quanti is Caesarem faceret semperque fecisset. Sed oppressus tantum attigit negotii, quantum recusare non potuit. 4. Cum signaretur argentum Apolloniae, non possum

intimacy; and you know that the friendship which existed between me and your father was of the most agreeable and intimate nature.'

observari, coli, diligere] 'respected, esteemed, loved.'

tum eorum . . . devinciunt] 'and moreover, of those studies and branches of culture which bind together men of the same feelings with the additional bond of friendship.'

2. *principia*] 'preamble'; *commemorationem*, 'detailed narration.'

C. Ateio Capitone] This was the man who made himself notorious by declaring prodigies of dread ill-omen (probably invented, cp. De Div. i. 29) when Crassus was setting out for Syria, and by ordering him to be taken off to prison, cp. Dio Cass. xxxix. 39. He had always opposed the Triumvirs. He may in later years have wished well to Caesar, but he cannot have been a very vigorous supporter of his, or Cicero would have made more of it.

In omni genere . . . fortunae] 'In every kind of circumstances, in my distinctions and in my trouble, Capito's good-will, exertions, influence, favour, even his property were at my disposal and were always ready to serve every crisis of my fortune.' For *parere* in this sense cp. Deiot. 13 *utilitatibus tuis paruit*, also Caec. 9.

3. *sorte*] The provincial quaestors were regularly appointed by lot: see note on vol. III., p. lxxxiv.

antiquius] *πρεσβύτερον*, 'preferable.' It is also used in the superlative in the sense of 'most special' Q. Fr. ii. 1, 3 (93); Att. x. 8, 4 (392).

ut parentem diligebat] The relation of quaestor to proconsul was considered a filial one: cp. Fam. v. 21, 1 (458), and note to Fam. v. 20, 1 (302), also Mayor on Phil. ii. 71.

oppressus] 'surprised,' cp. Ter. Andr. i. 3, 22; *ne de hac re pater imprudentem opprimat*.

4. *Cum signaretur argentum Apol-*

dicere eum praefuisse neque possum negare adfuisse, sed non plus duobus an tribus mensibus. Deinde afuit a castris: fugit omne negotium. Hoc mihi ut testi velim credas: meam enim ille maestitiam in illo bello videbat, mecum omnia communicabat. Itaque abdidit se in intimam Macedoniam quo potuit longissime a castris, non modo ut non praeesset ulli negotio, sed etiam ut ne interesset quidem. Is post proelium se ad hominem necessarium, A. Plautium, in Bithyniam contulit. Ibi eum Caesar cum vidisset, nihil asperere, nihil acerbe dixit: Romam iussit venire. Ille in morbum continuo incidit: ex quo non convaluit. Aeger Coreyram venit: ibi est mortuus. Testamento, quod Romae Paulo et Marcello consulibus fecerat, heres ex parte dimidia et tertia est Capito: in sextante sunt ii, quorum pars sine ulla cuiusquam querella publica potest esse: ea est ad HS xxx. Sed de hoc Caesar viderit. 5. Te, mi Plance, pro paterna necessitudine, pro nostro amore, pro studiis et omni cursu nostro totius vitae simillimo rogo et a te ita peto, ut maiore cura, maiore studio nullam *rem* possim, ut hanc rem suscipias, meam putes esse, enitare, contendas, efficias, ut mea commendatione, tuo studio, Caesaris beneficio, hereditatem propinqui sui C. Capito obtineat. Omnia, quae potui in hac summa tua gratia ac potentia a te impetrare, si voluissem, ultro te ad me detulisse putabo, si hanc rem impetravero. 6. Illud fore tibi adiumento spero, cuius ipse Caesar optimus esse iudex potest: semper Caesarem Capito coluit et dilexit. Sed ipse huius rei testis est: novi hominis memoriam.

loniae] For the military coins struck during the Civil War, see Mommsen, *La monnaie romaine* ii. 57-63, ed. 1870. None with the name of Antistius seem to have been found.

an] So M, 'or was it three months'; cp. Madv. on Fin. ii. 104. H reads *aut*, perhaps rightly.

ut testi] 'on my oath,'

Paullo et Marcello consulibus] 704 (50 B.C.).

heres ex parte dimidia et tertia] five-sixths: *in sextante* 'one-sixth.' Note the different prepositions used.

quorum pars esse] doubtless because the property had been left to men who showed themselves uncompromising opponents of Caesar in the war.

5. *maiore cura, maiore studio*] 'more strenuously or urgently.'

nullam rem possim] So we read with Wesenberg (Em. Alt. 44), who points out that a few letters are often lost in transcription, as for example in this epistle *cum* after *praesertim* in § 3, and *-sse* after *feci* in § 7. It would be hardly possible to supply the word *rem* in the sense of 'thing,' from *rem* in the next clause which has the sense of 'affair,' 'business.'

enitare, contendas, efficias] 'endeavour, strive, bring to pass.'

quae potui impetrare] = quae impetravissem.

6. *novi hominis memoriam*] For Caesar's great memory, see Phil. ii. 116, Deiot. 42, *memoriam tuam implorat quae vales plurimum*; and especially the noble sentence, Lig. 35, *qui oblivisci nihil soles nisi iniuriam*.

Itaque nihil te doceo: tantum tibi sumito pro Capitone apud Caesarem, quantum ipsum meminisse senties. 7. Ego, quod in me ipso experiri potui, ad te deferam: in eo quantum sit ponderis tu videbis. Quam partem in re publica causamque defenderim, per quos homines ordinesque steterim quibusque munitus fuerim non ignoras. Hoc mihi velim credas: si quid fecerim hoc ipso in bello minus ex Caesaris voluntate, quod intellexerim scire ipsum Caesarem me invitissimum fecisse, id fecisse aliorum consilio, hortatu, auctoritate: quod fuerim moderatior temperatiorque quam in ea parte quisquam, id me fecisse maxime auctoritate Capitonis: cuius similes si reliquos necessarios habuissem, rei publicae fortasse non nihil, mihi certe plurimum profuissem. 8. Hanc rem, mi Plance, si effeceris, meam de tua erga me benevolentia spem confirmaveris, ipsum Capitonem, gratissimum, officiosissimum, optimum virum, ad tuam necessitudinem tuo summo beneficio adiunxeris.

CCCCLVIII. CICERO TO L. MESCINIUS RUFUS
(FAM. V. 21).

ROME; APRIL (FIRST HALF); A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

L. Mescinio Rufo, qui se summa cupiditate adfectum esse scripserat videndi Ciceronis, se quoque eius videndi cupiditate teneri significat eumque hortatur, ut temporum acerbitatem cum litterarum studiis tum vitae ante actae recordatione consoletur.

M. CICERO S. D. L. MESCINIO.

1. Gratae mihi tuae litterae fuerunt, ex quibus intellexi, quod etiam sine litteris arbitrabar, te summa cupiditate adfectum esse

7. *deferam*] 'bring before you.'

Quam . . . defenderim] 'the party and the principles I defended in politics.'

intellexerim] The perf. subj. is strange here; it is probably due to attraction to the mood of *fecerim*; we should have expected *intellexi*: cp. Dräger i. p. 316. Madvig (A. C. ii. 234) and Boot (Obs. Crit. p. 25) read *intellexi*.

hortatu] This word occurs in Cicero only in one other passage, Arch. 1. In classical prose it is only used in the abl. sing.

auctoritate] 'influence.'

8. *ipsum Capitonem . . . adiunxeris*] 'and Capito himself, a grateful, serviceable, and excellent man, you will attach to your friendship by your great kindness.' Manutius refers to Att. xvi. 16 C. 12 to show that Capito and Plancus appear afterwards as good friends.

For this Rufus cf. Fam. v. 20 (302). This letter shows that Cicero and his ex-quaestor were once more on the most cordial relations of friendship.

videndi mei. Quod ego ita libenter accipio, ut tamen tibi non concedam: nam tecum esse, ita mihi omnia, quae opto, contingant, ut vehementer velim! Tum enim, cum esset maior et virorum et civium bonorum et iucundorum hominum et amantium mei copia, tamen erat nemo quicum essem libentius quam tecum et pauci quibuscum essem aequè libenter: hoc vero tempore, cum alii interierint, alii absint, alii mutati voluntate sint, unum medius fidius tecum diem libentius posuerim quam hoc omne tempus cum plerisque eorum, quibuscum vivo necessario. Noli enim existimare mihi non solitudinem iucundiorē esse, qua tamen ipsa uti non licet, quam sermones eorum, qui frequentant domum meam excepto uno aut summum altero. 2. Itaque utor eodem perfugio, quo tibi utendum censeo, litterulis nostris, praeterea conscientia etiam consiliorum meorum. Ego enim is sum, quem ad modum tu facillime potes existimare, qui nihil umquam mea potius quam meorum civium causa fecerim, cui nisi invidisset is, quem tu numquam amasti—me enim amabas—, et ipse beatus esset et omnes boni. Ego sum, qui nullius vim plus valere volui quam honestum otium, idemque, cum illa ipsa arma, quae semper timueram, plus posse sensi quam illum consensum bonorum, quem ego idem effeceram, quavis tuta condicione pacem accipere malui quam viribus cum valentiore pugnare. Sed et haec et multa alia coram brevi tempore licebit. 3. Neque me tamen ulla res alia Romae tenet nisi expectatio rerum Africanarum: videtur enim mihi res in propinquum adducta discrimen: puto autem mea non nihil

1. *Quod ego*] ‘and I am right glad to hear this, without, however, being behind you in that wish: for, so may I gain all my prayers, I earnestly desire to be with you,’ lit. ‘as I should earnestly desire.’

mihi omnia] MH have *mihi communia omnia*. We have left out *communis* with most edd. Or. reads *omnino*; Kl. *commoda*. Lehmann (p. 28), after noticing that Cicero often contrasts *communis* and *proprius*, e.g. Sest. 30, Att. iv. 6, 1 (110), vii. 1, (284), conjectures *ita mihi communia et propria commoda omnia quae opto contingant*, which is very ingenious, but a little too daring.

mutati voluntate] ‘estranged.’

posuerim] ‘spend,’ lit. ‘invest’: cp. Att. vi. 2, 6 (256). *Quintilem in reditu ponere*; Brut. 87, *quem totum (diem)*

Galbam in considerata causa componendaque posuisse.

2. *litterulis nostris*] ‘my writings, such as they are,’ a word apparently confined to Cicero’s epistles (cp. Att. vii. 2, 8 (293)), and one passage of Horace, Epp. ii. 2, 7.

is quem] Pompey.

quavis tuta condicione] ‘on any terms which would guarantee our lives.’ Koch and Mendelssohn think that one would expect *quamvis iniqua* for *quavis tuta* comparing Fam. vi. 4, 4 (540), and Phil. ii. 37, *quamvis iniqua condicione pacis—mihi enim omnis pax cum civibus bello civili utilior videbatur—remp. hodie teneamus*: but *quavis* expresses virtually the same idea as *quamvis iniqua*.

3. *puto . . . amicorum*] ‘but I think that it is of some importance to me—

interesse, quamquam id ipsum quid intersit non sane intellego, verum tamen, quidquid illinc nuntiatum sit, non longe abesse a consiliis amicorum. Est enim res iam in eum locum adducta, ut, quamquam multum intersit inter eorum causas, qui dimicant, tamen inter victorias non multum interfuturum putem. Sed plane animus *meus*, qui dubiis rebus forsitan fuerit infirmior, desperatis confirmatus est multum: quem etiam tuae superiores litterae confirmarunt, quibus intellexi quam fortiter iniuriam ferres, iuvitque me tibi cum summam humanitatem tum etiam tuas litteras profuisse. Verum enim scribam: teneriore mihi animo videbare, sicut omnes fere, qui vitam ingenuam in beata civitate et libera viximus. 4. Sed ut illa secunda moderate tulimus, sic hanc non solum adversam, sed funditus eversam fortunam fortiter ferre debemus, ut hoc saltem in maximis malis boni consequamur, ut mortem, quam etiam beati contemnere debebamus, propterea quod nullum sensum esset habitura, nunc sic adfecti non modo contemnere debeamus, sed etiam optare. 5. Tu si me diligis, fruiere isto otio tibi que persuade praeter culpam ac peccatum, qua semper caruisti et carebis, homini accidere nihil posse quod sit inhonorabile aut pertimescendum. Ego, si videbitur recte fieri posse, ad te veniam brevi: si quid acciderit, ut mutandum consilium sit, te certiores faciam statim. Tu ita fac cupidus mei videndi sis, ut istinc te ne moveas tam

though the exact importance I do not, indeed, quite see; yet, whatever the news is from Africa (I do think it well) not to be far away from the advice of my friends.'

quamquam putem] This is a weighty judgment. No matter which the victor, Cicero sees no hope of the re-establishment of the free State: cp. Fam. vi. 4, 1 (540).

animus meus] Wesenberg rightly supplies *meus*.

iniuriam] Manutius suggests that Mes- cinius was probably forbidden to enter the city. He was certainly in Italy, for Cicero says, §5, *ad te veniam brevi*.

iuvitque me] 'and it delighted me that both your wide culture and your writings have stood you in good stead. For I will tell you the truth: I thought you had rather too sensitive a disposition, as almost all of us have who lived the life of gentlemen in a happy and free state.' The MSS

read *vita ingenua*, corrected to the text by Orelli. They also add *in* before *libera*; but *in* probably crept into the text from *in* immediately preceding. Wesenberg proposes *in libera rep*.

4. *ut hoc saltem, . . . optare*] 'so that, in the midst of our grievous misfortunes, we secure this much good; that while even in our prosperity it was incumbent on us to hold death in little account, as it is likely to be destitute of all sensation, now in our present plight it becomes our duty not merely to hold it in little account, but even to pray for it.'

5. *inhonorabile*] So we read with H. M. has *honorabile*, which was in very early times altered to the vulg. *horribile*. This latter reading may be right, cp. Sull. 59, *hominum genus horribile et pertimescendum*, quoted by Mendelssohn.

tam infirma valetudine] abl. of attendant circumstances, 'as you are in such poor health.'

infirmi valetudine, nisi ex me prius quaesieris per litteras quid te velim facere. Me velim, ut facis, diligas valetudinique tuae et tranquillitati animi servias.

CCCCLIX. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 2).

ROME; APRIL (FIRST HALF); A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

De rumore urbano de Statio Murco et de Asinio Pollione et de Sex. Pompeio, de ludis Praenestinis, de Balbo aedificante, de Attico, quem iam visurus sit.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Hic rumores tamen Statium Murcum perisse naufragio, Asinium delatum vivum in manus militum, L. naves delatas Uticam reflatu hoc, Pompeium non comparere nec in Balearibus omnino fuisse, ut Paciaecus adfirmat. Sed auctor nullius rei quisquam. Habes quae, dum tu abes, locuti sunt. 2. Ludi interea Praeneste. Ibi Hirtius et isti omnes. Et quidem ludi dies octo. Quae cenae, quae deliciae! Res interea fortasse transacta est. O miros homines! At Balbus aedificat: τί γὰρ αὐτῷ μέλει; Verum, si quaeris, homini non recta, sed voluptaria quaerenti nonne βεβίωται? Tu interea dormis. Iam explicandum est πρό-

1. *tamen*] 'all the same there are rumours'; most editors strike out *tamen*, but this is rash, inasmuch as we have not Atticus's letters to which these are replies. Atticus had probably said, 'I am sure no news about the war can have reached Rome yet.' Statius Murcus was an officer of Caesar's; and this rumour was false, for we read of him afterwards as commanding an army in Syria: Fam. xii. 11, 1.

Asinium] This is the celebrated C. Asinius Pollio, who served ably on the Caesarean side in Sicily and Africa, and was governor of Baetica. We have letters from him, Fam. x. 31, 32, 33, which are among the latest letters from any of Cicero's correspondents which have come down to us.

militum] of the Pompeian soldiers.

L. naves delatas] 'that fifty ships have been carried out of their course by this contrary wind to Utica.'

Pompeium non comparere] 'is nowhere

to be seen.' This was Gnaeus, the eldest son of Pompeius Magnus.

Paciaecus] L. Junius Paciaecus, a native of Baetica, who, like Balbus of Gades, had obtained Roman citizenship, carried on the war against the sons of Pompey in Spain.

2. *Ludi . . . Praeneste*] Probably in honour of Fortune, who was worshipped there; Div. ii. 85.

Res transacta] 'Perhaps in the meantime the issue of the war has been decided,' while they have been feasting and carousing.

nonne βεβίωται] 'is not life all over for a man who makes pleasure, not duty, his only aim?'

dormis] 'you remain inactive, do nothing.'

explicandum est πρόβλημα] 'the question must be solved.' The meaning apparently is 'you must make up your mind which side is going to prevail in Africa, so that you may take a definite line of action.'

βλῆμα, si quid acturus es. Si quaeris quid putem, ego †fructum puto. Sed quid multa? Iam te videbo, et quidem, ut spero, de via recta ad me. Simul enim et diem Tyrannioni constituemus et si quid aliud.

CCCCLX. CICERO TO M. TERENTIUS VARRO
(FAM. IX. 3).

ROME; APRIL (MIDDLE); A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Tullius iturum se ad M. Varronem scribit, sed fore qui iam reprehendant hac civitatis calamitate, quod Baias se conferant: se vero contemptis barbarorum vocibus litterarum studia persequi.

CICERO VARRONI.

1. Etsi quid scriberem non habebam, tamen Caninio ad te eunti non potui nihil dare. Quid ergo potissimum scribam? Quod velle te puto, cito me ad te esse venturum. Etsi vide, quaeso, satisne rectum sit nos hoc tanto incendio civitatis in istis locis esse. Dabimus sermonem iis, qui nesciunt nobis, quocumque in loco simus, eundem cultum, eundem victum esse. Quid re fert? tamen in sermonem incidemus. Valde id, credo, laborandum est, ne, cum omnes in omni genere et scelerum et flagitiorum volutentur, nostra nobiscum aut inter nos cessatio vituperetur.

fructum puto] We believe that a Greek word lies under the corrupt *fructum*, which cannot be explained. Such a word might have been πεπραχθαι, 'I think *c'est fini*,' which Cicero would use just as we might write *actum est*; see I², p. 67. Greek words are no doubt frequently concealed under corrupt Latin forms in the letters; thus in Att. ix. 17, 2 (375) κινδυνώδη lurks under the readings *ni id modo*, *in id modo*, *in ni admodo*.

de via recta ad me] 'you will come straight to me from the road.'

Tyr. constituemus] 'we will arrange a day for Tyrannio' to read for us his book on accents; see on Att. xii. 6, 2 (499). Mr. Jeans ingeniously remarks that Cicero's making literary appointments, unconscious that the battle of Thapsus had decided the war in Africa, reminds us of Hegel going to the publisher at Jena, unconscious that the great battle had been fought.

1. *Caninio*] This probably is the same Caninius who in 56 was trib. plebis, cp. Fam. i. 2, 1, 4 (96), and proposed that Pompey without an army should restore Ptolemy (Plut. Pomp. 49).

hoc tanto incendio civitatis] 'while this terrible political conflagration is still raging,' abl. of attendant circumstances. Kayser wishes to add *in* before *incendio*.

istis] the place you suggest, i.e. Baiæ.
eundem cultum, eundem victum esse] 'adhere to the same plain surroundings and the same plain living': *cultus* refers mostly to the externals of a respectable life, such as dress, house, servants, *entourage* generally; *victus* to the eating and drinking: cp. Fin. ii. 90.

Quid re fert? . . . vituperetur] 'What difference does it make? (you say); no matter what we do (*tamen*) we shall be talked about. Your argument, then (Cicero rejoins), is, I presume, that we must take

2. Ego vero neglecta barbarorum inscitia persequar: quamvis enim sint haec misera, quae sunt miserrima, tamen artes nostrae nescio quo modo nunc uberiores fructus ferre videntur quam olim ferebant, sive quia nulla nunc in re alia acquiescimus, sive quod gravitas morbi facit ut medicina egeamus, eaque nunc appareat, cuius vim non sentiebamus, cum valebamus. Sed quid ego nunc haec ad te, cuius domi nascuntur, γλαῦκ' εἰς 'Αθήνας? Nihil scilicet, nisi ut rescriberes aliquid, me expectares. Sic igitur facies.

vast pains (i.e. divested of ironical language, that we are not to trouble ourselves at all in the matter) lest, when everyone else is wallowing in every kind of crime and wickedness, our common or rather mutual relaxation should be blamed.' This is Wesenberg's (Em. Alt. 25) interpretation of the general drift of the passage. But there is a certain obscurity and abruptness in supposing Varro to make an objection at all; one would certainly expect some word like *inquies* to have been added with *quid re fert?* We accordingly think it possible that *sed* dropped out after *esse*, and that we should read *sed quid refert?*, and suppose those and the following words down to the end of the section to be a sudden outburst of indignation on Cicero's part. As to *nostra nobiscum aut inter nos cessatio*, it means that Cicero and Varro enjoyed their relaxation from public business, not only living together, each pursuing his own tastes, but that they *joined* in the same pursuits and had mutual and reciprocal enjoyment therein (*inter nos*). Note that the verbal sense in *cessatio* is not lost but operates with *nobiscum* and *inter nos*. Böckel compares Att. xi. 18, 1 (434), *de illius Alexandria discessu*. The Latin clearly and prettily points the distinction between *common* and *mutual* which is often forgotten, as in the title of Dickens' novel *Our Mutual Friend*.

2. *Ego . . . persequar*] 'However, I, despising those vulgarians, as they know no better, will repair to you.' As Wesenberg (Em. Alt. 26) has pointed out *persequar* = *persequar te*, cp. Fam. ix. 5, 3 (463), so there is no need to insert *te* with Baiter: and though M has *persequare* H has *persequar*.

medicinae] So⁵ MH. Lambinus and many editors alter to *medicina*, which is certainly the usual Ciceronian construction after *egeo*; but in Att. vii. 22, 2 (320), we have *egeo consilii*.

eaque nunc . . . valebamus] 'and this medicine now shows its virtue, though we used not to perceive its efficacy when we were in good health.'

Sed quid . . . nascuntur] 'But why do I send these reflections to you who have an abundant store of them yourself': cp. Plaut. Mil. ii. 2, 39, *Domi habet hortum et condimenta ad omnes mores maleficos, domi dolos, domi delenifica facta, domi fallacias*, and compare Catull. xxxi. 14.

γλαῦκ' εἰς 'Αθήνας] 'coals to Newcastle.' The earliest place where the proverb occurs seems to be Aristoph. Av. 301, τὶς γλαῦκ' 'Αθηνάς' ἤγαγε.

Nihil scilicet] answering to *Quid?* 'For no reason of course.'

Sic igitur facies] 'Please, then, do this,' the future expressing a polite imperative, as often.

CCCCLXI. CICERO TO M. TERENTIUS VARRO
(FAM. IX. 2).

ROME; APRIL (LATTER HALF); A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

Retentae epistolae causam exponit: deinde suadet, ut, id quod ipse faciat, oculos hominum vitet, donec gratulatio Africanæ victoriae effervescat: postremo suum iuvandæ rei publicæ desiderium declarat.

CICERO VARRONI.

1. Caninius *tuus* idem et idem noster, cum ad me pervesperi venisset et se postridie mane ad te iturum esse dixisset, dixi ei me daturum aliquid: mane ut peteret rogavi. Conscripsi epistolam noctu, nec ille ad me rediit: oblitum credidi. Ac tamen eam ipsam tibi epistolam misissem per meos, nisi audissem ex eodem postridie te mane e Tusculano exiturum. At tibi repente paucis post diebus, cum minime exspectarem, venit ad me Caninius mane: proficisci ad te statim dixit. Etsi erat ἑωλος illa epistola, praesertim tantis postea novis rebus adlatis, tamen perire lucubrationem meam nolui et eam ipsam Caninio dedi: sed cum eo ut cum homine docto et *tui* amantissimo locutus ea sum, quae pertulisse illum ad te existimo. 2. Tibi autem idem consilii do quod mihimet ipsi, ut vitemus oculos hominum, si linguas minus facile possimus. Qui enim victoria se efferunt, quasi victos nos intuentur: qui autem victos nostros moleste ferunt, nos dolent vivere. Quaeres fortasse cur, cum haec in urbe sint, non absim, quem ad modum tu. Tu enim ipse, qui et me et alios prudentia vincis, omnia, credo, vidisti, nihil te omnino fefellit; quis est enim

1. *pervesperi*] 'very late in the evening,' a strange form, so much so that some editors have altered to *nuper vesperi*. However, compounds of *per* occur very frequently in the letters; they belong to ordinary language, which is often needlessly emphatic.

Ac tamen] cp. note on § 3.

At tibi repente] 'But, look you, suddenly,' &c. *tibi*, ethical dat.: cp. Att. i. 14, 5 (20), *hic tibi Cato rostra advolat*.

tantis postea novis rebus adlatis] i. e.

the news of the battle of Thapsus, which was fought on April 6th. The news would take about 20 days to reach Rome.

perire lucubrationem meam] 'my midnight labour should go for nought.'

2. *credo*] used with a friendly irony. *Credo*, when used parenthetically, generally has a touch of irony, but not always; it sometimes marks a genuine expression of opinion like 'I presume,' e.g. Caes. Bell. Civ. iii. 70: cp. Reid on Sull. 11, Acad. ii. 2, 77.

tam Lynceus qui in tantis tenebris nihil offendat, nusquam incurrat? 3. Ac mihi quidem iam pridem venit in mentem bellum esse aliquo exire, ut ea, quae agebantur hic quaeque dicebantur, nec viderem nec audirem. Sed calumniabar ipse: putabam, qui ob viam mihi venisset, ut cuique commodum esset, suspicaturum aut dicturum, etiam si non suspicaretur: 'Hic aut metuit et ea re fugit aut aliquid cogitat et habet navem paratam.' Denique, levissime qui suspicaretur et qui fortasse me optime novisset, putaret me idcirco discedere, quod quosdam homines oculi mei ferre non possent. Haec ego suspicans adhuc Romae maneo, et tamen λεληθότως consuetudo diuturna callum iam obduxit stomacho meo. 4. Habes rationem mei consilii. Tibi igitur hoc censeo: latendum tantisper ibidem, dum effervescit haec gratulatio et simul dum audiamus quem ad modum negotium confectum sit: confectum enim esse existimo; magni autem intererit qui fuerit victoris animus, qui exitus rerum: quamquam quo me coniectura ducat habeo, sed exspecto tamen. 5. Te vero nolo, nisi ipse rumor iam raucus erit factus, ad Baias venire. Erit enim nobis honestius, etiam cum hinc discesserimus, videri venisse in illa loca ploratum potius quam natatum. Sed haec tu melius,

Lynceus] the Argonaut, famous for his sharp sight. For *tam* with predicative substantive, see I², p. 60.

nihil offendat, nusquam incurrat] 'stumbles over nothing, runs nowhere against anything.' We have been unable to find any other example from classical writers of *incurrere* used absolutely. It is generally followed by *in* and the acc.; sometimes, in Sallust and Tacitus, by the single acc.; accordingly, we incline to think that possibly the right reading may be *nusquam* <in quicquam> *incurrat*.

3. *calumniabar*] 'I was over-anxious': cp. Caecina ap. Fam. vi. 7, 4 (532), *in hac igitur calumnia timoris*, 'over-anxious fear.' The word has also the sense of an exceedingly minute and morbid self-criticism: cp. Quintil. x. 1, 115, *Calvum nimia contra se calumnia verum sanguinem perdidisse*, and Peterson's note; also x. 3, 10.

ut cuique commodum esset] 'according as it suited the purpose of each.'

levissime qui suspicaretur] 'who took the most lenient view.'

possent] mss *possunt*; but as it expresses the thoughts of his critics it must be

altered to the virtual oblique subjunctive.

et tamen . . . meo] 'and in any case daily habituation to it has insensibly taken the edge off my passion,' lit. 'has drawn a thick skin over my passion'; Tusc. iii. 53, *quorum animis diuturna cogitatio callum vetustatis obduxerat*. For *et tamen*, meaning 'putting all other considerations aside,' see Madv. on Fin. ii. 84, 85, and esp. Munro on Lucr. i. 1050; v. 1177.

4. *tantisper . . . dum audiamus*] 'meanwhile as long as this rejoicing continues at its present boiling point and until we hear.' The difference of the mood is clearly marked, and there is no need to alter the mss reading to *defervescat*.

quamquam . . . tamen] 'though I have my conjecture, yet for all that I wait for the result.'

5. *raucus*] lit. 'hoarse,' and therefore not able to cry aloud its news. Somewhat similar is Hor. Epp. i. 17, 62, *vicinia rauca reclamant*, 'till it is hoarse.'

natatum] 'to swim,' 'to take a bath,' which would be the chief occupation of visitors to Baiae.

haec] 'these considerations,' sc. *aestimabis*: Wesenberg (Em. Alt. 25) alters

modo nobis stet illud, una vivere in studiis nostris, a quibus antea delectationem modo petebamus, nunc vero etiam salutem: non deesse, si quis adhibere volet, non modo ut architectos, verum etiam ut fabros, ad aedificandam rem publicam et potius libenter accurrere: si nemo utetur opera, tamen et scribere et legere πολιτείας, et si minus in curia atque in foro, at in litteris et libris, ut doctissimi veteres fecerunt, gubernare rem publicam et de moribus ac legibus quaerere. Mihi haec videntur. Tu quid sis factururus et quid tibi placeat, pergratum erit, si ad me scripseris.

CCCCLXII. CICERO TO M. TERENTIUS VARRO
(FAM. IX. 7).

ROME; END OF MAY; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

Iam tempus esse ait M. Cicero, ut ab urbe discedat, et de Caesaris ex Africano bello redeuntis itinere diversos rumores nuntiat.

CICERO VARRONI.

1. Cenabam apud Seium; cum utrique nostrum redditae sunt a te litterae. Mihi vero iam maturum videtur. Nam quod ante [a

haec of the mss to *hoc*, on the ground that there is only one question at issue viz. whether to stay in retirement or go to Baiae, but this is perhaps requiring too minute accuracy of expression.

delectationem salutem] Hofmann compares Fam. vi. 12, 5 (490), *sed est unum perfugium doctrina ac litterae . . quae secundis rebus delectationem modo habere videbantur nunc etiam salutem*, Add Fam. ix. 3, 2 (460).

architectos] 'master-builders': *fabros*, 'workmen.'

et potius] 'indeed rather': rare for *vel potius* or *aut potius*: cp. Off. i. 68, *Nec vero imperia expetenda ac potius non accipienda interdum*; also Fam. i. 1, 1 (95).

de moribus ac legibus quaerere] 'to pursue inquiries on morals and laws' (i.e. ethical and political inquiries). Victorius suggested *gubernare* for *gravare* of the mss, and this has been adopted by most editors: Billerbeck reads *navare* (= *gnavare*) *remp.*, 'to strenuously serve the State,' comparing Tac. Hist. iv. 59,

flagitium, navaverat; v. 25, *navaverint bellum*. It is exceedingly probable that this is what Cicero wrote.

1. *Seium*] This M. Seius appears to have been elected curule aedile in 74 B.C. defeating M. Pupius Piso (Cic. Planc. 12). In that year there was a famine, during which he sold corn and oil at a merely nominal price (Off. ii. 58, Plin. xv. 1), thereby recovering his reputation, which he had somehow lost previously. In 52 he accused M. Saufeius *de vi* (Ascon. p. 55). Next year he again suffered loss of reputation in the trial of one Plaetorius: cp. Att. v. 20, 8 (228). He had a large farm at Ostia (Varro, R. R. iii. 2, 7; 10, 1). He was a friend of both Cicero (cp. Fam. vii. 12, 1) and Atticus: cp. Att. v. 13, 2 (203). He died in 45 (Att. xii. 11). The M. Seius, who was friend and legatus of D. Brutus, was probably his son (Fam. xi. 7, 1).

iam maturum] 'that it is now high time,' to take the decisive step, and go

te] calumniatus sum, indicabo malitiam meam. Volebam prope alicubi esse te, si quid bonae salutis, *σύν τε δὴ ἐρχομένῳ*. Nunc, quoniam confecta sunt omnia, dubitandum non est quin equis viris. Nam ut audiui de L. Caesare F., mecum ipse;

Quid hic mihi faciet patri?

Itaque non desino apud istos, qui nunc dominantur, cenitare. Quid faciam? tempori serviendum est. 2. Sed ridicula missa, praesertim cum sit nihil quod rideamus;

Africa terribili tremit horrida terra tumultu.

Itaque nullum est ἀποπροηγμένον quod non verear. Sed quod quaeris quando, qua, quo, nihil adhuc scimus. Istuc ipsum de Baiis, non nulli dubitant an per Sardiniam veniat. Illud enim

to join Caesar: cp. Fam. ix. 5, 1 (463), *Mihi vero ad Nonas bene maturum videtur fore.*

Nam quod . . . meam] 'As to my former double-dealing, I shall tell you what my shrewd trick was.' We have bracketed [*a te*] with Graevius and Boot (Obs. Crit. 19, 20). It probably arose from ditto-graphia.

si quid bonae salutis] sc. *eveniret*, i.e. if there was any hope of escape. Note the strong ellipses in this letter, *quin equis viris*, sc. *festinemus*: *mecum ipse*, sc. *loquebar*: *ridicula missa*, sc. *sint*.

σύν τε δὴ ἐρχομένῳ] *καί τε πρὸς ὁ τοῦ ἐνόησεν*. Hom. Il. x. 224. 'two heads are better than one.'

equis viris] 'with all our might and main.' In Phil. viii. 21, the literal meaning is found. The phrase also occurs in the form *viris equisque*, Off. iii. 116. Similar expressions are *velis remisque*, Tusc. iii. 25: *remigio veloque*, Plaut. Asin. i. 3, 5: *manibus pedibusque* Ter. Andr. i. 1, 134.

L. Caesare F.] = *filio*. He was a resolute partisan of the Senate. At the outbreak of the Civil War he carried negotiations backwards and forwards between Pompey and Caesar. Cicero thought meanly of him, styling him *non hominem sed scopas solutas*: cp. Att. vii, 13b, 6 (308); 14, 1 (310); 16, 2 (313). In 46 he was proquaestor of Cato at Utica. and was appointed by the latter guardian of his children. He persuaded the citizens to surrender to Caesar after Cato's death.

He was pardoned by Caesar, but afterwards was murdered by the soldiers (Bell. Afr. 88, 89; Plut. Cat. Min. 66; Suet. Caes. 75); it is probably a calumny of Dio's when he says that Caesar ordered his murder (xliii. 12).

Quid hic mihi faciet patri] Ter. Andr. i. 1, 85. The sense is, if Caesar has shown indulgence in the case of such a resolute enemy, he will be more likely to look favourably on me. *patri* must not be pressed: Cicero never had any connexion, as a superior, with L. Caesar.

2. *missa*] sc. *sint*.

Africa] 'Africa terrible land quakes trembling with tumult tremendous'—a line of Ennius, quoted elsewhere by Cic. De Orat. iii. 167, Orat. 93. The reference probably is to the events resulting in the deaths of Petreius and Juba, L. Afranius, Faustus Sulla, and Metellus Scipio (B. Afr. 94-6).

ἀποπροηγμένον] 'to be eschewed.' *προηγμένα* and *ἀποπροηγμένα* were the Stoical terms for those things which from a moral point of view are neither good nor bad, but which nevertheless, either in themselves or in relation to higher aims, are to be sought after or avoided, things which have an appreciable positive or negative value: cp. Zeller, Stoics 283. To them belonged the whole sphere of what are usually called the goods and ills of life, exclusive of morality.

quando, qua, quo] sc. *Caesarem simus conventuri*.

Istuc ipsum de Baiis] 'as to that pro-

adhuc praedium suum non inspexit, nec ullum habet deterius, sed tamen non contemnit. Ego omnino magis arbitror per Siciliam Veliam: *sed iam* sciemus: adventat enim Dolabella: eum puto magistrum fore.

Πολλοὶ μαθηταὶ κρείσσονες διδασκάλων.

Sed tamen, si sciam quid tu constitueris, meum consilium accommodabo potissimum ad tuum. Qua re exspecto tuas litteras.

CCCCLXIII. CICERO TO M. TERENTIUS VARRO
(FAM. IX. 5).

ROME; END OF MAY; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero probat et diem, quo conventuri sint, et suum Varronisque consilium quod semel a Caesare victi ab armis discesserint.

CICERO VARRONI.

1. Mihi vero ad Nonas bene maturum videtur fore, neque solum propter rei publicae, sed etiam propter anni tempus. Quare istum diem probo: itaque eundem ipse sequar. 2. Consilii

positional of yours that we should go to meet him at Baiae, some seem to think that he may come by Sardinia,' and accordingly may not land near Baiae. Caesar did return through Sardinia (Bell. Afr. 98).

praedium] The provinces were looked on as the *praedia populi Romai*: cp. Verr. ii. 7, *et quoniam quasi quaedam praedia populi Romani sunt vectigalia nostra ac provinciae*: now as Caesar owns everything, they are *his* estates.

deterius] Sardinia was proverbial for its unhealthiness (Mart. iv. 60, 6; Tac. Ann. ii. 85).

omnino] virtually = *quidem*, 'indeed'; and *sed* generally follows: cp. Fam. iv. 3, 2 (494), x. 25, 3, xii. 9, 2, xiii. 42, 7 (54), 60, 1 (164), quoted by Wesenberg (Em. 96), who accordingly reads *Veliam, sed iam sciemus*, which seems an almost certain addition.

magistrum fore] 'will serve as my master,' i.e. will instruct us how we should conduct ourselves as regards Caesar. My pupil Dolabella is now a

greater man than myself: cp. Fam. vii. 33, 4 (474); also Quintil. xii. 11, 6, *sic ad se Caelium deductum a patre Cicero profitetur, sic Pansam Hirtium Dolabellam in morem praeceptoris exercuit cotidie dicens audiensque*, Fam. ix. 16, 7 (472); 18, 1 (473).

Πολλοὶ . . . διδασκάλων] It is not known who wrote this line: cp. Anth. Pal. xi. 176, and Nauck Frag. Trag., p. 861.

1. *ad Nonas*] 'about the Nones' (of June): cp. Att. xiii. 9 *fin ad quos dies rediturus sim scribam ad te*; Verr. ii. 5.

bene maturum . . . tempus] 'high time (for our meeting with Caesar), not only on account of the crisis in the State, but also on account of the season of the year.' Note the double sense of *tempus*.

sequar] 'adopt,' 'keep in view,' 'make for.' This strange use of *sequi* is akin to such usages as Att. iv. 2, 4 (91), *quaesivit quid essent in decernendo secuti*: Phil. ii. 38.

2. *Consilii nostri*] 'as to the course we

nostri, ne si eos quidem, qui id secuti non sunt, non paeniteret, nobis paenitendum putarem. Secuti enim sumus non spem, sed officium: reliquimus autem non officium, sed desperationem. Ita verecundiores fuimus quam qui se domo non commoverunt, saniores quam qui amissis opibus domum non reverterunt. Sed nihil minus fero quam severitatem otiosorum et, quoquo modo se res habet, magis illos vereor, qui in bello occiderunt, quam hos curo, quibus non satis facimus, quia vivimus. 3. Mihi si spatium fuerit in Tusculanum ante Nonas veniendi, istic te videbo: si minus, persequar in Cumanum et ante te certiore faciam, ut lavatio parata sit.

CCCCLXIV. CICERO TO M. MARIUS (FAM. VII. 3).

ROME; END OF MAY; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero amico M. Mario exponit quibus rationibus ductus post pugnam Pharsalicam ab armis recesserit et bello sese abstinerit.

M. CICERO S. D. M. MARIO.

1. Persaepe mihi cogitanti de communibus miseriis, in quibus tot annos versamur et, ut video, versabimur, solet in mentem venire illius temporis, quo proxime fuimus una: quin etiam ipsum

took, even if they who did not follow it did not repent of the course *they* took (which they do), I should not think that we ought to repent of it.' For the position of *ne . . . quidem* in such a hypothetical sentence cp. Off. iii. 43, *ne si iudex quidem erit de ipso amico*.

Ita verecundiores] 'so we acted with more feeling of honour than those who did not stir from home, and with more good sense than those who did not return home when their all was lost.' As an example of the first class Mr. Watson mentions Servius Sulpicius.

severitatem otiosorum] 'the hard judgment of those who did nothing themselves'; cp. Fam. ix. 6, 3 (470): *Crudeliter enim otiosissimi minabantur*. The judgment of these 'inglorious neuters,' as Melmoth calls them, annoyed and vexed Cicero, because it was so scandalously unfair; but it did not make him feel the pang of

shame which arose at the thought of the Pompeians who fell nobly in the conflict.

quam hos curo . . . vivimus] cp. Fam. ix. 2, 2 (461), *qui autem victos nostros moleste ferunt, nos dolent vivere*.

persequar] sc. *te*, cp. note to Fam. ix. 32 (460).

lavatio] 'bath.' The Dictt. refer to Phaedrus, Vitruvius, and the Digest for this rare use of the word.

Boeckel notices that this letter is a political apology, something like Fam. i. 9 (153), addressed to Lentulus.

1. *solet . . . temporis*] 'I am wont to call to mind that time': the genit. is used after this phrase as it signifies 'to remember': cp. Rosc. Am. 95, *venit enim in mentem viri tui*; 2 Verr. i. 47, *non dubito quin . . . tuorum tibi scelerum veniat in mentem*.

proxime] 'last.'

diem memoria teneo. Nam a. d. IIII. Idus Maias Lentulo et Marcello consulibus cum in Pompeianum vesperi venissem, tu mihi sollicito animo praesto fuisti. Sollicitum autem te habebat cogitatio cum officii tum etiam periculi mei. Si manerem in Italia, verebaretur ne officio deessem: si proficiscerer ad bellum, periculum te meum commovebat. Quo tempore vidisti profecto me quoque ita conturbatum, ut non explicarem quid esset optimum factu. Pudori tamen malui famaeque cedere quam salutis meae rationem ducere. 2. Cuius me mei facti paenituit non tam propter periculum meum quam propter vitia multa, quae ibi offendi, quo veneram: primum neque magnas copias neque bellicosas: deinde extra ducem paucosque praeterea—de principibus loquor—reliqui primum in ipso bello rapaces, deinde in oratione ita crudeles, ut ipsam victoriam horrerem: maximum autem aes alienum amplissimorum virorum. Quid quaeris? Nihil boni praeter causam. Quae cum vidissem, desperans victoriam primum coepi suadere pacem, cuius fueram semper auctor, deinde cum ab ea sententia Pompeius valde abhorreret, suadere institui ut bellum duceret. Hoc interdum probabat et in ea sententia videbatur fore, et fuisset fortasse, nisi quadam ex pugna coepisset suis militibus confidere. Ex eo tempore vir ille summus nullus imperator fuit. Signa tirone et collecticio exercitu cum legionibus robustissimis contulit: victus turpissime amissis etiam castris solus fugit. 3. Hunc ego mihi belli finem feci nec putavi, cum integri pares non fuisset, fractos superiores fore. Discessi ab eo bello, in quo aut in acie cadendum fuit aut in aliquas insidias incidendum aut devenien-

IIII. *Id Maias*] So we read with Wesenberg, who compares Att. x. 16, 4 (402). The mss give III. *Id*.

Lentulo et Marcello consulibus] 705 (49).
praesto fuisti] 'You were ready to meet me.'

Sollicitum te habebat] cp. note to Fam. xiv. 7, 1 (405).

Si manerem . . . commovebat] The explanation of the different moods in the protasis and apodosis is that the apparent apodosis (*verebaretur*) is not the real one (*deessem*) 'If I had remained in Italy I should have been wanting in my duty, and you were afraid of that; if I had set out to Pompey I should have incurred danger, and that rendered you anxious.'

explicarem] 'arrange clearly': cp. Caes.

Bell. Civ. i. 78, 3, *ibi se reliquum consilium explicaturos confidebant*.

Pudori] 'feelings of shame.'

2. *ex pugna*] viz. the actions round Dyrrhachium, cp. Caes. Bell. Civ. iii. 72, 1, *his rebus tantum fiducia ac spiritus Pompeianis accessit, ut non de ratione belli cogitarent, sed vicisse iam viderentur*.

nullus imperator] 'was nothing of a general': cp. ἀστρατήγητος, Att. vii. 13a, 1 (307): cp. Petit. Cons. 25 (12), *nisi id agis et cum multis et diligenter nullus petitor esse videare*.

Signa . . . contulit] 'having only an undisciplined and hastily collected army he joined battle with the hardest troops.'

turpissime] 'shamefully.'

dum in victoris manus aut ad Iubam confugiendum aut capiendus tamquam exsilio locus aut consciscenda mors voluntaria. Certe nihil fuit praeterea, si te victori nolles aut non auderes committere. Ex omnibus autem iis, quae dixi, incommodis nihil tolerabilius exsilio, praesertim innocenti, ubi nulla adiuncta est turpitudine: addo etiam, cum ea urbe careas, in qua nihil sit quod videre possis sine dolore. Ego cum meis, si quidquam nunc cuiusquam est, etiam in meis esse malui. Quae acciderunt, omnia dixi futura. 4. Veni domum, non quo optima vivendi condicio esset, sed tamen, si esset aliqua forma rei publicae, tamquam in patria ut essem, sin nulla, tamquam in exsilio. Mortem mihi cur consciscerem causa non visa est: cur optarem multae causae. Vetus est enim: 'Ubi non sis qui fueris, non esse cur velis vivere.' Sed tamen vacare culpa magnum est solacium, praesertim cum habeam duas res quibus me sustentem, optimarum artium scientiam et maximarum rerum gloriam: quarum altera mihi vivo numquam eripietur, altera ne mortuo quidem. 5. Haec ad te scripsi verbosius et tibi molestus fui, quod te cum mei tum rei publicae cognovi amantissimum. Notum tibi omne meum consilium esse volui, ut primum scires me numquam voluisse plus quemquam posse quam universam rem publicam: postea autem quam alicuius

3. *aut ad Iubam confugiendum*] Cicero looked on it as a disgrace that Romans should fly for support to the half-savage King Juba, who, unlike the Romans, used elephants in war: cp. Fam. ix. 6, 3 (470) *etiam ad bestiarum auxilium confugere*.

tamquam exsilio] 'for what would be virtually exile,' cp. § 4: for *exsiliū* proper involved, 1° absence from the city, 2° loss of goods—the former alone would have befallen Cicero.

nolles aut non auderes] 'had not the will or the courage' (moral as well as physical: for *audere* can mean either), cp. the grand expression, Verg. Aen. viii. 364, *aude, hospes, contemnere opes*.

cum meis . . . est] 'with my family—if in these days one can call anything his,' a petulant expression which Cicero did not mean to be literally understood: for Caesar never molested the relations of any of his declared opponents.

in meis] 'in my property.' We should have expected the positions of *cum meis* and *in meis* to have been reversed. There does not seem to be any allusion to the

Spartan saying, Senec. Suas. 2, 8, *aut in his aut cum his*.

4. *sin nulla*] So H: see Adn. Crit. We do not find *si . . . si* used of two mutually exclusive alternatives, cp. Reid. Acad. 1, 7.

tamquam in patria . . . in exsilio] 'that I might live in what would virtually be my country: if there was nothing (of the free-state), in what would be practically exile.'

Vetus est] Hofmann quotes Quint. 55, *Vetus est: de scurra multo facilius divitem quam patrem familias fieri posse*. Boeckel points out that the full phrase is *Vetus verbum hoc quidem est*, Ter. Adelph. v. 3, 17. Schneidewin (Philologus iii. 132) supposes this saying to be a trochaic tetrameter, viz. *Ubi iam non es qui fuisti non est vivere cur velis*. Buecheler's arrangement, which is perhaps better, is adopted by Ribbeck (Frag. Com. p. 127), *Ubi non es qui fueris non est cur velis ibi vivere*: cp. note to Att. viii. 3, 2 (333), *non futurus [sit qui fuerit]*.

5. *alicuius*] sc. Pompey; *unus*, Caesar.

culpa tantum valeret unus, ut obsisti *ei* non posset, me voluisse pacem: amisso exercitu et eo duce, in quo spes fuerat uno, me voluisse etiam reliquis omnibus, postquam non potuerim, mihi ipsi finem fecisse belli: nunc autem, si haec civitas est, civem esse me: si non, exulem esse non incommodiore loco, quam si Rhodum me aut Mytilenas contulissem. 6. Haec tecum coram malueram, sed quia longius fiebat, volui per litteras eadem, ut haberes quid diceres, si quando in vituperatores meos incidisses. Sunt enim qui, cum meus interitus nihil fuerit rei publicae profuturus, criminis loco putent esse quod vivam, quibus ego certo scio non videri satis multos perisse: qui si me audissent, quamvis iniqua pace, honeste tamen viverent: armis enim inferiores, non causa fuissent. Habes epistolam verbosiorē fortasse quam velles: quod tibi ita videri putabo, nisi mihi longiorem remiseris. Ego, si quae volo expediero, brevi tempore te, ut spero, videbo.

ei] We have added this word from a conjecture of Wesenberg, *obsistere* in the sense of resisting nearly always takes a dative.

non potuerim] 'failing in this attempt, I chose for myself the policy of having nothing more to do with war' (Jeans). *potuissem* would have been more regular,

Rhodum aut Mytilenas] Rhodes was a *civitas foederata*: Mytilene was a *civitas immunis et libera*. Both classes of towns had the right of receiving exiles (Marquardt i. 75, 80). They were lovely spots and much frequented by the Romans (Hor. Carm. i. 7, 1). Marcellus had gone to Mytilene.

6. *tecum coram*] sc. *loqui*.

quia longius fiebat] 'because it was dragging on' (and there did not seem much prospect of our meeting). The nom. to *fiebat* is not definitely conceived by Cicero.

eadem] sc. *scribere*. For this ellipse Boeckel compares Fam. iv. 8, 2 (85);

Att. viii. 9, 2 (340); x. 15, 4 (401).

ut haberes quid diceres] 'that you might know what to say.'

quod vivam] For the sentiment cp. Fam. ix. 5, 2 (463), and note.

quibus perisse] an awkward clause, 'and I am quite certain they think that enough have not met their death; and these latter, if they had listened to me, would be now alive, though on unfair terms of peace, yet with honour: for (if they were not now dead and gone) they would have been superior in the justice of their cause, though inferior in force of arms.'

quod tibi ita videri putabo] 'and I shall suppose you to be of the same opinion (that my letter is very diffuse) unless you send me a longer one.'

si . . . expediero] cp. Fam. ix. 19, 2 (478). Mr. Watson suggests that this may have reference to the divorce of Tullia, or possibly to money difficulties, cp. Att. xii. 5, 4 (467).

CCCCLXV. CICERO TO CN. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS
(FAM. VI. 22).

ROME; MONTH UNCERTAIN; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero Cn. Domitium Ahenobarbum L. F. post pugnam Pharsalicam spe veniae impetrandae in Italiam reversum rogat, ut iam saluti suae incolumitatisque consulat, et amicorum interitu maerentem consolatur.

CICERO DOMITIO.

1. Non ea res me deterruit quo minus, postea quam in Italiam venisti, litteras ad te mitterem, quod tu ad me nullas miseras, sed quia nec quid tibi pollicerer ipse egens rebus omnibus nec quid suaderem, cum mihimet ipsi consilium deesset, nec quid consolationis adferrem in tantis malis reperiēbam. Haec quamquam nihilo meliora sunt nunc atque etiam multo desperatiora, tamen inanes esse meas litteras quam nullas malui. 2. Ego, si te intellegerem plus conatum esse suscipere rei publicae causa muneris, quam quantum praestare potuisses, tamen quibuscumque rebus possem ad eam condicionem te vivendi, quae daretur quaeque esset, hortarer. Sed cum consilii tui bene fortiterque suscepti eum tibi finem statueris, quem ipsa fortuna terminum nostrarum

For this Domitius see Introduction. As we have not been able to find anything to help us to fix the date of this letter, we have left it where it has been placed by Schütz.

1. *pollicerer . . . suaderem . . . consolationis*] Here Cicero specifies the three different kinds of letters which he thinks might be written to the republican exiles.

nunc atque etiam] The mss add another *etiam* after *nunc*, which Orelli retains, punctuating after *sunt*. But Wesenberg (Em. 89), after Lamb., rightly ejects that *etiam*, because *etiam atque etiam* means 'repeatedly,' or 'urgently,' but is not used with comparatives in the sense of 'continually.' He also points out that we must not separate *nunc* from *sunt*. Translate, 'Although these circumstances (i.e. those which you found on your arrival in Italy) are no whit better now, and have even become much more hopeless, I thought it

better to send a letter, even though it had nothing in it, than to send no letter at all.'

2. *Ego, si te intellegerem*] 'For my own part, if I perceived that you had formed a project on behalf of the State greater than you could have performed (i.e. to continue the struggle to restore the free State), yet even in that case (heroic, as it would have been, and worthy of the highest commendation), in every way I could I should have exhorted you to accept life on those terms that were offered to you, and were available (for the death of Domitius would cause great distress to very many relations and friends). But now that, though your plans were wise and courageous in their inception, you have determined to put such a conclusion to them as Fortune herself willed to be the issue of our struggle (i.e. surrender to Caesar), I pray and beseech you,' &c.

contentionum esse voluisset, oro obtestorque te pro vetere nostra coniunctione ac necessitudine proque summa mea in te benevolentia et tua in me pari, te ut nobis, parenti, coniugi tuisque omnibus, quibus es fuistique semper carissimus, salvum conserves: incolumitati tuae tuorumque, qui ex te pendent, consulas: quae didicisti quaeque ab adulescentia pulcherrime a sapientissimis viris tradita memoria et scientia comprehendisti, iis hoc tempore utare: quos coniunctos summa benevolentia plurimisque officiis amisisti, eorum desiderium si non aequo animo, at forti feras. 3. Ego quid possim nescio vel potius me parum posse sentio: illud tamen tibi polliceor, me, quaecumque saluti dignitatique tuae conducere arbitrabor, tanto studio esse facturum, quanto semper tu et studio et officio in meis rebus fuisti. Hanc meam voluntatem ad matrem tuam, optimam feminam tuique amantissimam, detuli. Si quid ad me scripseris, ita faciam, ut te velle intellexero. Sin autem tu minus scripseris, ego tamen omnia, quae tibi utilia esse arbitrabor, summo studio diligenterque curabo. Vale.

CCCCLXVI. CICERO TO M. TERENTIUS VARRO
(FAM. IX. 4).

TUSCULUM; JUNE (TOWARDS BEGINNING); A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46;
AET. CIC. 60.

Possitne Varro venire necne iocose quaerit.

CICERO VARRONI.

Περὶ δυνατῶν me scito κατὰ Διόδωρον κρίνειν. Quapropter, si venturus es, scito necesse esse te venire: sin autem non es,

parenti] Porcia, sister of Cato of Utica. It is to the latter that allusion is chiefly made in *quos coniunctos . . . amisisti*.

qui ex te pendent] See Adn. Crit., 'who depend on you,' 'to whom you are a source of support and protection.' Streicher (p. 182) reads, with T, *qui de te pendent*, 'who are anxious about you,' comparing for this use of *pendere*, Att. iv. 15, 6 (143). We usually find *animi* added, as in Att. xi. 12, 1 (427); xvi. 12.

si non aequo . . . feras] 'that you should bear it, if not with equanimity, at least with fortitude.'

3. *tanto . . . fuisti*] 'with as much interest as was the kindly interest and concern which you always felt for my fortunes.'

1. κατὰ Διόδωρον] cp. Cic. Fat. 13. *At hoc, Chrysippe, minime vis; maximeque tibi de hoc ipso cum Diodoro certamen est. Ille enim id solum fieri posse dicit quod aut sit verum aut futurum sit verum: et quidquid futurum sit id dicit fieri necesse esse, et, quidquid non sit futurum, id negat fieri posse:* cp. § 17. Diodorus was a Megarian philosopher, and is said to have

ἀδύνατον est te venire. Nunc vide utra te κρίσις magis delectet, Chrysippi an haec, quam noster Diodotus non concoquebat. Sed de his etiam rebus, otiosi cum erimus, loquemur: hoc etiam κατὰ Χρύσιππον δυνατόν est. De Coctio mihi gratum est: nam id etiam Attico mandaram. Tu si minus ad nos, nos accurremus ad te. Si hortum in bibliotheca habes, deerit nihil.

taught Zeno of Citium. He died in 307, in consequence, we are told, of having sustained a defeat in dialectics at the table of Ptolemy Soter. His theory of the Possible is that set forth in the above passage, and it was defended by an argument called the Master-Argument (κυριεύων) cp. Epictet. Diss. ii. 19: Chrysippus defined the Possible as what is capable of being true (τὸ ἐπιδεκτικὸν τοῦ ἀληθὲς εἶναι) if circumstances do not prevent it: cp. Zeller, Stoics, pp. 38, 115 (Eng. Trans.) and also Socrates and the Socratics, pp. 273, 4, quoted as an appendix to this letter.

ἀδύνατον] M gives ἀδυνάτων so that τῶν ἀδυνάτων is generally read. Wesenberg (Em. Alt. 26) argues vigorously against it: 1°. δυνατόν occurs below, not τῶν ἀδυνάτων. 2°. *necesse esse* before points to ἀδύνατον as the exactly-corresponding term. 3°. Diodorus himself used ἀδύνατον and δυνατόν, not τῶν ἀδυνάτων. 4°. Cicero also in the De Fato says *feri posse*, which plainly points to δυνατόν. We read ἀδύνατον, not only on account of the reasons adduced by Wesenberg, but also because it is more likely that *o* would be erroneously altered to *ω* than that τῶν would have been omitted.

Diodotus non concoquebat] 'which Diodotus could not stomach.' Diodotus taught Cicero dialectic, and 'the friendship between the two lasted till the death of Diodotus, who, according to a fashion set by the Roman Stoic circle of the time of Cicero and Laelius, became an inmate of Cicero's house, where he died in 59 B.C., leaving his pupil heir to a considerable property, cp. Att. ii. 20, 6 (47)': Reid, Acad., p. 2.

Coctio] Corradus suggests Cocceio. There is no evidence to help us in this difficulty.

nos accurremus] It is quite necessary to add a second *nos*, in order to make the chiasmus which is required in such a sentence.

hortum] We frankly give up this passage as it stands, and yet it looks as if it

was sound. Cicero may have been fond of flowers, as some commentators say, but why should the garden be *in* the library; besides *hortus* is generally used for a vegetable garden. Manutius's note (*illatum non ibi natum*) does not give much help. If we might read *hortum cum bibliotheca*—*cū* having fallen out after *tū*: cp. also *cum* lost after *praesertim*, Fam. xiii. 29, 3 (457)—we should get some kind of sense; 'if you have a garden along with your library (so that we may have food for the body as well as food for the mind) nothing will be wanting.'

APPENDIX.

Zeller in 'Socrates and the Socratics,' pp. 273-4 (Eng. Trans.) writes: 'The older Megarians allowed as possible only what actually is, understanding by actual what is before them in the present. To this Diodorus added what might be in the future by saying: Possible is either what is actual or what will be actual, ὅπερ ἢ ἔστι ἀληθὲς ἢ ἔσται (Cic. Fat. 12, 13, 17, Fam. ix. 4, Plut. Stoic, Repugn. 46 = p. 1055). In proof of this statement he used an argument which goes by the name of κυριεύων, and is still admired after centuries as a masterpiece of subtle ingenuity. It is in the main as follows: From anything possible nothing impossible can result (so ἀκολουθεῖν is rendered, thus keeping up the ambiguity of the original, where ἀκολουθεῖν means not only sequence in time, but causal sequence); but it is impossible that the past can be different from what it is: for had this been possible at a past moment, something impossible would have resulted from something possible. It was, therefore, never possible. And speaking generally, it is impossible that anything should happen differently from what has happened. Chrysippus could only meet this argument, according to Alexander on Analyt. Priora, 57 b (Schol. on Aristotle, 163 a, 8), by asserting that possibly the impossible might result from the possible.'

CCCCLXVII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 5, § 4).

TUSCULUM ; JUNE 12 ; A. U. C. 708 ; B. C. 46 ; AET. CIC. 60.

De Tirone Dolabellae obviam misso, de Tullia, de sua cupiditate videndi Attici.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

4. Ego misi Tironem Dolabellae ob viam. Is ad me Idibus revertetur. Te expectabo postridie. De Tullia mea tibi antiquissimum esse video, idque ita ut sit, te vehementer rogo. Ergo ei in integro omnia: sic enim scribis. Mihi etsi Kalendae vitandae fuerunt, Nicasionumque ἀρχέτυπα fugienda conficiendaeque tabulae, nihil tamen tanti, ut a te abessem, fuit. Cum Romae essem et te iam iamque visurum me putarem, cotidie tamen horae, quibus expectabam, longae videbantur. Scis me minime esse blandum, itaque minus aliquanto dico quam sentio.

CCCCLXVIII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 3).

TUSCULUM ; JUNE 13 ; A. U. C. 708 ; B. C. 46 ; AET. CIC. 60.

De summa cupiditate sua cum Attico vivendi, de Vennonii historia, de re familiari transigenda.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Unum te puto minus blandum esse quam me et, si uterque nostrum est aliquando adversus aliquem, inter nos certe numquam sumus. Audi igitur me hoc ἀγοητεύτως dicentem: ne vivam,

4. *Idibus*] of June, not of July, as Gruber thought. See Schiche ii. p. 8.

antiquissimum] 'most important': cp. Gk. πρεσβύτατον, προῦργιαίτατον.

ei in integro omnia] 'her dower is quite safe.' 'She is committed to nothing' would be *ei integra omnia*.

Kalendae] on which debts were called in, hence called *tristes* by Hor. Sat. i. 3, 87, cp. Ov. Rem. Am. 561.

Qui puteal Ianumque timet celeresque Kalendas.

ἀρχέτυπα] 'the ledgers' of the celebrated money-lenders.

conficiendaeque tabulae] 'my accounts must be balanced.'

blandum] 'a flatterer.'

1. *adversus aliquem*] sc. *blandus*. For his use of this word cp. *sed amabo te mi Attice—videsne quam blande?* Att. xvi. 2, 2.

ἀγοητεύτως] 'sans phrase.'

ne vivam] *ne vivam si, ni* and *ita vivam ut* are common forms of strong asseveration in the letters.

mi Attice, si mihi non modo Tusculanum, ubi ceteroqui sum libenter, sed μακάρων νῆσοι tanti sunt, ut sine te sim tot dies. Qua re obduretur hoc triduum, ut te quoque ponam in eodem πάθει, quod ita est profecto. Sed velim scire hodiene statim de auctione, et quo die venias. Ego me interea cum libellis: ac moleste fero Vennonii me historiam non habere. 2. Sed tamen, ne nihil de re, nomen illud, quod a Caesare, tris habet condiciones, aut emptionem ab hasta—perdere malo, etsi praeter ipsam turpitudinem hoc ipsum puto esse perdere—aut delegationem a mancipe, annua die—quis erit cui credam aut quando iste Metonis annus veniet?—aut Vettieni condicione semissem. Σκέψαι igitur. Ac vereor ne iste iam auctionem nullam faciat, sed ludis factis atypo subsidio currat, ne talis vir ἀλογηθῇ. Sed μελήσει. Tu Atticam, quaeso, cura, et ei salutem et Piliae, Tulliae quoque verbis, plurimam.

ut te quoque ponam in] ‘to ascribe to you the same *empressement* as my own, and surely I am right in doing so.’ In using the term *obduretur* ‘let it be endured,’ he has taken it for granted that Atticus feels their separation as keenly as he does himself.

Vennonius] This historian is only mentioned once by Cicero (Legg. i. 6) among ancient annalists, and once by Dionysius Halicarnasseus iv. 15.

hodiene] ‘whether (you are coming) to-day, and (if not to-day) on what day you are coming.’

2. *nomen illud quod a Caesare]* sc., *mihi concessum est*. The explanation of this transaction given by Popma is perhaps the best, and probably goes nearest the actual facts of the case referred to. A proscribed Pompeian owed Cicero money, and Caesar wished to facilitate Cicero’s recovery of the debt. There were three ways in which Cicero might recover it: (1) he might bid for property at the public sale of the proscript’s goods up to the amount of the debt, and take that property in lieu of the money. Cicero says he would rather lose the money than recover it in this way, both on account of the ungracefulness of such a proceeding in the case of a former political associate, and because it would be in effect equivalent to losing the money, probably because the property to be disposed of was really useless to Cicero; (2) he might make over the debt to a purchaser who would under-

take to settle it within a year; but Cicero thinks he could not in that case count on payment at all. ‘When will that Metonic year arrive?’ (Meto the Athenian Mathematician gave the name of ‘year’ to his cycle of nineteen years). For the proverb cp. Auson. Epist. ii. 11, *non annus longior ille est, Attica quem docti collegit cura Metonis*; Append. Proverb, 3, 88 (quoted by Otto), Μέτωνος ἐνιαυτός . . . τοὺς οὖν μακρὰς ὑπερθέσεις ποιούμενους ἐπισκώποντες ἔλεγον, ἀναβάλλεσθαι εἰς τὸν Μέτωνος ἐνιαυτόν. Some infer from Att. xii. 51, *fin.*, that Meto was the name of the debtor, but this is not probable. (3) He could accept the proposal of Vettienus, mentioned above, Att. x. 5, 3 (384), and make over the debt to him, on condition that Vettienus should now pay down half the amount. All these methods were possible; ‘so perpend,’ writes he to his friend.

atypo] The word in the mss is *clypo*. The Bosian κτύπῳ, resting only on the supposed authority of his fictitious *codices*, may be dismissed at once; nor could κτύπῳ mean *plausui*, nor would it have any relevance to the passage if it could. Boot reads ἀτύπῳ, a word used by Gellius iv. 2, in the sense of one whose utterance is indistinct. He thinks that the allusion is to *Balbus*, whose name is frequently thus played upon. We read in Att. xii. 2, 2 (459) that Balbus was engaged in building, and the meaning of the passage would thus be ‘I fear Caesar

CCCCLXIX. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 4).

TUSCULUM; JUNE 14; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero gratias agit Attico de litteris ad se datis et de Catonis morte litteris praedicanda exponit.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. O gratas tuas mihi iucundasque litteras! Quid quaeris? Restitutus est mihi dies festus. Angebar enim, quod Tiro ἐνερευθέστερον te sibi esse visum dixerat. Addam igitur, ut censes, unum diem. 2. Sed de Catone πρόβλημα Ἀρχιμήδειον est. Non adsequor, ut scribam quod tui convivae non modo libenter, sed etiam aequo animo legere possint. Quin etiam, si a sententiis eius dictis, si ab omni voluntate consiliisque, quae de re publica habuit, recedam ψιλῶς-que velim gravitatem constantiamque eius laudare, hoc ipsum tamen istis odiosum ἄκουσμα sit. Sed vere laudari ille vir non potest, nisi haec ornata sint: quod ille ea, quae nunc sunt, et futura viderit et ne fierent contenderit et facta ne viderit vitam reliquerit. Horum quid est quod Aledio probare possimus? Sed cura, obsecro, ut valeas, eamque, quam ad omnes res adhibes, in primis ad convalescendum adhibe prudentiam.

will hold no auction, but after his games (held at Praeneste) are over will go to the assistance of his stammering friend, lest such a personage should feel at all *méprisé*. This reading, originally suggested by Popma, derives great weight from the fact that *atypus* is the technical term used in legal phraseology for a stammerer, and so appears in the Digest. We have therefore adopted it. Wesenberg reads *Olympo*, and supposes this to have been the name of some actor who took part in the games. Baiter prints † *clypo*.

1. ἐνερευθέστερον] 'a little flushed.' Addam igitur] 'so I shall add one day to the time that I meant to spend at Tusculum,' so that he might meet Atticus. He calls the day of his meeting with Atticus his 'holiday,' *dies festus*, and says it has been 'restored' to him, be-

cause he had feared from Tiro's account of Atticus' looks that he would not come.

2. πρόβλημα Ἀρχιμήδειον] 'The question about Cato is of Archimedean difficulty,' only to be solved by the acutest intellect. The problem was to write an *éloge* on Cato after his suicide in Utica which would satisfy the Pompeians and not offend the Caesarians.

tui convivae] Hirtius, Balbus, &c.

sententiis eius dictis] sc. in senatu. It might also mean judgments delivered in court; Off. iii. 66.

nisi haec ornata sint] 'unless I embellish the following topics, his having foreseen the present state of things while still future, his having struggled to prevent it, his having laid down his life so that he might not have to look on it.'

Aledio] Some Caesarean mentioned in other passages of the letters, which, however, do not throw any light on his life.

CCCCLXX. CICERO TO M. TERENTIUS VARRO
(FAM. IX. 6).

ROME; JUNE (LATTER HALF); A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero M. Varroni C. Caesaris ex Africano bello adventum nuntiat et belli civilis causam in Pompeium potius quam in Caesarem confert. Laudat Varronem, quod in litteris vivere quam armis experiri maluerit.

CICERO VARRONI.

1. Caninius noster me tuis verbis admonuit, ut scriberem ad te, si quid esset quod putarem te scire oportere. Est igitur adventus Caesaris scilicet in expectatione, neque tu id ignoras. Sed tamen, cum ille scripsisset, ut opinor, se in Alsiense venturum, scripserunt ad eum sui, ne id faceret: multos ei molestos fore ipsumque multis: Ostiae videri commodius eum exire posse. Id ego non intellegebam quid interesset. Sed tamen Hirtius mihi dixit et se ad eum et Balbum et Oppium scripsisse, ut ita faceret, homines, ut cognovi, amantes tui. 2. Hoc ego idcirco nosse te volui, ut scires hospitium tibi ubi parares vel potius *ut* utrubique: quid enim ille factururus sit incertum est: et simul ostentavi tibi me istis esse familiarem et consiliis eorum interesse. Quod ego cur nolim nihil video. Non enim est idem ferre, si quid ferendum est, et probare, si quid non probandum est. Etsi quid non probem

1. *in expectatione*] 'is expected': cp. Fam. ii. 3, 2 (169), and note viii. 14, 1 (280). The phrase can also be used actively, Fam. x. 4, 4, *sum in expectatione omnium rerum . . . ut sciam*. Some editors bracket *Caesaris scilicet*, which has, no doubt, the appearance of a gloss. But as it is in all the mss, and as some further specification of *adventus* makes the sentence clearer, it is, perhaps, best to retain it. Lehmann, however (p. 12), rejects the words, and compares for their omission, Fam. ix. 18, 1 (473) *discipulos obviam* (sc. Caesar) *miseram*. He thinks that Cicero in both cases omitted the name of Caesar, 'ex animi sui doloribus': cp. his use of *hunc* instead of *Caesarem* in § 3.

Sed tamen] But (though there is no

news) yet, etc.

Alsiense] Alsium was a colony in Etruria on the sea coast near Caere, where many Roman nobles had villas, e. g. Pompey (Mil. 54).

Ostiae] Hofmann quotes Liv. xlv. 13, 12, *Masgabae . . . Puteolis nave egresso praesto fuit*. In Att. vi. 9, 1 (282), Cicero says, *in Piraea cum exissem*.

et Balbum et Oppium] See introduction.

2. *utrubique*] 'in both places.'

Non enim est . . . probandum est] For the sentiment Hofmann compares Fam. x. 3, 3, *Scis profecto fuisse quoddam tempus cum homines existimarent te nimis servire temporibus: quod ego quoque existimarem, te si ea, quae patiebare, probare etiam arbitrarer*.

equidem iam nescio praeter initia rerum : nam haec in voluntate fuerunt. Vidi enim—nam tu aberas—nostros amicos cupere bellum, hunc autem non tam cupere quam non timere—ergo haec consilii fuerunt, reliqua necessaria—, vincere autem aut hos aut illos necesse esse. 3. Scio te semper mecum in luctu fuisse, cum videremus cum illud ingens malum, alterius utrius exercitus et ducum interitum, tum vero extremum malorum omnium esse civilis belli victoriam : quam quidem ego etiam illorum timebam, ad quos veneramus. Crudeliter enim otiosissimi minabantur, eratque iis et tua invisa voluntas et mea oratio. Nunc vero, si essent nostri potiti, valde intemperantes fuissent : erant enim nobis perirati, quasi quidquam de nostra salute decrevissemus, quod non idem illis censuissemus, aut quasi utilius rei publicae fuerit eos etiam ad bestiarum auxilium confugere quam vel emori vel cum spe si non optima, at aliqua tamen vivere. 4. At in perturbata re publica vivimus. Quis negat? Sed hoc viderint ii, qui nulla sibi subsidia ad omnes vitae status paraverunt. Huc enim ut venirem, superior longius quam volui fluxit oratio. Cum enim te semper magnum hominem duxerim, quod his tempesta-

haec consilii fuerunt, reliqua necessaria] cp. Caes. B. G. vii. 38, 7, *quasi vero consilii sit res et non necesse sit nobis Gergoviam tendere.*

3. *cum videremus cum]* For this repetition of *cum*, which must not be hastily set down as inelegant, cp. Reid on Sull. 16, who quotes many similar examples from Cicero.

otiosissimi] 'though they did absolutely nothing themselves.' So HP, confirming a conjecture of Btr.: cp. Fam. ix. 5, 2 (463) *severitatem otiosorum*. Most editors read *otiosis* : see Adn. Crit.

potiti] 'won the victory,' used absolutely, cp. Att. vii. 12, 3 (305).

quasi . . . confugere] 'as if we had taken a step in the interests of our own safety, which was not the same as we had approved of in their case; or as if it was more for the advantage of the State that they should have recourse to the aid of brute beasts' (sc. the elephants of Juba), &c. : cp. Att. xi. 7, 3 (420). Hofmann shows the force of the different tenses by transposing the clauses into the indicative—*neque tamen aut quicquam decreveramus quod non censuissemus* (? *censueramus*) *aut utilius reip. fuit*. For *censere alicui* cp.

Fam. ix. 2, 4 (461).

4. *Cum enim]* The force of *enim* appears to be—This is the point at which I am aiming in my long argument, viz. that one ought to make provision for all contingencies : *for* you have made this provision : The apodosis begins at *equidem*. 'For whereas I always thought you a great man, because in these storms almost you alone are in the harbour, and you are gathering into your garner a harvest of learning, the noblest harvest that man can gather, in deliberating upon and treating of those subjects which have a use and a charm wherein all the business and pleasures of the others are far surpassed—so I should consider it a privilege as dear as life to spend the days you spend at Tusculum,' &c. Wesenberg reads *duxi, tum* for the MSS reading *duxerim*; it is necessary then to supply *nunc praecipue duco* after *tum*, an ellipse which is far too strong for that word to bear, and which is not at all supported by Fam. ix. 16, 3 (472), where *arbitror esse meum* is supplied after *nihil loqui*, as we have *nunc* in the second clause. If we had *tum nunc praecipue* or even *tum nunc* we might be able to supply the verb, but we cannot do so with the simple *tum*.

tibus es prope solus in portu fructusque doctrinae percipis eos, qui maximi sunt, ut ea consideres eaque tractes, quorum et usus et delectatio est omnibus istorum et actis et voluptatibus anteponenda; equidem hos tuos Tusculanenses dies instar esse vitae puto libenterque omnibus omnes opes concesserim, ut mihi liceat vi nulla interpellante isto modo vivere. 5. Quod nos quoque imitamur, ut possumus, et in nostris studiis libentissime conquiescimus. Quis enim hoc non dederit nobis, ut, cum opera nostra patria sive non possit uti sive nolit, ad eam vitam revertamur, quam multi docti homines, fortasse non recte, sed tamen multi etiam rei publicae praeponendam putaverunt? Quae igitur studia magnorum hominum sententia vacationem habent quandam publici muneris, iis concedente re publica cur non abutamur? 6. Sed plus facio quam Caninius mandavit; iure enim si quid ego scirem, rogarat, quod tu nescires: ego tibi ea narro, quae tu melius scis quam ipse, qui narro. Faciam ergo illud quod rogatus sum, ut eorum, quae temporis huius sint, quae *e re* tua audiero, ne quid ignores.

fructus percipis] This is the regular expression for gathering in the harvest, Off. i. 59; Sen. 24, 70.

instar vitae] 'equal to a whole life': cp. Fam. xv. 4, 8 (238), *Eranam quae fuit non vici instar sed urbis*; Att. x. 1, 4 (378), *Haec est ἀλη, in qua nunc sumus, mortis instar*.

ut mihi liceat] 'if only it be allowed me.' For this use of *ut* cp. Tusc. ii. 16, *quam turpitudinem non pertulerit ut* ('if only') *effugiat dolorem*. Hor. Epp. i. 18, 107, *Sit mihi quod nunc est etiam minus ut mihi vivam* ('if only I may live my own master') *quod superest aevi*.

5. *quandam*] This conjecture of Gebhard is adopted by most editors. MSS *eandam*.

abutamur] 'use to the full.'

6. *iure enim*] For this corrupt reading many suggestions have been made, none of them very convincing: see Adn. Crit. The old editors read *is* for *iure*; and if we supply *ut scriberem* after *scirem*, which

might have fallen out ex homoeoteleuto, we get a fair sense. Krauss appears to read *scriberem* for *iure*, and Mendelssohn looks on this proposal with some favour. The omission of *ut* is not only possible, but idiomatic: however, the order of words would be most exceptional for Cicero.

quae tu melius scis] cp. Fam. ix. 3, 2 (460), *sed quid ego nunc haec ad te cuius domi nascuntur*: γλαῦκ' ἐς Ἀθήνας.

quae e re tua audiero] So we venture to conjecture for *quae tua* of the MSS: *e re* (= *ē*) is a collocation of letters which might very readily fall out. Klotz reads *vera* for *tua*. Wesenberg and Kayser are too daring in reading *quae* <te scire interesse> *tua videro*, though it is true that the Neapolitan edition has *interesse*. Lehmann (p. 10) suggests that we should read *qua tua* <audire interest simul ipse> *audiero ne quid ignores*, which is possible, but not so simple as the alteration suggested above. O. Hirschfeld suggests *quantum audiero*, a very clever conjecture.

CCCCLXXI. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 5, §§ 1, 2).

TUSCULUM ; JULY ; A. U. C. 708 ; B. C. 46 ; AET. CIC. 60.

De Q. patris stultitia deque Catone suo.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. "Quintus pater quartum" vel potius millesimum nihil sapit, qui laetetur Luperco filio et Statio, ut cernat duplici dedecore cumulata domum. Addo etiam Philotimum tertium. O stultitiam, nisi mea maior esset, singularem! Quod autem os, in hanc rem ἔρανον a te? Fac non ad διψῶσαν κρήνην, sed ad Πειρήνην eum venisse et ἄμπνευμα σεμνὸν Ἀλφειοῦ, in te κρήνη, ut scribis, haurire, in tantis suis praesertim angustiis! Ποῖ ταῦτα ἄρα ἀποσκήψει; Sed ipse viderit. 2. Cato me quidem delectat, sed etiam Bassum Lucilium sua.

1. *Quintus pater quartum*] A verse of Ennius, quoted by Gellius x. 1, runs *Quintus pater quartum fit consul*. Cicero now jocularly quotes the first three words in reference to his brother 'For the fourth time Quintus the elder, or I should rather say for the thousandth time, shows his want of sense in the delight he takes at the appointment of his son as one of the Luperi (a disreputable body), in the delight he takes in his steward Statius (apparently) that he may enjoy the spectacle of the double-dyed disgrace of his house. And with these I will couple Philotimus. Oh, what folly (to make a favourite of him); unparalleled, were not my own greater' (in trusting Terentia's dishonest steward as much as he had done).

Quod autem os] 'what impudence, too, to ask a contribution from you for such a purpose. Even supposing that in coming to you he had not come to a "thirsty runnel," but to a veritable Pirene, or "holy vent of Alpheus," to think that you should be the spring in which he drinks!' *Hanc rem* seems to refer to his son's expenses incurred as one of the

Luperi. The meaning is, 'even if Atticus had been rich, Quintus should not have come to him for money for this purpose; still less when Atticus was in difficulties, and wanted money for far more legitimate purposes.' Ἀμπνευμα σεμνὸν Ἀλφειοῦ are the words applied by Pindar, Nem. i. 1, to Ortygia, a division of Syracuse, where Alpheus emerged as the fountain Arethusa, having gone under land and sea from Greece; ἄμπνευμα is not the 'resting-place' of the river-god after his wanderings, as some take it; but the place where he emerged and breathed again the upper air: cp. the Virgilian *spiracula Ditis*. Perhaps, however the word also delicately alludes to the rest enjoyed in Ortygia by the

'Divine Alphéus, who by secret sluice
Stole under seas to meet his Arethuse.'

Ποῖ?] 'what will such doings end in.'

2. *Cato*] Cicero's *éloge* of Cato seemed to him a success, but, he reflects, Bassus Lucilius, too, admires his own works no doubt. We do not know anything about this writer.

CCCCLXXII. CICERO TO L. PAPIRIUS PAETO
(FAM. IX. 16).

TUSCULUM; JULY; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero L. Papirio Paeto scribit se nihil praetermisisse, ut Caesarianorum sibi benevolentiam conciliaret, nec boni civis aut sapientis hominis officium in se posse desiderari. Denique Paeti iocis iocosa reddit.

CICERO PAETO SAL.

1. Delectarunt me tuae litterae, in quibus primum amavi amorem tuum, qui te ad scribendum incitavit verentem, ne Silius suo nuntio aliquid mihi sollicitudinis attulisset: de quo et tu mihi antea scripseras, bis quidem eodem exemplo, facile ut intellegerem te esse commotum, et ego tibi accurate rescripseram, ut quo modo in tali re atque tempore aut liberarem te ista cura aut certe levarem. 2. Sed quoniam proximis quoque litteris ostendis, quantae tibi curae sit ea res, sic, mi Paete, habeto: quidquid arte fieri potuerit—non enim iam satis est consilio pugnare: artificium quoddam excogitandum est —, sed tamen quidquid elaborari aut

We have twelve letters of Cicero addressed to L. Papirius Paetus; but beyond what we can gather from them, and from the statement that he made Cicero a present of some books left by his cousin Servius Clodius (§ 4), we know nothing of him.

1. *amavi amorem tuum*] ‘I was delighted with your affection for me’: cp. Att. vii. 2, 3 (293), *nam Alexidis manum amabam quod tam prope . . . non amabam quod te indicabat non valere*; also i. 3, 2 (8); ii. 10 (38); and for the form of the expression Fam. viii. 2, 1 (196), *ut suum gaudium gauderemus*. There is no reason to adopt Kleyn’s conjecture, *animadverti* or *agnovi*.

Silius] perhaps the propraetor of Bithynia in 50: cp. Fam. xiii. 61 (233). He doubtless brought some message which made Cicero uneasy with regard to the feelings which Caesar entertained towards him.

bis quidem eodem exemplo] ‘twice indeed in exactly the same terms.’ In order

to ensure that Cicero should get the letter, he wrote it twice, and gave each copy to a different letter-carrier. Such a precaution was sometimes adopted in cases of urgency, as letter-carriers were often careless and unprincipled: cp. Fam. iv. 4. 1 (495).

ut quo modo in tali re atque tempore] ‘considering the nature of the circumstances and the time.’ We retain this reading of the mss with Hofmann. He compares Att. ix. 7, 3 (362), *misi etiam Caesaris ad eos sana mente scriptas (litteras) quo modo in tanta insania*: add Balbus apud Att. viii. 15a, 3 (346), *quo modo in eius modi re commodius cadere non potuit*. Nearly all the editors read *ut quoquo modo in tali re atque tempore*: for *quoquo modo* meaning ‘in whatever way I may,’ cp. Verr. v. 38, *tu cum esses praetor renuntiatus quoquo modo*; and perhaps the right reading in Q. Fr. i. 2, 14 (53), is *tu quoquo modo hominem investigates velim*.

2. *sed tamen*] ‘but however that may be, whatever can be wrought or effected so as to gain and lay up a fund of good will

effici potuerit ad istorum benevolentiam conciliandam et colligendam, summo studio me consecutum esse, nec frustra, ut arbitror: sic enim color, sic observor ab omnibus iis, qui a Caesare diliguntur, ut ab iis me amari putem. Nam etsi non facile diiudicatur amor verus et fictus, nisi aliquod incidat eius modi tempus, ut quasi aurum igni, sic benevolentia fidelis periculo aliquo perspicui possit, cetera sunt signa communia, sed ego uno utor argumento, quam ob rem me ex animo vereque arbitrer diligere, quia et nostra fortuna ea est et illorum, ut simulandi causa non sit. 3. De illo autem, quem penes est omnis potestas, nihil video quod timeam: nisi quod omnia sunt incerta, cum a iure discessum est, nec praestari quidquam potest, quale futurum sit, quod positum est in alterius voluntate, ne dicam libidine. Sed tamen eius ipsius nulla re a me offensus est animus. Est enim adhibita in ea re ipsa summa a nobis moderatio. Ut enim olim arbitrabar esse meum libere loqui, cuius opera esset in civitate libertas, sic ea nunc amissa nihil loqui quod offendant aut illius aut eorum, qui ab illo diliguntur, voluntatem. Effugere autem si velim non nullorum acute aut facete dictorum opinionem, fama ingenii mihi est abicienda: quod, si id possem, non recusarem. 4. Sed tamen ipse Caesar habet peracriter iudicium, et, ut Servius, frater tuus, quem litteratissimum fuisse iudico, facile diceret: 'Hic versus Plauti non est, hic est,' quod tritas aures haberet notandis generibus poetarum et consuetudine

with those friends of yours (the Caesarians), this I have sought to effect by most earnest efforts; and successfully, too, as I think; for I am so esteemed and respected by all those who are intimates of Caesar that I think I am loved by them.' For *sed tamen* resumptive see Reid on Acad. ii. 17. *Diligere* is weaker than *amare*: cp. ad Brut. i. 1, 1, *Clodius valde me diligit vel, ut ἐμπατικώτερον dicam, valde me amat*. But the distinction is not always observed, for in the next sentence Cicero uses *ex animo vereque diligere* as equivalent to *verus amor*.

Nam etsi] *nam* assigns the reason why Cicero uses the strong word *amari*. There does not appear to be any adequate reason for Cratander's emendation *tametsi*.

perspicui] This passage, among others, shows that *perspicui* is the regular word for friendship's being tried like gold in the fire; cp. Catull. c. 5. *Quoi faveam potius? Caeli, tibi; nam tua nobis Perspecta est*

igni tum unica amicitia, according to Professor Palmer's undoubtedly right restoration of the poet's text.

et nostra fortuna ea est et illorum] for we are all subjects of the one monarch, Caesar.

3. *nihil loqui*] sc. *arbitror esse meum* from the preceding clause: cp. note to Fam. ix. 6, 4 (470).

opinionem] So H; the word is omitted in M. Victorius supplied *famam*.

4. *Servius*] This Servius Clodius was cousin of Paetus: and when he died in 60, Paetus gave Cicero his library: cp. Att. i. 20, 7 (26), ii. 1, 12 (27). For the story of his death see Suet. Grammat. 3, who speaks highly of his learning.

facile diceret] 'could easily have said' (if he was alive).

notandis . . . legendi] 'by marking the different styles of poets and by his constant perusal of them.' For *notare*, 'to mark clearly,' Hofmann compares Fam. vii. 32,

legendi, sic audio Caesarem, cum volumina iam confecerit ἀποφθεγμάτων, si quod adferatur ad eum pro meo, quod meum non sit, reicere solere: quod eo nunc magis facit, quia vivunt mecum fere cotidie illius familiares. Incidunt autem in sermone vario multa, quae fortasse illis cum dixi nec illitterata nec insulsa esse videantur. Haec ad illum cum reliquis actis perferuntur: ita enim ipse mandavit. Sic fit ut, si quid praeterea de me audiat, non audiendum putet. Quam ob rem Oenomao tuo nihil utor: etsi posuisti loco versus Accianos. 5. Sed quae est invidia aut quid mihi nunc invideri potest? Verum fac posse omnia. Sic video philosophis placuisse iis, qui mihi soli videntur vim virtutis tenere, nihil esse sapientis praestare nisi culpam: qua mihi videor dupliciter carere, et quod ea senserim, quae rectissima fuerunt, et quod, cum viderem praesidii non satis esse ad ea obtinenda, viribus certandum cum valentioribus non putarim. Ergo in officio boni civis certe non sum reprehendendus. Reliquum est, ne quid stulte, ne quid

1 (229), *equidem sperabam ita notata me reliquisse genera dictorum meorum ut cognosci sua sponte possent*, a passage which also shows that Cicero's jokes used to be appropriated by other *causeurs*: cp. also Planc. 35, *ego quia dico aliquid aliquando, non studio adductus, sed aut contentione dicendi aut lacessitus, et quia, ut fit in multis, exit aliquando aliquid si non perfacetum, at tamen fortasse non rusticum, quod quisque dixit, id me dixisse dicunt: ego autem si quid est quod mihi scitum esse videatur et homine ingenuo dignum atque docto, non aspernor: stomachor cum aliorum non me digna in me conferuntur*.

ἀποφθεγμάτων] cp. Suet. Caes. 56, *feruntur et a puero et ab adolescentulo quaedam scripta ut Laudes Herculis, tragoedia Oedipus, item Dicta Collectanea quos omnes libellos vetuit Augustus publicari*. Collections of Cicero's jokes were made by C. Trebonius: cp. Fam. xv. 15, 2 (448), and by Tiro, though there is considerable doubt as to the genuineness of the latter (Macrob. Sat. ii. 1, 12).

pro meo quod meum non sit] Cicero was considered a famous wit: cp. Quintil. vi. 3, 3, *Noster vero non solum extra iudicia sed in ipsis etiam orationibus habitus est nimius risus adfectator: mihi quidem sive id recte iudico sive amore immodico praecipui in eloquentia viri labor, mira quaedam in eo videtur fuisse urbanitas*. Quintilian

also says (xii. 10, 12) that Cicero was *in salibus aliquando frigidus*.

nec illitterata nec insulsa] 'not devoid either of culture or point.'

actis] 'news of the day.' The *Acta Diurna* was a gazette giving births and deaths, some account of edicts, testaments, reports of trials, proceedings in the senate, and general news of the day. It was first published in 59 B.C. The nature of it appears from Petron. 53: see Wilkins in Dict. Antiq. s. v. ACTA DIVRNA.

si quid praeterea] If any one tries to calumniate me, Caesar will not listen to it; so that you need not fear that envy will destroy me.

Oenomao] a play by Accius. Its fragments in Ribbeck Frag. Trag. i. 170-1.

loco] 'appositely': cp. Fam. xi. 16, 1, *Nam quem ad modum coram qui ad nos intempestive adeunt, molesti saepe sunt, sic epistolae offendunt non loco redditae*.

5. *posse*] sc. *mihi invideri*. We read *posse* with Wesenberg (Em. Alt. 29) for *esse*; he compares Phil. ii. 5, *eum tu occideres*. *Fac potuisse* (sc. *te eum occidere*).

praestare] here means 'to guarantee (the absence of) what is blameworthy': see note on Att. i. 5, 3 (1).

Reliquum est ne quid] Wesenberg (Em. Alt. 29) is very anxious to insert *ut* before *ne quid*: but Dr. Reid has shown on Lael. 42, that *ne* and *ut ne* are indiscriminately used by Cicero in such final sentences.

temere dicam aut faciam contra potentes: id quoque puto esse sapientis. Cetera vero, quid quisque me dixisse dicat aut quo modo ille accipiat aut qua fide mecum vivant ii, qui me adsidue colunt et observant, praestare non possum. 6. Ita fit ut et consiliorum superiorum conscientia et praesentis temporis moderatione me consoler et illam Accii similitudinem non iam ad invidiam, sed ad fortunam transferam, quam existimo levem et imbecillam ab animo firmo et gravi tamquam fluctum a saxo frangi oportere. Etenim cum plena sint monumenta Graecorum, quem ad modum sapientissimi viri regna tulerint vel Athenis vel Syracusis, cum servientibus suis civitatibus fuerint ipsi quodam modo liberi, ego me non putem tueri meum statum sic posse, ut neque offendam animum cuiusquam nec frangam dignitatem meam? 7. Nunc venio ad iocationes tuas, quoniam tu secundum Oenomaum Accii, non, ut olim solebat, Atellanam, sed, ut nunc fit, mimum introduxisti. Quem tu mihi pompilum, quem denarium narras?

6. *non iam*] The mss read *non modo iam*, but *modo* is now omitted by all editors. Possibly Cicero wrote *nullo modo*.

tamquam fluctum a saxo frangi] Wesenberg marks this as a quotation, wrongly we think. Oenomaus, it would appear, in the play of Accius, was alarmed at an oracle which told him to beware of Pelops. The latter tried to reassure him that he was going to act fairly, that his desire was to marry Hippodamia, and not to injure Oenomaus: but says the latter—

Sáxum id facit angústitatem et sub eo saxo
exuberans
Scátebra fluviae rádit rupem;

and as the waves by their perpetual action wear away a rock, so does this suspicion wear him away. This image Paetus used with an application to the force of jealous hatred, which by its steady and persistent action would ruin Cicero. Cicero, in turn, explains at length how he cannot be exposed to jealous hatred; but finally accepts the simile, and refers it to fortune: let the waves of fortune beat as they please against the strong-minded man; they beat as idly as the waves of the sea against a cliff. This reference, which reminds one of the way in which a Roman so often turned a bad omen to a good one, was most probably Cicero's own, and not in Accius at all.

vel Athenis vel Syracusis] refers to

Socrates under the Thirty: and Plato at Syracuse under Dionysius.

frangam dignitatem meam] cp. Planc.

9. *Tu continentiam, tu industriam, tu animum in rempublicam, tu virtutem, tu innocentiam, tu fidem, tu labores tuos, quod aedilis non sis factus, fractos esse et abiectos et repudiatos putas?*

7. *Atellanam*] Since Sulla's time the Mimi generally took the place of the Atellanae as light afterpieces. The former were of a much more loose and vulgar nature than the latter. See Dict. Antiq. s. v. MIMUS.

Quem tu mihi pompilum] 'What is this pilot-fish you talk to me about? What this penny(-dinner)? What this salt-fish and cheese?' *Pompilum* is the correction of Rutilius for *popillium* of the mss. There is no absolute necessity to alter *denarium*, though it has been severely handled: see Adn. Crit. Paetus had said, 'I'll give you a penny-dinner.' 'What is this penny you are talking about?' asks Cicero. *Tyrotarichus* was proverbial for a cheap diet; Att. iv. 8 a, 1 (112): cp. Att. xiv. 16, 1, *ipse autem eo die in Paeti nostri tyrotarichum imminebam*. For this colloquial use of *narras*, cp. Plaut. Men. ii. 3, 56, *Quam tu mihi nunc navem narras*; Curc. v. 2, 15; Truc. ii. 2, 29; Ter. Phorm. ii. 3, 54, *filium narras mihi*; Fam. ix. 15, 3 (481); Verr. iv. 85, *Tum is te quam mihi religionem narras? quam poenam? quem senatum?*

quam tyrotarichi patinam? Facilitate mea ista ferebantur antea: nunc mutata res est. Hirtium ego et Dolabellam dicendi discipulos habeo, cenandi magistros. Puto enim te audisse, si forte ad vos omnia perferuntur, illos apud me declamitare, me apud illos cenitare. Tu autem quod mihi bonam copiam eiures nihil est: tum enim, cum rem habebas, quaesticulus te faciebat attentiores: nunc, cum tam aequo animo bona perdas, non est quod non eo sis consilio, ut, cum me hospitio recipias, aestimationem te aliquam putes accipere: etiam haec levior est plaga ab amico quam a debitore. 8. Nec tamen eas cenas quaero, ut magnae reliquiae fiant: quod erit, magnificum sit et lautum. Memini te

apud me declamitare me] omitted in M, but found in H. For Dolabella and Hirtius as Cicero's pupils cp. Fam. vii. 33, 2 (474); Att. xiv. 12, 2; Suet. Rhet. 1.

bonam copiam eiures] 'declare yourself bankrupt': *eiurare aliquid* means to put away anything with an oath: hence its common use with *magistratum*, to resign a magistracy with the customary oath that it had been conscientiously administered: also *eiurare iudicem* to challenge a jurymen. In the phrase used here (which does not appear to be found elsewhere, though the opposite *iurare bonam copiam* is found in Varro L. L. vii. 105), and in the Lex Julia Municipalis, § 25, l. 113, where also *abiurare bonam copiam* is found in the same sense as *eiurare bonam copiam*, the literal meaning is to declare with an oath that solvency does not attach to you. *Eiurare* sometimes comes to have the meaning of 'for-swear': Tac. Hist. iv. 28.

quaesticulus] 'petty profit': cp. De Div. ii. 34. M has *quaesticulis*: if that is read, supply *res* with *faciebat*. See Adn. Crit.

attentiores] 'close,' 'frugal'—a common use in this sense: cp. Ter. Ad. v. 3, 48; Cic. Quint. 11; Hor. Sat. ii. 6, 82; Ep. i. 7, 91.

non est quod non eo sis consilio] We have adopted the addition of Lehmann (p. 91). The meaning is—'When you were solvent you were thrifty; but now that you are taking so quietly the loss of all your property, there is no reason why you should not with similar unconcern submit to the expense of receiving me splendidly; in fact, consider my company

one of the many valuations to which you have to submit; but the loss will be more easily borne when coming from a friend than from a debtor.' This is certainly very clever, and accounts for the corruption: and perhaps the idea and expression are not too elaborate for a letter to Paetus. Wesenberg (E. A. 29) adds only *est quod*; it would be a solecism (cp. Quintil. i. 5, 50) to take *non sis* for *ne fueris*. C. F. Müller proposes a violent remedy, *non eo sis censeo animo*. Madv. (A. C. iii. 163) declares that *esse aliquo consilio* is not Latin, and reads *non eo possis consilio uti*: see Adn. Crit.

aestimationem] 'valuation,' i.e. property made over to one on a valuation. For a similar abstract for concrete Watson compares Att. i. 5, 7 (1), *Epiroticam emptionem gaudeo tibi placere*. According to one of Caesar's laws about debt, creditors were compelled to take in payment the lands of their debtors, the value of these lands being estimated by the price they would have fetched before the war: cp. Caes. Bell. Civ. iii. 1. By this enactment creditors lost about a fourth of their debts. *Aestimationes* were these valued lands which were made over by debtors to their creditors. Paetus doubtless sustained some loss, and probably jocularly declared that he was quite bankrupt; but the facetious way in which Cicero writes to him prevents our thinking that the loss can have been very serious: cp. Fam. ix. 18, 4 (473).

plaga ab amico] 'blow inflicted by a friend.' Hofmann compares Rep. vi. 14 *metus insidiarum a meis*; Liv. xxxii. 27, 1, *legati a rege*; xxxvii. 45, 4 *caduceator ab Antiocho*.

mihi Phameae cenam narrare : temperius fiat, cetera eodem modo. Quod si perseveras me ad matris tuae cenam revocare, feram id quoque. Volo enim videre animum, qui mihi audeat istā, quae scribis, apponere aut etiam polypum miniati Iovis similem. Mihi crede, non audebis. Ante meum adventum fama ad te de mea nova lautitia veniet : eam extimesces. Neque est quod in promulside spei ponas aliquid, quam totam sustuli. Solebam enim antea debilitari oleis et Lucanicis tuis. 9. Sed quid haec loquimur? liceat modo isto venire. Tu vero—volo enim abstergere animi tui metum—, ad tyrotarichum antiquum redi. Ego tibi unum sumptum adferam, quod balneum calfacias oportebit : cetera more nostro : superiora illa lusimus. 10. De villa Seliciana et curasti diligenter et scripsisti facetissime. Itaque puto me praetermissurum. Salis enim satis est, saniorum parum.

8. *Phameae*] Probably the freedman who was grandfather or uncle of Tigellius ; cp. Att. xiii. 49. He died in 49, Att. ix. 9, 4 (364).

temperius] 'in better time,' 'earlier.' The grander the dinner party at Rome the earlier it began : hence *tempestiva convivia* for very luxurious feasts : cp. Palmer on Hor. Sat. ii. 8, 3. Dr. Reid on Sen. 46 refers to Att. ix. 1, 3 (353) where Cicero describes himself as evil-spoken of in *tempestivis conviviis*. The positive of this locative *temperius* in Old Latin was *temperi* ; but in classical Latin *tempore* is used to express the idea : cp. Nonius, 362.

Volo . . . apponere] 'I should like to see a man brave enough to venture to put before me what you say.'

polypum miniati Iovis similem] 'polypus cooked as red as the ruddled Jupiter.' The polypus was not naturally red, and must have been cooked in some kind of coarse red sauce. As to the *Iupiter miniatus*, cp. Plin. H. N. xxxiii. 112, *enumerat auctores Verrius quibus credere necesse sit Iovis ipsius simulacri faciem diebus festis minio inlini solitam triumphantiumque corpora ; sic Camillum triumphasse. Hac religione etiamnum addi in unguenta cenae triumphalis et a censoribus in primis Iovem miniandum locari* : cp. xxxv. 157, *fictilem eum fuisse et ideo miniari solitum*.

promulside] *Promulsis* (also called *gustatio*) was the first part of the Roman dinner, consisting of eggs, olives, salt-

fish, sausages, (*lucanica*), and such like savoury *hors d'œuvre* taken to whet the appetite. The drink generally was mead (*mulsum*), whence the name.

quam totam sustuli] cp. Fam. ix. 20, 1 (475). *At quem virum ! non eum quem tu es solitus promulside conficere. Integram famem ad ovum affero. Itaque usque ad assum vitulinum opera perducitur*.

9. *abstergere*] For the metaphor Boeckel compares Q. Fr. ii. 8 (10), 4 (123), *omnem abstergebo dolorem*.

10. *De villa Seliciana*] This was probably a villa at Naples belonging to the banker Selicius : cp. Att. i. 12, 1 (17), and note to iv. 19, 2 (158). Paetus advised Cicero not to buy it : cp. Fam. ix. 15, 3, (481) *purgas te non dissuasorem mihi emptionis Neopolitanae fuisse*.

Salis . . . parum] 'We have had enough joking, too little sober sense.' This is his excuse for putting in a remark about business at the end of a letter largely devoted to jokes. The mss read *sannorum* or *sanniorum* or *sannionum*. These words could only mean, 'there is much material for jesting, but few jokers' (or rather 'clowns') i.e. few with the heart or courage to joke : cp. De Orat. ii. 251. The words would, with this reading, better follow *lusimus*. Hofmann suggests *sannorum*, showing that Cicero thus uses the neut. plu. of adjectives by adducing De Orat. ii. 262. We prefer the comparative, both as suiting the sense better, and as being nearer to the reading of the mss.

CCCCLXXIII. CICERO TO L. PAPIRIUS PAETUS
(FAM. IX. 18).

TUSCULUM ; END OF JULY ; A. U. C. 708 ; B. C. 46 ; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero causas exponit L. Papirio cur alios declamando exercere coeperit. Tum iocatur de cenarum apparatu.

CICERO S. D. L. PAPIRIO PAETO.

1. Cum essem otiosus in Tusculano, propterea quod discipulos ob viam miseram, ut eadem me quam maxime conciliarent familiari suo, accepi tuas litteras plenissimas suavitatis, ex quibus intellexi probari tibi meum consilium, quod, ut Dionysius tyrannus, cum Syracusis pulsus esset, Corinthi dicitur ludum aperuisse, sic ego sublatis iudiciis amisso regno forensi ludum quasi habere coeperim. 2. Quid quaeris? me quoque delectat consilium: multa enim consequor: primum, id quod maxime nunc opus est, munio me ad haec tempora. Id cuius modi sit nescio: tantum video, nullius adhuc consilium me huic antepondere, nisi forte mori melius fuit: in lectulo, fateor, sed non

1. *ob viam*] To meet Caesar. Caesar returned to Rome on vii. Kal. Sextil. = July 26th (Bell. Afr. 98). For *discipulos* see note to Fam. ix. 16, 7 (472).

eadem] sc. *viâ* or *operâ*, i.e. 'at the same time,' a common colloquialism: cp. Plaut. Bacch. i. 1, 15 and Ussing's note, which collects a number of other examples from the comic writers.

plenissimas suavitatis] 'most charming.'

ludum aperuisse] Who would ever have said that *ludum aperire* was good Latin for opening a school unless we had this classical warrant for it?

sublatis iudiciis] A Ciceronian exaggeration to express the fact that trials were not as regularly conducted as they used to be. For the irregularity in legal procedure during the Civil War, cp. Mommsen R. H. iv. 325, 485. Pompey, by a law of 52 B.C., tried to limit the abuse of legal procedure by limiting the number of advocates, by restricting the time of

pleading to two hours for the prosecutor and three for the defendant, and by forbidding the production of witnesses to character (*laudatores*). By these means, according to Cicero, forensic oratory became dumb: Brut. 324, Fin. iv. 1, and Madv. ad loc.: cp. Tac. Dial. 38. It would appear that Caesar strictly enforced these restrictions.

amisso regno forensi] 'having lost my position as monarch of the bar.' The word *regno* is suggested by the reference to Dionysius. Boeckel compares 1 Verr. i. 35, *quoniam haec te* (sc. Hortensium) *omnis dominatio regnumque iudiciorum tanto opere delectat*.

2. *Id cuius modi sit nescio*] 'the value of this protection I do not know.'

in lectulo] Cicero may perhaps be alluding to the illness from which he was suffering while the battle of Pharsalia was being fought (Plut. Cic. 39). There is a good deal to be said for the punctuation of Guilielmus, *in lectulo ? fateor, sed*

accidit: in acie non fui. Ceteri quidem, Pompeius, Lentulus tuus, Scipio, Afranius foede perierunt. — At Cato praeclare. — Iam istuc quidem, cum volumus, licebit: demus modo operam ne tam necesse nobis sit quam illi fuit: id quod agimus. Ergo hoc primum. 3. Sequitur illud: ipse melior fio: primum valetudine, quam intermissis exercitationibus amiseram: deinde ipsa illa, si qua fuit in me facultas orationis, nisi me ad has exercitationes rettulissem, exaruisset. Extremum illud est, quod tu nescio an primum putes: plures iam pavones confeci quam tu pullos columbinos. Tu istuc te Hateriano iure delectas, ego me hic Hirtiano. Veni igitur, si vir es, et disce a me *προλεγόμενας*, quas quaeris: etsi sus Minervam. Sed quo modo, videro. 4. Si aestimationes

non accidit: in acie? non fui. If there had been any trace of *sed* before *non fui* we should have adopted it.

Lentulus tuus] It is uncertain whether this is Lentulus Crus, consul in 49, who was put to death in prison by Ptolemy (Caes. Bell. Civ. iii. 104); or P. Lentulus Spinther, to whom Cicero addressed the letters of Fam. i. We do not know what was the end of the latter, but he was dead in 43 when Cicero delivered Phil. xiii. (§ 29).

Scipio] Metellus Scipio, father-in-law of Pompey, endeavoured to escape to Sicily after the Battle of Thapsus, but was overpowered by Sittius, and died (probably) by his own hand (Dio Cass. xliii. 9 and Reimar's note). Afranius, too, met his death at the hands of the forces of Sittius (Bell. Afr. 95).

foede] 'miserably,' 'wretchedly.'

istuc quidem licebit] sc. *facere*: 'we can do that,' i.e. die when we please. Or take *licebit* personally as Mr. Watson suggests, the personal construction being allowable with neut. pronouns in the singular (Madv. 218 a, Obs. 2).

hoc] 'this is my first advantage,' viz. that I am striving to act in a conciliatory manner towards the victors. 'There follows another,' viz. that my health is improving.

3. *intermissis exercitationibus*] sc. *declamandi*. For the Romans practised declamation to supply the place of that physical exercise for which we should have recourse to field sports and out-of-door pursuits of various kinds: cp. Phil. ii. 42.

facultas orationis . . . exaruisset] 'the

founts of my inspiration would have dried up.'

pavones] The fashion of serving up this insipid bird at feasts was set by Hortensius at the banquet given on the occasion of his installation as augur. M. Aufidius Lurco speculated as a peacock-fattener, and made HS 60,000 in that capacity: see Mayor's note on Juv. i. 143. Mr. Jeans refers to the amusing account of the 'peacock cooked according to the receipt of Apicius for cooking partridges,' at the supper in the Rucellai Gardens in *Romola*, chap. 39.

confeci] 'I have demolished.'

Hateriano iure . . . Hirtiano] Haterius appears to have been a lawyer who was staying with Paetus at this time, but we do not hear of him elsewhere, unless he was the Haterius proscribed by the triumvirs (App. Bell. Civ. iv. 29). A descendant of his is mentioned in Tac. Ann. iv. 61. Cicero cannot refrain from his well-worn play on the double meaning of *ius*, 'legal procedure' and 'sauce.' He had made the same joke twenty-four years before, 2 Verr. i. 121, *ius Verrinum*.

προλεγόμενας] sc. *θέσεις*, 'principles and axioms' (of the art of cookery). The expression was also applicable to the principles of rhetoric and law. Perhaps we might translate 'institutes.' Boot (Obs. Crit. 20) reads *disce a me προηγμένα quae quaeris*, the Stoic expression for the ordinary good things of life, exclusive of absolute morality.

etsi sus Minervam] sc. *docebo*, 'though it's a case of teaching one's grandmother.' For the proverb cp. De Orat. ii. 233, Acad. i. 18. Dr. Reid refers to a passage

tuas vendere non potes neque ollam denariorum implere, Romam tibi remigrandum est. Satius est hic cruditate quam istic fame. Video te bona perdidisse : spero idem istic familiares tuos. Actum igitur de te est, nisi provides. Potes mulo isto, quem tibi reliquum dicis esse, quoniam cantherium comedisti, Romam pervehi. Sella tibi erit in ludo tamquam hypodidascalo proxima : eam pulvinus sequetur.

CCCCLXXIV. CICERO TO P. VOLUMNIUS EUTRAPELUS (FAM. VII. 33).

ROME ; AUGUST ; A. U. C. 708 ; B. C. 46 ; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero P. Volumnio scribit se adflicta re publica cum Hirtio, Cassio, Dolabella declamare et Volumnium ad eadem studia invitat. Sibi enim sententiam esse in litteras se abdere permissu Caesaris.

M. CICERO S. D. VOLUMNIO.

1. Quod declamationibus nostris cares, damni nihil facis. Quod Hirtio invideres, nisi eum amares, non erat causa invidendi,

from Plutarch, Praecept. reip. ger. 7, 4, to show that this proverb is a Greek one, καὶ πρὸς Δημάδην βοῶντα Δημοσθένης ἐμὲ βούλεται διορθοῦν ἢ ὕς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν. Αὕτη μέντοι πέρυσιν ἢ Ἀθηνᾶ μοιχεύουσα ἐλήφθη : also Theocrit. v. 23, ὕς ποτ' Ἀθηναίαν ἔριν ἤρισεν.

Sed quo modo, videro] 'but as to the ways and means (of your getting the instruction), I shall see to that.' Dr. Reid thinks that we should read *sed quoquo modo videro* : cp. note in Fam. ix. 16, 1 (472), 'There is of course no need for you to take lessons from me in what you know so well already ; but whatever be the pretext, I shall have the advantage of seeing you.' Wesenberg would seem by his punctuation, *sed, quomodo, videro*, to hold much the same view as to the meaning of the passage, 'but somehow or other I shall manage to see you.' Mendelssohn (N. Jahrb. 1891, p. 340) supposes *si* was corrupted into *sed* (*s*;) : cp. Adn. Crit. He reads *Si, quomodo video, aestimationes, &c.* ; and for *quomodo* in this usage Schmalz quotes Rosc. Am. 7, *ego brevem postulationem adfero et, quomodo mihi per-*

suadeo, aliquanto aequiorem.

aestimationes] See note on Fam. ix. 16, 7 (472).

idem istic] at Naples. The meaning is, 'I hope your friends at Naples are as hard up as you are, so that they may not be able to entertain you well, and thus keep you there.' With *idem* understand *passos esse*.

cantherium comedisti] 'you have eaten your pack-horse,' i.e. you have thrown away on dinners the money which you obtained by the sale of your pack-horse.

hypodidascalo] privat-docent.

proxima] 'next to mine.'

eam pulvinus sequetur] 'a cushion will come in due time.'

The next twenty-two letters were probably written during August and September. It is very difficult to decide their exact order, and we fear we have not been always successful. For Volumnius, see Fam. vii. 32 (229).

1. *Quod . . . amares*] 'as to your saying you would envy Hirtius if you did not love him.'

nisi forte ipsius eloquentiae magis quam quod me audiret invideres. Nos enim plane, mi suavissime Volumni, aut nihil sumus aut nobis quidem ipsis displicemus, gregalibus illis, quibus te plaudente vigeamus, amissis, ut etiam, si quando aliquid dignum nostro nomine emisimus, ingemescamus, quod haec '*pinnigero, non armigero in corpore tela exerceantur*,' ut ait Philoctetes apud Accium, '*abiecta gloria*.' 2. Sed tamen omnia mihi erunt, si tu veneris, hilariora: quamquam venies, ut ipse intellegis, in maximarum quasi concursum occupationum quas si, ut volumus, exceperimus, ego vero multam salutem et foro dicam et curiae vivamque tecum multum et cum communibus nostris amatoribus. Nam et Cassius tuus et Dolabella noster vel potius uterque noster studiis iisdem tenentur et meis aequissimis utuntur auribus. Opus est huc limatulo et polito tuo iudicio et illis interioribus litteris in eis quibus saepe verecundior me in loquendo facis. Mihi enim iudicatum est, si modo hoc Caesar aut patietur aut volet, deponere illam iam personam, in qua me saepe illi ipsi probavi, ac me totum in litteras abdere tecumque et cum ceteris earum studiosis honestissimo otio perfrui. Tu vellem ne veritus esses, ne per librariorum

gregalibus . . . amissis] 'now that all those comrades are lost to me by whose encouragement coupled with your applause I was stimulated to action,' for *gregales*, 'his comrades,' 'those of his set,' cp. De Orat. ii. 253 and Hor. Epp. i. 9, 13, *Scribe tui gregis hunc et fortem crede bonumque*.

pinnigero] from the Philoctetes of Accius. Ribbeck (Frag. Trag. p. 206) arranges these lines as Iambic Trimeters:

Pinnigero nōn armigero in corpore
Tela exercentur haec abiecta gloria.

2. *in maximarum quasi concursum occupationum*] 'in what I may call an onslaught of most important concerns; and if we are able to meet them as we wish I shall bid a long farewell to the forum and the senate-house.' For *ex-cipere*, in the sense of receiving or withstanding an enemy's attack, cp. Caes. B. G. i. 52, 4. It keeps up excellently the metaphor in *concursum*, for which cp. Fam. v. 13, 2 (569); *concursu calamitatum*, 'the onslaught of a battalion of sorrows,' Acad. ii. 70. Madvig (A. C. iii. 159) reads *expedierimus*, 'despatch,' 'settle.'

vel potius uterque noster] 'or rather both of them are my friends.'

et meis aequissimis utuntur auribus] 'and find me a most indulgent critic.'

huc] = *ad haec*, cp. Fam. i. 7, 9 (114), *huc te pares*, and note.

in eis] So we read with Lambinus for *meis* of the mss, 'and that more recondite literary skill of yours in those points in which you often make me ashamed of myself when speaking.' Cicero means that Volumnius had a most delicate judgment of style derived from recondite reading, and often used to find fault in certain points with Cicero's language. As regards these points it would be well for Cicero to have Volumnius at hand so that he might quote chapter and verse for the criticisms he made, and thus save Cicero's pupils from falling into those errors which Cicero's less refined ear would not have noticed. Wesenberg (Em. Alt. 18) wishes to read *tuis* for *meis*, supposing the latter to have crept into the text from *meis* above.

personam] 'character,' cp. note to Fam. vi. 6, 10. (488).

Tu vellem . . . litteras] 'I wish you had not been afraid of my reading your letters by deputy.' We read with Orelli *per librariorum* for the corrupt *pluribus* of

legerem tuas litteras, si mihi, quem ad modum scribis, longiores forte misisses, ac velim posthac sic statuas, tuas mihi litteras longissimas quasque gratissimas fore.

CCCCLXXV. CICERO TO L. PAPIRIUS PAETUS
(FAM. IX. 20).

ROME; AUGUST; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

Iocatur M. Cicero cum L. Paeto Epicureum se factum abiecta rei publicae cura lautiusque quam antea excipiendum esse. Dein vitae suae et studiorum rationes perscribit.

CICERO PAETO.

1. Dupliciter delectatus sum tuis litteris, et quod ipse risi et quod te intellexi iam posse ridere. Me autem a te, ut scurram

the mss—not that we think it by any means a certain emendation, but it is as good as any that have been proposed (see Adn. Crit.), and is humorous, and so likely to be addressed to the witty Volumnius. For this use of *per* cp. Top. 2 *ut eos (libros) per te ipse legeres*. Gebhard says that *perinventus*, the conjecture of Victorius, is found in a Vatican codex: if that reading is the right one it is a pity, for it makes a rather bald sentence.

litteras longissimas quasque] Dr. Reid on Lael. 34, points out that the best writers when they use the plural of *quisque* almost always use it in the neuter and with a superlative. In the passage from the Laelius (*pestem enim nullum maiorem esse amicitias quam in plerisque pecuniae cupiditatem, in optimis quibusque honoris certamen et gloriae*) the anomalous use of the plural is due to the attraction of *plerisque*. In our present passage it is due to the fact that *litterae* in the sense of an epistle has no singular. In Off. ii. 75 *leges, et proximae quaeque duriores* Dr. Reid alters *proximae* to *proxima*—‘laws, and harsher each of them than its predecessor.’ Cornificius, however, uses *primos quosque locos* (Rhet. ad Herenn. iii. 37), where it is hard to find any satisfactory explanation of the anomalous usage. The masculine and feminine plurals are not un-

common in post-classical authors, and the masculine plural occurs once in the ante-classical Plautus, Most. i. 2, 75 (*optumi quique*): cp. Schmalz Antibarbar, ii. 421.

1. *scurram velitem*] ‘like a light-armed wit-slinger, have received a fusillade of raillery from you.’ There is a perfect volley of jokes here. The parasite or *scurra*, who was invited to dinner on account of his light and audacious jests (cp. Plin. Epp. ix. 17, 2, *si quid petulans a scurra profertur*) at everybody and everything, is likened to a light-armed soldier who could move quickly about and direct his sling or bow at any point while skirmishing with the enemy; we should more naturally take the metaphor from the prize-ring or from the race-course. These parasites seem to have been made the butt of a good deal of coarse horse-play, such as having pots and other utensils broken on their heads (Plaut. Capt. i. 1, 20, iii. 1, 12). They were often, no doubt, pelted not only with raillery (*mālis*), but with material missiles such as apples (*mālis*), since, as apples formed part of every *cena*, they would furnish convenient projectiles to be used against the *scurra*. It may be, too, as some of the commentators have suggested, that Paetus sent Cicero a

velitem, malis oneratum esse non moleste tuli. Illud doleo, in ista loca venire me, ut constitueram, non potuisse: habuisses enim non hospitem, sed contubernalem. At quem virum! non eum, quem tu es solitus promulside conficere. Integram famem ad ovum adfero: itaque usque ad assum vitulinum opera perducitur. Illa mea, quae solebas antea laudare, 'O hominem facilem! o hospitem non gravem!' abierunt. Nunc omnem nostram de re publica curam, cogitationem de dicenda in senatu sententia, commentationem causarum abieciimus: in Epicuri nos adversarii nostri castra coniecimus, nec tamen ad hanc insolentiam, sed ad illam tuam lautitiam, veterem dico, cum in sumptum habebas: etsi nunquam plura praedia habuisti. 2. Proinde te para: cum homine et edaci tibi res est et qui iam aliquid intellegat: ὁψιμαθεῖς

present of apples or promised him apples as second-course when he came to dine with him. However, we are inclined to disregard this *ad hoc* assumption. Rather, Cicero says that Paetus had replied to all his raillery with right vigorous abuse, so that he feels like a light-weight parasite at a dinner party, quite loaded *malis*, which meant primarily, in Cicero's case, 'abuse,' (*māla*), but its similarity in sound to *māla* suggested the idea of the pelting with apples, to which the *scurra* was often compelled to submit.

velitem] For the metaphor Boeckel compares Plaut. Men. vii. 28 (778), *Nescio quid vos velitati estis inter vos duo*: Asin. ii. 2, 41 (307), *Verbivelitationem fieri compendi volo*: cp. *λογομαχία*.

contubernalem] originally and properly *contubernalis* meant 'a tent-companion' when on military service (Lig. 21), and was sometimes applied to young nobles who served in campaigns on the staff of the general (Planc. 27, Cael. 73). These were generally called *comites*, or collectively *cohors*: cp. Marquardt i.² 532. Afterwards the word came to be used of close connexion in civil life (Brut. 105, Sull. 34, and Dr. Reid's note). Here it expresses a very close and familiar intimacy, and we may almost translate it by 'chum.'

promulside] cp. Fam. ix. 16, 8 (472), 'but what a gastronomic hero you will find me now! not the poor creature whom you used to put *hors-de-combat* with a mere appetiser.'

assum vitulinum] 'roast veal'—the last course before the dessert. The com-

mon phrase to express from the beginning to the end of dinner is *ab ovo usque ad mala* (Hor. Sat. i. 3, 6). But we do not hear elsewhere of roast veal as the last course of the *cena* proper. At the celebrated dinner given on the occasion of the inauguration of a Lentulus as Flamen of Mars, the *menu* of which is preserved by Macrobius (Sat. iii. 13, 11, ff.), roast fowl (*altilia assa*) appear to have been the last course before the dessert.

abierunt. Nunc] M has *non*: Graev. Btr. Nam; Kl. nos; Orell. *Nunc*. The word is omitted in H. The reading of Orelli is probably right, as we do not require a negative, while we do require an antithesis to *antea*; and *nunc* (*nc*) might readily have fallen out after *nt*.

insolentiam] 'extravagance.' In Rosc. Am. 23, *insolens* is opposite to *egentissimus*; and in Phil. ix. 13, Cicero contrasts *maiorum continentiam* with *huius saeculi insolentiam*. With *ad hanc insolentiam* we must understand some verb like *venimus* or *nos contulimus* taken out of *nos coniecimus*.

lautitiam] 'refinement,' 'elegance,' 'sumptuousness.'

cum in sumptum habebas] 'when you had something to spend.'

praedia] cp. note to Fam. ix. 16, 7 (472).

2. ὁψιμαθεῖς] 'you know the extravagance of overgrown pupils.' Hor. Sat. i. 10, 22 translates this word by *seri studiorum*. Dr. Mahaffy ('Greek World,' p. 81) notices, in connexion with his remarks on the high value the Greeks set upon education, that 'a self-taught man

autem homines scis quam insolentes sint. Dediscendae tibi sunt sportellae et artolagani tui. Nos iam *exquisitae* artis tantum habemus, ut Verrium tuum et Camillum—qua munditia homines! qua elegantia! —vocare saepius audeamus. Sed vide audaciam: etiam Hirtio cenam dedi, sine pavone tamen: in ea cena cocus meus praeter ius fervens nihil potuit imitari. 3. Haec igitur est nunc vita nostra: mane salutamus domi et bonos viros multos, sed tristes, et hos laetos victores, qui me quidem perofficiose et peramanter observant. Ubi salutatio defluxit, litteris me involvo, aut scribo aut lego. Veniunt etiam qui me audiunt quasi doctum hominem, quia paullo sum quam ipsi doctior. Inde corpori omne tempus datur. Patriam eluxi iam et gravius et diutius quam ulla mater unicum filium. Sed cura, si me amas, ut valeas, ne ego te iacente bona tua comedim. Statui enim tibi ne aegroto quidem parcere.

(*αὐτοδίδακτος*), or even the man who learned late (*ὀψιμαθής*), was always considered a man of imperfect breeding, and wanting in real refinement.'

sportellae] 'little fruit baskets.'

artolagani] 'omelettes,' cakes made of meal, wine, pepper, milk, and oil or lard: Athen. iii. 113. Cicero declares that he must have something much less homely and much more *recherché* than these.

exquisitae artis] So we read with Wesenberg (Em. Alt. 30) for *ex artis* of the mss: for the loss of a large portion of a word in mss he compares *ben* in M for *benevolentia* in Fam. x. 29: and that *exquisita* is just the word required he shows by comparing De Orat. ii. 175, *artis exquisitae*; Off. i. 130, *munditia exquisita*; Pis. 67, *nihil apud eum lautum, nihil elegans, nihil exquisitum*. We must remember, however, that *ben* for *benevolentia* in M occurs at the end of a line. It is possible that *ex* may be the remnant of a Greek word such as *ἐξοχή*, 'a leading position,' cp. Att. iv. 15, 6 (143): hardly *ὀψιμαθής*, as Mendelssohn suggests; but the scribes of M and H almost always write Greek words in Greek characters. Possibly, a word has been lost after *artis*, signifying 'rules,' 'maxims,' e.g. *praeceptis*: cp. Hor. Sat. ii. 4, 2; *quaerere signa novis praeceptis* applied to the

principles of the philosophy of cooking. For other suggestions see Adn. Crit.

munditia elegantia] 'refinement taste.'

nihil potuit imitari] 'could not imitate anything (of what Hirtius gave me) except the hot sauce.' There does not seem any necessity to insert *non* after *nihil*.

3. *Ubi salutatio defluxit*] 'when the stream of visitors has gone by.' For *litteris me involvo* cp. Fam. vii. 33, 2 (474), *me totum in litteris abdere*. Mendelssohn aptly adds St. Ambrose De Fide, i. 15, 99, *sed non me involvo libris*.

qui me audiunt] This would seem to refer to a kind of 'interview.' The victorious Caesarians would come and 'interview' the learned Cicero, and, like students attending lectures (cp. *auditores*, Off. i. 1, 1), hear what opinion he had to give on any subject in which they were interested, principally, no doubt, theoretical questions on literature and philosophy. Cicero was not at all the man to be indifferent to that kind of flattery.

eluxi] 'I have deeply mourned.' It is the regular word for 'being in mourning' for anyone.

te iacente] 'while you are prostrate' (i.e. with sickness); for *iacere*, 'to be sick,' cp. Senec. Epist. 101, 3, *sine spe iacere*. Mr. Watson compares Att. xi. 9, 2 (423), *ut postea iacuerim*.

CCCCLXXVI. CICERO TO TITUS FADIUS GALLUS
(FAM. VII. 27).

ROME; MONTH UNCERTAIN; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

Litterae altercationem Ciceronem inter et Gallum continent.

CICERO S. D. T. FADIO GALLO.

1. Miror cur me accuses, cum tibi id facere non liceat. Quod si liceret, tamen non debebas: 'Ego enim te in consulatu observaram', et ais fore ut te Caesar restituat. Multa tu quidem dicis, sed tibi nemo credit. Tribunatum plebei dicis te mea causa petisse. Utinam semper esses tribunus! intercessorem non quaereres. Negas me audere quod sentiam dicere, quasi tibi, cum impudenter me rogares, parum fortiter responderim. 2. Haec tibi scripsi, ut isto ipso in genere, in quo aliquid posse vis, te

Titus Fadius Gallus, to be distinguished from Marcus Fadius Gallus of Fam. vii. 24, 25 (653, 654), had been in 702 (52) condemned, apparently by one vote, and that not an impartial vote, for *ambitus* under the law of Pompey, and was now living in exile near Rome. In 702 (52) Cicero wrote to console him, cp. Fam. v. 18 (180). It is not easy to say why Cicero did not now use his influence to procure the restoration of Fadius when it was so distinctly his duty to do so, cp. Fam. v. 18, 2 (180), *nos ceterosque necessitudine et benevolentia tecum coniunctissimos*; possibly he demanded Cicero's aid in such an offensive manner that the latter was compelled not only to refuse the request, but to reply with considerable asperity.

1. *cum tibi id facere non liceat*] The commentators say that the reference here is to the fact that Titus Fadius Gallus had been Cicero's quaestor in 691 (63), cp. Post Red. in Sen. 21, and as such ought always to have looked on him in the light of a father, cp. Div. in Caecil. 62. Besides, Fadius had as trib. pleb. in 697 (57), helped Cicero to return from exile: Post Red. l. c. Q. Fr. i, 4, 3 (72) Att. iii. 23, 4 (83).

Ego enim te] Wesenberg adds *inquis*

after *te*. This makes the sense a little more explicit; but there can be no doubt that *ego . . . observaram* is a quotation from the letter of Gallus.

restituat] The full legal expression is *restituere in integrum* (Dig. iv. 1).

intercessorem] 'to intervene for you.' This is a play on the word, for Gallus had apparently asked Cicero to intercede for him with Caesar, and tribunes had the *ius intercedendi*. The use of *intercedere* in the sense of 'to intercede for' appears not to be usual till post-classical times (Suet. Caes. 30), and can only be excused here, as it is brought in to make a rather forced play on words. It is very far-fetched to suppose, as Bill. does, that Gallus had asked Cicero to go surety for him, as he was negotiating a loan of money, and to suppose that *intercessorem* has this signification here which it undoubtedly has elsewhere, cp. Att. vi. 1, 5 (252), Phil. ii. 45; though not so far-fetched as the idea that *credit* above means 'gives you credit' as well as 'believes you,' though Cicero elsewhere jokes excellently on the double sense of this word, cp. Att. i. 16, 10 (22).

2. *isto ipso in genere*] sc. *scribendi*, 'that even in your own virulent style of writing you may understand your utter worthlessness.'

nihil esse cognosceres. Quod si humaniter mecum questus esses libenter tibi me et facile purgassem : non enim ingrata mihi sunt quae fecisti, sed quae scripsisti molesta. Me autem, propter quem ceteri liberi sunt, tibi liberum non visum demiror : nam si falsa fuerunt, quae tu ad me, ut ais, detulisti, quid tibi ego debeo ? si vera, tu es optimus testis quid mihi populus Romanus debeat.

CCCCLXXVII. CICERO TO MANIUS CURIUS
(FAM. VII. 28).

ROME ; AUGUST (?) ; A. U. C. 708 ; B. C. 46 ; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero desperata re publica, M' Curium in Graeciam, se in bibliothecam recte confugisse sibi videri scribit.

M. CICERO S. D. CURIO.

1. Memini, cum mihi desipere videbare, quod cum istis potius viveres quam nobiscum ; erat enim multo domicilium huius urbis, cum quidem haec urbs *fuit*, aptius humanitati et suavitati tuae quam tota Peloponnesus, nedum Patrae : nunc contra et vidisse

humaniter] 'reasonably,' 'rationally.'
non . . . molesta] 'I am not ungrateful for what you have done, but am annoyed at what you have written.'

propter quem liberi] as being saved from the Catilinarian conspiracy.

liberum non visum] 'that you think me no better than a slave' (whom you may treat any way) : cp. Att. i. 18, 3 (24).

si vera] Fadius Gallus must have given Cicero some important information as regards the Catilinarian conspiracy, and urged this fact to show Cicero's ingratitude. 'If your information was false, what do I owe you? If true, you yourself are the best judge of the danger which the State incurred at that time, and the debt the people owe me, their deliverer.' This reply might have passed in the heat of a debate where no great accuracy of reasoning is required ; but it does not touch the claim of Gallus that it was he who made the discovery and laid the information, while Cicero got all the credit. Indeed it is not often that Cicero makes use of a logical dilemma unless his argument is unsound.

Manius Curius was a *negotiator* at Patrae, and one of Cicero's hosts in that town : cp. note to Fam. xiii. 17, 1 (572). As holding that relation to Cicero he obtained from him introductions to Sulpicius and Acilius, governors of Achaia, Fam. xiii. 17 (512) ; 50 (671). He was very attentive to Tiro when the latter fell ill there in 704 (50). Cicero speaks of him as a most charming man, attentive and cultured : cp. Fam. xvi. 4, 2 (288), and as *un vrai esprit spirituel* ; Att. vii. 2, 3 (293), *αὐτόχθων est in homine urbanitas* : cp. Att. xvi. 3, 3. We should hardly think so from the letter of his which is extant, Fam. vii. 29 ; the wit seems rather forced. But Cicero saw nothing but virtues in his friends. Curius nominated Atticus and Cicero among his heirs, Att. vii. 2, 3 (293).

1. *cum quidem haec urbs fuit*] The addition of *fuit* is due to Wesenberg (Em. Alt. 18).

humanitati et suavitati tuae] 'your cultivated and gentle nature.'

mihi multum videris, cum prope desperatis his rebus te in Graeciam contulisti, et hoc tempore non solum sapiens, qui hinc absis, sed etiam beatus. Quamquam quis qui aliquid sapiat nunc esse beatus potest? 2. Sed, quod tu, cui licebat, pedibus es consecutus, ut ibi esses, *ubi nec Pelopidarum* . . . —nosti cetera—, nos idem propemodum consequimur alia ratione. Cum enim salutationi nos dedimus amicorum, quae fit hoc etiam frequentius quam solebat, quod quasi avem albam videntur bene sentientem civem videre, abdo me in bibliothecam. Itaque opera efficio tanta, quanta fortasse tu senties: intellexi enim ex tuo sermone quodam, cum meam maestitiam et desperationem accusares domi tuae, discere te ex meis libris animum meum desiderare. 3. Sed mehercule et tum rem publicam lugebam, quae non solum suis *erga* me, sed etiam meis *erga* se beneficiis erat mihi *vita mea* carior, et hoc tempore, quamquam me non ratio solum consolatur, quae plurimum debet valere, sed etiam dies, quae stultis quoque mederi solet, tamen doleo ita rem communem esse dilapsam, ut ne spes quidem melius aliquando fore relinquatur. Nec vero nunc quidem culpa in eo est, in cuius potestate omnia sunt—nisi forte id ipsum esse non debuit—, sed alia casu, alia etiam nostra culpa sic acciderunt, ut de praeteritis non sit querendum. Reliquam spem nullam video: quare ad prima redeo: sapienter haec reliquisti, si consilio: feliciter, si casu.

2. *cui licebat*] you could leave Rome: I could not do so without displeasing Caesar.

pedibus] 'by marching off.'

ubi nec Pelopidarum] 'where neither Pelops' sons—you know the rest.' This is a favourite quotation of Cicero's, by some said to be from the Pelops of Accius, though Ribbeck (Frag. Trag., p. 215) classes it, Ex incertis incertorum fabulis. He writes it thus:—

. . . évolem
Ubi nec Pelopidárum nomen néc facta aut
famam aúdiam.

Cp. Att. xiv. 12, 2, xv. 11, 3; Fam. vii. 30, 1; in Phil. xiii. 49 it is thus modified:—*in alias terras demigrare unde Antoniorum nec facta nec famam audiat.*

avem albam] White was an emblem of good fortune: cp. Pers. i. 110, and Mayor's note on Juv. xiii. 141, *gallinae filius albae*. It was also the emblem of excellence: cp. Hor. Sat. i. 7, 8, *equis albis praecurrere*, and Palmer's note.

There is besides a reference to the 'white crow' (Juv. vii. 202, *Felix ille tamen, corvo quoque rarior albo*), which was a *rara avis*, like the 'black swan' (Juv. vi. 165).

Itaque . . . senties] 'Accordingly, I compose works, important or not as you will judge.' This year Cicero composed *Partitiones Oratoriae*, *Brutus*, and *Orator*.

domi tuae] Cicero not unfrequently notices the place at which a remark was made, cp. note on Att. i. 19, 10 (25).

discere] So Madvig, for *dicere* of the mss. 'I remember learning that you regretted the absence of my old spirit from my writings.' Graevius wishes to omit *dicere*.

3. *suis erga me*] an old addition, omitted wholly in M, while *suis erga* is omitted in H, *erga me* in P.

vita mea] added by Wesenberg (E. A. 18), who compares Fam. x. 12, 5, xi. 5, 3; Phil. xiii. 7.

id ipsum] sc. that all power is concentrated in one hand.

CCCCLXXVIII. CICERO TO L. PAPIRIUS PAETUS
(FAM. IX. 19).

ROME; AUGUST; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

Quod scripserat L. Paetus tenui apparatu Balbum fuisse contentum, M. Cicero ita iocatur, quasi ille accusationem incontinentiae suae intenderit.

CICERO S. D. L. PAPIRIO PAETO.

1. Tamen a malitia non discedis? Tenuiculo apparatu significas Balbum fuisse contentum. Hoc videris dicere, cum reges tam sint continentes, multo magis consulares esse oportere. Nescis me ab illo omnia expiscatum: recta eum a porta domum meam venit: neque hoc admiror, quod non suam potius, sed illud, quod non ad suam;—ego autem tribus primis verbis. ‘Quid noster

1. *Tamen . . . discedis*] ‘So you are still at your tricks’: *tamen* ‘no matter what I say’; for its use in questions cp. Div. in Caecil. 21. *Tamen his invitissimis te offeres? tamen in aliena causa loquere? tamen eos defendes qui . . . ? tamen his operam tuam pollicebare qui . . .* For *malitia* in the sense of *esprit malin*, and so generally ‘shrewdness’, cp. Att. xv. 26, 4, also Plancus, Fam. x. 21, 3, *non malus homo*. The word *malitia* ought in this sense be brought to the aid of a corrupt passage in Att. xiii. 22, 4, where for *a quibus sine te opprimi militia est*. *Alteris* should be read *a quibus sine tua opprimi malitia! Est alteris*, ‘to think of my being pounced upon by them without your shrewdness to help me! There is in the other letter,’ &c. *Nisi tua malitia adfuisset* (Att. xv. 26, 4) is exactly parallel to *sine tua malitia*.

Tenuiculo apparatu] ‘a very poor spread.’

reges] a sneer at the Caesarians who have abolished the free state.

recta eum . . . venisse—neque . . . suam;—ego] We read *eum* for *enim* with the vetus codex of Lambinus. ‘Don’t you know that I have fished everything out of him; that he came straight from the gate to my door—and I don’t wonder at his not going to his own door, but at his not going to his own dear.’ Cicero is

not careful to abstain from insinuations against Balbus, in a letter to the festive Paetus: cp. Fam. ix. 17, 1 (480), *ex quo* (sc. Balbo) *vel ex sobrio vel certe ex ebrio scire posses*. Most edd. alter *venisse* to *venit*. The play of fancy which Cicero expressed by the omission of a preposition, we have to reproduce by a play on words. Mendelssohn (N. Jahrb. für Phil., 1891, p. 340) reads *sed illud quod non ut* (for *ad*) *suam*. ‘I do not wonder at his not going to his own house, but at his not treating my house as his own,’ and making himself quite at home there. It is a bitter sarcasm directed against the insolence which Cicero represents the Caesarians as displaying towards their opponents. He compares Off. iii. 58; Plaut. Most. iii. 2, 122, which passages, however, have no sarcastic reference. Also see Fam. xiii. 69, 1 (508), *consuevi huius domo et re uti tanquam mea*.

ego autem tribus primis verbis] sc. *dixi*. ‘Well the first three words I said were “what of Paetus?” and he in reply swore he had never enjoyed himself more.’ The expression *tria verba* is here used literally: cp. Cluent. 50, *accusabat autem ille quidem Scamandrum verbis tribus ‘Venenum esse deprehensum’*: but it is often used where we should say ‘a word or two’: cp. Plaut. Mil. iv. 2, 30; Trin. iv. 2, 121, *Heus, Pax, te tribus verbis volo*.

Paetus?' At ille adiurans, nusquam se umquam libentius. 2. Hoc si verbis adsecutus es, aures ad te adferam non minus elegantes: sin autem opsonio, peto a te, ne pluris esse balbos quam disertos putes. Me cotidie aliud ex alio impedit. Sed si me expediero, ut in ista loca venire possim, non committam ut te sero a me certiores factum putes.

CCCCLXXIX. CICERO TO L. PAPIRIUS PAETUS
(FAM. IX. 26).

ROME; AUGUST (?); A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero describit et excusat cenam Volumnii liberiores habitam accumbente Cytheride.

CICERO S. D. PAETO.

1. Accubueram hora nona, cum ad te harum exemplum in codicillis exaravi. Dices, ubi? apud Volumnium Eutrapelum et quidem supra me Atticus, infra Verrius, familiares tui. Miraris tam exhilaratam esse servitutem nostram? Quid ergo faciam? te consulo, qui philosophum audis. Angar? excruciem me? quid

Pind. Nem. vii. 70, τρία ἔπεα διακέσει. *Tertio quoque verbo* means 'at every second word.'

libentius] sc. *fuisse*.

2. *verbis . . . opsonio*] 'conversation . . . catering.'

non minus elegantes] 'no less refined.' Balbus does not appear to have been a very *spirituel*, or cultivated, companion.

balbos . . . disertos] Cicero cannot resist a play on a name: cp. for example Balbus and Gutta in Cluent. 71; on Rex in Att. i. 16, 10 (22). We do not know how to reproduce this play in English.

non committam] 'I shall take good care not to let you consider that I have given you insufficient notice.'

1. *Accubueram*] 'I have just taken my place at table at three o'clock, and am jotting down a copy of this letter in my note-book.' Cicero would afterwards copy the letter into *chartae*. These are epistolary tenses. For *exaravi* cp. Fam. xii. 20,

haec cum essem in senatu exaravi. For *codicilli* cp. note to Q. Fr. ii. 9 (11), 1 (132), and Ellis on Catull. xlii. 11. The ninth hour was the regular hour for dinner: cp. Mart. iv. 8, 6.

harum] Kl. inserts *litterarum*, but it is not necessary, cp. Fam. xi. 14, 3. *Scripsisti autem ad me iis quas Id. Maiis dedisti*.

supra . . . infra] Cicero occupied the middle seat on one of the dinner couches, cp. Hor. Sat. ii. 8, 20, and Palmer's note and diagram. For Verrius cp. Fam. ix. 20, 2 (475). Manutius supposes that he was Verrius Flaccus, who was skilled in pontifical law, and whose freedman was Verrius Flaccus the grammarian.

exhilaratam esse] 'had become so gay.'

philosophum audis] 'are having lessons from a philosopher,' viz. Dion the Epicurean.

Angar? excruciem me?] 'Am I to distress, to torture myself?' M² reads *excruciemne me*, though it is unusual, as Wesenberg (Em. Alt. 32) points out, to find the

adsequar? Deinde quem ad finem? Vivas, inquis, in litteris. An quidquam me aliud agere censes? aut possem vivere, nisi in litteris viverem? Sed est earum etiam non satietas, sed quidam modus. A quibus cum discessi, etsi minimum mihi est in cena—quod tu unum ζήτημα Dioni philosopho posuisti—, tamen quid potius faciam, prius quam me dormitum conferam, non reperio. 2. Audi reliqua. Infra Eutrapelum Cytheris accubuit. In eo igitur, inquis, convivio Cicero ille,

Quem aspectabant, cuius ob os Graii ora obvertebant sua?

Non, mehercule, suspicatus sum illam adfore: sed tamen ne Aristippus quidem ille Socraticus erubuit, cum esset obiectum habere eum Laida: 'Habeo,' inquit, 'non habeor [a Laide].' Graece hoc melius: tu, si voles, interpretabere. Me vero nihil istorum ne

interrogative with the second question, and not with the first. He proposes to omit -ne with M¹, and this is confirmed by the reading of H.

quem ad finem] 'how long?'

minimum mihi est in cena] 'I set very little store by my dinner—the one subject of inquiry you laid before Philosopher Dion.' This is explained below.

2. *Cytheris*] an actress, mistress of Volumnius, and afterwards of M. Antonius (Mayor on Phil. ii. 20 and 58), cp. Att. x. 10, 5 (395). From the present letter it would appear that she remained on friendly terms with Volumnius. Some commentators see an allusion to her in Fam. vii. 32, 2 (229), ἀκούθηρον, but this is not probable.

accubuit] 'quia meretrix: nam honestae mulieres sedebant,' Manutius: cp. Becker-Göll Gallus, iii. 377.

quem aspectabant] Ribbeck (Frag. Trag., p. 248) places this troch. tetr. cat. among the fragments (No. 50) of uncertain authorship, though he thinks that it may belong to the Eurysaces of Accius; others (e. g. Kühner) refer it to the Telamo of Ennius, cp. Tusc. iii. 39. The line before it was *Hic cine est ille Telamo modo quem gloria ad caelum extulit*.

Aristippus] The head of the Cyrenaic school. He held that the bodily pleasure of the moment (μονόχρονος ἡδονή) was the *summum bonum*, and that εὐδαιμονία was the sum of such pleasureable moments. Another definition of the τέλος which he gave was τὴν λείαν κίνησιν εἰς αἴσθησιν

ἀναδιδομένην: cp. Ritter and Preller, §§ 204, foll.

Habeo non habeor] ἔχω οὐκ ἔχομαι. Cicero says it is better in Greek, because *habeor* has not the force which ἔχομαι has of being closely attached to, clinging to (*inhaerere*). The Greek expression is something like our 'among them but not of them.' The Latin is quite different, *habeor* being distinctly passive. All relations sat lightly on Aristippus, cp. Diog. Laert. ii. 66, ἦν ἱκανὸς ἀρμόσασθαι καὶ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ καὶ προσώπῳ καὶ πᾶσαν περίστασιν ἀρμοδίως ὑποκρίνασθαι; Hor. Epp. i. 17, 23, *Omnis Aristippum decuit color et status et res Temptantem maiora fere praesentibus aequum*. He was not a slave to anything, not even to the love of the beautiful Lais. The point may, perhaps, be represented in English by some such turn as 'Lais is my mistress, but I am her master' (no slave to her).

a Laide] We have bracketed these words with Wesenberg (l. c.). If Cicero had expressed the name at all he would have said *habeo, inquit, Laida, non habeor ab illa*: and this is, perhaps, the correct rendering of the saying, for in Clem. Alexandr. Strom. ii. 411 C. (= vol. i., p. 490, ed. Pott.), it is ἔχω Λαῖδα καὶ οὐκ ἔχομαι ὑπ' αὐτῆς. Lais was a celebrated courtesan of Corinth. Diog. Laertius (ii. 84) tells us that Aristippus dedicated two books to her.

interpretabere] 'give a rendering of it.' Cicero is not at all satisfied with the rough and ready version *habeo non habeor*.

iuvenem quidem movit umquam, ne nunc senem. Convivio delector: ibi loquor, quod in solum, ut dicitur, et gemitum in risus maximos transfero. 3. An tu id melius, qui etiam philosophum irriseris, qui cum ille, si quis quid quaereret, dixisset, cenam te quaerere a mane dixeris? Ille baro te putabat quaesiturum, unum caelum esset an innumerabilia. Quid *id* ad te? At hercule cena num quid ad te, ibi praesertim? 4. Sic igitur vivitur: cotidie aliquid legitur aut scribitur: dein, ne amicis nihil tribuamus, epulamur una, non modo non contra legem, si ulla

quod in solum] 'whatever crops up.' On N. D. i. 65, Professor Mayor translates 'turns up' 'is brought on the tapis,' adding that the origin of the phrase is doubtful. Manutius thinks it refers to chance-grown weeds (*solum* = ground): but Professor Mayor, suggesting that *solum* would refer rather to what comes from above than from below, would connect it with the legal *res soli*. Dr. Reid thinks the phrase may mean what meets the foot (*solum*), comparing τὰ ἐν ποσὶ and like expressions.

3. *qui cum ille*] So we read after a suggestion of Wesenberg (l. c.). He also proposed *cum, cum ille*: but Cicero avoids this ill-sounding collocation (see Lehmann, p. 107).

si quis quid quaereret] So H, while M has *quidquid*. But we do not think that Cicero would use *quidquid* indefinitely, though it is found in legal expressions, e. g. Liv. xli. 8, 10; Ulpian Dig. 47, 5, 1, pr.

Ille baro] 'Mr. Dryasdust thought that you wanted to make the subject of your inquiry whether there was one heaven or countless heavens.' We cannot profess any certainty as to what the joke was. It is barely possible that Mr. Dryasdust did not quite catch what Paetus said, and thought that instead of *Egomet cenam a mane quaero*, 'I have been inquiring after a dinner from early morning,' he had said, *Egomet caelumne immane quaero*, 'My question is, are the heavens of enormous magnitude?' That there were countless worlds in infinite space was an Epicurean doctrine, cp. N. D. i. 53, 67, 96, &c. *Barones* appears to have been a contemptuous name given to the Epicurean philosophers, cp. Att. v. 11. 6 (200), *Apud Patronem et barones te maxima in gratia posui*. It is, doubtless, from the same root as βάρυς (Vaniček, p. 217) in spite of the difference of quantity, cp. *Brutus*: for other deriva-

tions see Conington on Pers. v. 138. Cicero uses the word elsewhere: Fin. ii. 76; De Div. ii. 144.

Quid id ad te? . . . praesertim] We give the ordinary reading (which is that of M, with the exception of *num* for *non*, and *ibi* for *tibi*), though it can hardly be right. 'What is that question to you (sc. about the infinity of worlds). But, good gracious, the question of dinner—surely it cannot concern you? at Naples, too?' Cicero means that in that luxurious and fashionable region where Paetus has so many friends he must have plenty of invitations. Wesenberg (l. c.) objects to this reading that there is no opposition in *At*, and that *ibi* ought to be *istic*: but Cicero is probably thinking of Naples as fashionable Naples, and not as the place where Paetus is living. Wesenberg supposes that *quid ad te* has been repeated, and ejected the right reading, which was *cena non negligenda*, or something of the kind. H reads *Quid ad te hercule cena? Num quid ad te praesertim?* which would appear to mean (if it has any meaning), 'What is a dinner to you? Surely it cannot be anything to you of all men in the world.' Mendelssohn (N. Jahrb. für Phil., 1891, p. 341) thinks that some Greek words are lost and suggests '*Quid ad te?*' *At hercule γύναϊον προσκοπή, tibi praesertim!* 'You laugh at the philosopher and want to know what he and his opinions can have to say to me; but you think my dining with a woman like Cytheris, a stone of stumbling, and are offended at it, you of all men in the world, a disciple of Epicurus.' The passage we fear still needs correction and explanation. Mendelssohn himself says, '*ipsum illud vocabulum Graecum non posui nisi exempli causa.*'

4. *Sic igitur vivitur*] 'This, then, is the way my life goes.'

nunc lex est, sed etiam intra legem et quidem aliquanto. Quare nihil est quod adventum nostrum extimescas. Non multi cibi hospitem accipies, multi ioci.

CCCCLXXX. CICERO TO L. PAPIRIUS PAETUS
(FAM. IX. 17).

ROME; AUGUST; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

Cum C. Caesar militibus agros adsignaturus esse diceretur, verebatur L. Papirius Paetus ne ad suos quoque agros res spectaret.

CICERO L. PAPIRIO PAETO.

1. Non tu homo ridiculus es, qui, cum Balbus noster apud te fuerit, ex me quaeras quid de istis municipiis et agris futurum putem? quasi aut ego quidquam sciam quod iste nesciat aut, si quid aliquando scio, non ex isto soleam scire. Immo vero, si me amas, tu fac ut sciam quid de nobis futurum sit: habuisti enim in tua potestate, ex quo vel ex sobrio vel certe ex ebrio scire posses. Sed ego ista, mi Paete, non quaero: primum quia de lucro prope

intra legem] 'within the law, and, indeed, well within it.' The reference is to the sumptuary law of Julius Caesar passed in this year, 708 (46), cp. Fam. ix. 15, 5 (481), which, among other provisions, 'restricted the liberty of buying certain dainties. A strict watch was kept on the markets, and sometimes dishes which had been already set on the table were forcibly removed by Caesar's orders' (Watson, p. 490). The *Lex Sumptuaria* of Fam. vii. 26, 2 (94) was the Aemilian law of 639 (115).

Non multi cibi, multi ioci] For this genitive of belonging cp. Rosc. Am. 6 *plurimarum palmarum gladiator*: Fam. vii. 1, 2 (127), *ludi . . . non tui stomachi*. For the asyndeton after *non* see Wesenberg (Em. Alt. 32), who compares Fam. viii. 8, 3 (223), *in tabulas absolutum non retulit, ordinum iudicia perscripsit*; iv. 13, 4 (483), *non attingam, tibi totam relinquam*; Cluent. 39.

1. *Non tu*] Mr. Watson defends *non* by Rosc. Com. 5, *adversaria proferre non*

amentia est? Gronovius, followed by Wesenberg, alters to *Ne* 'in truth,' putting a comma at *putem*.

Balbus] cp. Fam. ix. 19, 1 (478).

istis municipiis et agris] Paetus was afraid that Caesar would confiscate private lands near Naples, and make assignments of them to his soldiers and partisans: but Caesar did not do so, cp. Appian, Bell. Civ. ii. 94, οὐ καθάπερ Σύλλας ἀφαιρούμενος ἐτέρων ἢν ἔχουσι καὶ τοῖς ἀφαιρεθεῖσι τοὺς λαβόντας συνοικίζων καὶ ποιῶν ἀλλήλοις εἰσαεὶ πολέμιους. The lands Caesar assigned to his followers were always public lands.

ebrio] cp. note to Fam. ix. 19, 2 (478). Mr. Watson cruelly suggests that the pains in his legs from which Balbus suffered may have been due to excess of this nature.

de lucro] *Lucrum* is properly that gain which is unexpected, unearned, and on which one had no right to reckon. There was, generally, a heading in account books for *lucrum*. Cicero means that he had no right during the last four

iam quadriennium vivimus, si aut hoc lucrum est aut haec vita, superstitem rei publicae vivere, deinde quod scire *ego* quoque mihi videor quid futurum sit. Fiet enim, quodcumque volent, qui valebunt, valebunt autem semper arma. Satis igitur nobis esse debet, quidquid conceditur: hoc si qui pati non potuit, mori debuit. 2. Veientem quidem agrum et Capenatem metiuntur: hoc non longe abest a Tusculano. Nihil tamen timeo: fruor dum licet: opto ut semper liceat. Si id minus contigerit, tamen, quoniam ego vir fortis idemque philosophus vivere pulcherrimum duxi, non possum eum non diligere, cuius beneficio id consecutus sum. Qui si cupiat esse rem publicam, qualem fortasse et ille vult et omnes optare debemus, quo id faciat tamen non habet: ita se cum multis colligavit. 3. Sed longius progredior: scribo enim ad te. Hoc tamen scito, non modo me, qui consiliis non intersum, sed ne ipsum quidem principem scire quid futurum sit. Nos enim illi servimus, ipse temporibus: ita nec ille quid tempora postulatura sint nec nos quid ille cogitet scire possumus. Haec tibi antea non rescripsi, non quo cessator esse solerem, praesertim in litteris, sed cum explorati nihil haberem, nec tibi sollicitudinem ex dubitatione mea nec spem ex adfirmatione adferre volui. Illud tamen ascribam, quod est verissimum, me his temporibus adhuc de isto periculo nihil audisse. Tu tamen pro tua sapientia debebis optare optima, cogitare difficillima, ferre quaecumque erunt.

years to reckon even on his life, as it was at the mercy of Caesar: cp. Hor. Carm. i. 9, 14, *Quem Fors dierum cunque dabit lucro Appone*.

2. *metiuntur*] 'are surveying' for assignments of land.

vir fortis idemque philosophus] irony. In his cool and cynical moments Cicero chose to see himself as his enemies saw him.

pulcherrimum] κάλλιστον, 'man's noblest aim.'

quo id faciat tamen non habet] The MSS read *quid*, 'he does not know what to

do.' But his aim is given already, viz. to restore the free state; the question is how to do it: so we venture to read *quo id*.

3. *non modo*] = *non modo non*, as both clauses have the same predicate and *ne quidem* is in the second clause.

nec tibi . . . volui] 'and I did not wish to cause you anxiety by a hesitating assertion, or hope by a positive one.'

optare . . . erunt] An almost exact Latin version of our homely piece of proverbial philosophy, 'Hope for the best, expect the worst, and be ready for whatever turns up.'

CCCCLXXXI. CICERO TO L. PAPIRIUS PAETUS
(FAM. IX. 15).

ROME; SEPTEMBER (?); A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero L. Papirio Paeto ad duas epistolas respondet, priori de valetudine et de illius in se amore ac iucunditate, alterius nihil referre, utrum Romae sit an Neapoli, nam Romae unius nutu regantur omnia.

CICERO PAETO S.

1. Duabus tuis epistolis respondebo: uni, quam quadriduo ante acceperam a Zetho: alteri, quam attulerat Phileros tabellarius. Ex prioribus tuis litteris intellexi pergratam tibi esse curam meam valetudinis tuae animumque erga te meum quem tibi perspectum esse gaudeo. Sed, mihi crede, non perinde, ut est reapse, ex litteris perspicere potuisti. Nam cum a satis multis—non enim possum aliter dicere—et coli me videam et diligere, nemo est illorum omnium mihi te iucundior. Nam quod me amas, quod id et iampridem et constanter facis, est id quidem magnum atque haud scio an maximum, sed tibi commune cum multis: quod tu ipse tam amandus es tamque dulcis tamque in omni genere iucundus, id est proprie tuum. 2. Accedunt non Attici, sed salsiores, quam illi Atticorum, Romani veteres atque urbani sales. Ego autem—existimes licet quod libet—mirifice capior facetiis, maxime nostratibus, praesertim cum eas videam primum oblitas Latio tum, cum in urbem nostram est infusa peregrinitas, nunc vero etiam

1. *Zetho*] We do not know who he was. Bill. says he was a freedman of Atticus.

esse curam . . . meum] This is not found in M, but is an old addition from Crat. and Lambinus. H reads it in part, having *pergratam tibi curam meam valetudinis tuae quam tibi perspectam esse gaudeo*, a passage too which in the alteration of *quem* into *quam*, and of *perspectum* into *perspectam*, shows that the copyist of H had some knowledge of Latin.

atque] 'or rather,' cp. Off. i. 33,

Est enim ulciscendi et puniendi modus, atque haud scio an satis sit cum qui laceraverit iniuriae suae paenitere.

2. *Accedunt non Attici . . . sales*] 'You have besides a style of wit not Attic, but more pungent than that of the Attic writers—the fine old wit of the City of Rome.'

oblitas Latio] 'Smirched by Latinism (lit. Latium), when the stream of provinciality flowed into our city.' Hirschfeld thinks that we should read *luto*. Madvig (Adv. Crit. iii. 165) reads *Lati*, and translates 'have forgotten Latium.'

bracatis et Transalpinis nationibus, ut nullum veteris leporis vestigium appareat. Itaque, te cum video, omnes mihi Granios, omnes Lucilios, vere ut dicam, Crassos quoque et Laelios videre videor. Moriar, si praeter te quemquam reliquum habeo in quo possim imaginem antiquae et vernaculae festivitatis agnoscere. Ad hos lepores cum amor erga me tantus accedat, miraris me tanta perturbatione valetudinis tuae tam graviter exanimatum fuisse? 3. Quod autem altera epistola purgas te non dissuasorem mihi emptionis Neapolitanae fuisse, sed auctorem moderationis, urbane, neque ego aliter accepi: intellexi tamen idem, quod his intellego litteris, non existimasse te mihi licere id, quod ego arbitrabar, res has non omnino quidem, sed magnam partem relinquere. Catulum mihi narras et illa tempora. Quid simile? ne mihi quidem ipsi tunc placebat diutius abesse ab rei publicae custodia. Sedebamus enim in puppi et clavum tenebamus: nunc autem vix est in sentina locus. 4. An minus multa senatus consulta futura putas, si ego sim Neapoli? Romae cum sum et urgeo forum, senatus consulta scribuntur apud amatorem tuum,

bracatis] The Gauls of the province of Narbonensis were called *bracati* in opposition to the Gauls of North Italy, who were *togati*, and the Gauls of North Gaul, who were called *comati*; cp. Plin. H. N. iv. 105. Catull. xxix. 3. Mommsen R. H. iv. 215.

leporis] 'liveliness.'

Granios] Cp. De Orat. ii. 244, *Granio quidem nemo dicacior* and Att. vii. 3, 7 (264). The Lucilius here referred to was the poet. For Crassus as a wit, cp. De Orat. ii. 222, 264, and elsewhere. For Laelius, cp. De Orat. ii. 286, and Wilkins' note; also Muren 66. Hor. Sat. ii. 1, 65 ff.

antiquae festivitatis] 'Our good old racy jocularity.' For *vernaculae*, 'indigenous,' 'native,' Bill. compares Att. vii. 2, 3 (293), *αὐτόχθων* in *homine urbanitas est*, and Brut. 172, *Tincam non minus multa ridicule dicentem Granius obruebat nescio quo sapore vernaculo*.

3. *Quod autem . . . relinquere*] We have adopted the reading suggested by Madvig, Fin. p. 806, and adopted by Wesenberg. With *urbane* supply *te purgas* or some idea such as *mones* taken out of those words. 'For as to your apology in another letter that you never urged me not to buy the house at Naples,

but only to live in a quieter manner, that is a graceful way of putting it, and I did not take it up otherwise. However, I understood what I now understand from your present letter that you are of opinion that I cannot do what I thought I could, viz. abandon politics, not of course entirely, but to a considerable degree.' For *moderationis urbanae* Manutius or Lambinus proposed *commorationis urbanae* 'living in the city.'

Catulum] Paetus had probably adduced Catulus as an example of a good citizen, who never shrank from politics, but struggled on till his death against the rising democracy. But the times are very different, says Cicero; then I was so not disposed to leave the political arena, that I refused to take a province.

narras] cp. note to Fam. ix. 16, 7 (472).

sentina] 'hold' of a ship, where the bilge-water lodged. Something parallel to this is Sall. Cat. 37. 5, *hi Romam sicuti in sentinam confluxerunt*, where see Kritz; cp. De Sen. 17.

4. *urgeo forum*] 'and am incessantly in the Courts,' 'am in the midst of public affairs:' cp. Hor. Carm. ii. 10, 1, *altum semper urgendo*.

familiarem meum. Et quidem, cum in mentem venit, ponor ad scribendum et ante audio senatus consultum in Armeniam et Syriam esse perlatum, quod in meam sententiam factum esse dicatur, quam omnino mentionem ullam de ea re esse factam. Atque hoc nolim me iocari putes: nam mihi scito iam a regibus ultimis adlatas esse litteras, quibus mihi gratias agant, quod se mea sententia reges appellaverim, quos ego non modo reges appellatos, sed omnino natos nesciebam. 5. Quid ergo est? Tamen, quamdiu hic erit noster hic praefectus moribus, parebo auctoritati tuae: cum vero aberit, ad fungos me tuos conferam. Domum si habebo, in denos dies singulos sumptuariae legis dies conferam. Sin autem minus invenero, quod placeat, decrevi habitare apud te: scio enim me nihil tibi gratius facere posse. Domum Sullanam desperabam iam, ut tibi proxime scripsi, sed tamen non abieci. Tu velim, ut scribis, cum fabris eam perspicias. Si enim nihil est in parietibus aut in tecto vitii, cetera mihi probabuntur.

ponor ad scribendum] 'I am put down as signing the decrees.' The technical expression for putting one's name on a *senatus consultum* was *esse ad scribendum*, Att. i. 19, 9 (25), cp. Willems *Le Sénat*, ii. 208. This passage is interesting, as showing the unblushing character of forgery at Rome. With it we may compare Sull. 40, on which passage Dr. Reid quotes Pro Domo 50, where it is stated that, in the law under which Clodius succeeded in effecting the banishment of Cicero, one of the reasons assigned was that Cicero had forged a decree of the senate.

5. *Quid ergo est?*] 'What then is to be done?' cp. Petron, § 129.

praefectus moribus] This is a sneer at the new office which the servile senate

had given Caesar. After his African victories they had made him *praefectus moribus* for three years (τῶν τρόπων τῶν ἐκάστου ἐπιστάτην, Dio xliii. 14, 4). For Caesar's sumptuary law of this year, cp. Fam. ix. 26, 4 (479).

in denos dies] 'I shall spend on every ten days' housekeeping what the sumptuary law allows for one day.'

Domum Sullanam] Sulla's mansion at Naples. For the adj., cp. Att. i. 6, 1 (2) *domum Rabirianam*. This Sulla is probably the nephew of the Dictator, and the client for whom Cicero spoke in 692 (62). Cicero does not appear to have been on very good terms with him after the trial: see Reid, Sull. p. 27, who quotes Fam. ix. 10, 3 (537). *De P. Sullae morte . . . ego ceteroqui animo aequo fero.*

CCCCLXXXII. CICERO TO P. SERVILIUS ISAURICUS
(FAM. XIII. 68).

ROME ; SEPTEMBER ; A. U. C. 708 ; B. C. 46 ; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero P. Servilio Isaurico de litteris ad se datis gratias agit, petit ut de provinciae statu scribat, sua officia promittit.

M. TULLIUS CICERO P. SERVILIO ISAURICO PROCOS. COLLEGAE
S. PLURIMAM.

1. Gratae mihi vehementer tuae litterae fuerunt, ex quibus cognovi cursus navigationum tuarum. Significabas enim memoriam tuam nostrae necessitudinis, qua mihi nihil poterat esse iucundius. Quod reliquum est, multo etiam erit gratius, si ad me de re publica, id est, de statu provinciae, de institutis tuis familiariter scribes. Quae quamquam ex multis pro tua claritate audiam, tamen libentissime ex tuis litteris cognoscam. 2. Ego ad te de re publica summa quid sentiam non saepe scribam propter periculum eius modi litterarum. Quid agatur autem scribam saepius. Sperare tamen videor Caesari collegae nostro fore curae et esse ut habeamus aliquam rem publicam: cuius consiliis magni referebat te interesse. Sed si tibi utilius est, id est, gloriosius, Asiae praeesse et istam partem rei publicae male adfectam tueri, mihi quoque idem, quod tibi et laudi tuae profuturum est, optatius debet esse. 3. Ego quae ad tuam dignitatem pertinere arbitrabor summo studio diligentiaque curabo, in primisque tuebor omni observantia clarissimum virum, patrem tuum, quod et pro vetustate necessitudinis et pro beneficiis vestris et pro dignitate ipsius debeo.

PROCOS.] This Servilius was consul with Caesar in 706 (48), and after that obtained the pro-consulship of Asia. For his Life, see Introduction.

COLLEGAE] Cicero, Servilius, and Caesar (§ 2) were all colleagues in the College of Augurs.

2. *utilius, id est, gloriosius*] 'it tends more to your advantage, that is, to your renown'—a very graceful compliment.

male adfectam] 'in evil plight'—probably because Asia had suffered grievously in the Civil War, and it would require rare qualities in a governor to restore it to its former prosperity.

3. *patrem tuum*] He had been consul in 674 (80), i.e. 34 years before this.

vetustate necessitudinis] 'a connexion of old standing': cp. note to Fam. xiii. 32.

CCCCLXXXIII. CICERO TO NIGIDIUS FIGULUS
(FAM. IV. 13).

ROME; AUGUST OR SEPTEMBER; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

P. Nigidium Figulum exsulantem suo ipsius exemplo consolatur M. Cicero eique spem reditus ostendit.

M. CICERO S. D. P. FIGULO.

1. Quaerenti mihi iam diu quid ad te potissimum scriberem non modo certa res nulla, sed ne genus quidem litterarum usitatum veniebat in mentem. Unam enim partem et consuetudinem earum epistolarum, quibus secundis rebus uti solebamus, tempus eripuerat perfeceratque fortuna, ne quid tale scribere possem aut omnino cogitare. Relinquebatur triste quoddam et miserum et his temporibus consentaneum genus litterarum: id quoque deficiebat me, in quo debebat esse aut promissio auxilii alicuius aut consolatio doloris tui. Quod pollicerer non erat: ipse enim pari fortuna abiectus aliorum opibus casus meos sustentabam, saepiusque mihi veniebat in mentem queri quod ita viverem quam gaudere quod viverem. 2. Quamquam enim nulla me ipsum privatim pepulit insignis iniuria nec mihi quidquam tali tempore in mentem venit optare quod non ultro mihi Caesar detulerit, tamen nihilominus conficior curis, ut ipsum, quod maneam in vita,

For an account of Nigidius Figulus, see Introduction.

1. *Unam . . . solebamus*] 'One of the ordinary subjects of correspondence which we used to adopt in our prosperity'; i. e. jokes: cp. Fam. ii. 4, 1 (175) for the three different kinds of letters which are usually written, viz. those consisting of news, of jokes, and of serious and grave subjects. Even of the different kinds of letters of consolation, viz. those which promise something, and those which merely condole, the latter alone can now be written.

Quod pollicerer] Though the mss give *quid*, we must undoubtedly read *quod*, as do most editors since Orelli. Wesenberg (Em. 55) says—'Formulae non est, decet in quibus nulla dubitatio aut deliberatio inesse potest interrogativum nullo modo

admittunt.'

2. *nec mihi . . . detulerit*] Hofmann says that this means that Cicero's wishes were so moderate, and he adapted himself so well to his circumstances, that what Caesar offered quite satisfied him; and Cicero elsewhere, e. g. Fam. ix. 17, 1 (480), does say that he considers any favour as so much gain. But the more obvious sense, though a slight exaggeration, suits the antithesis of the sentence better. 'Though I have all externals that I could wish, spontaneously granted too by Caesar, I am tortured in mind by the shame of being alive.'

tamen nihilominus] For the redundancy: cp. Cluent. 76, Fam. xiii. 15, 2 (571). For the reading see Adn. Crit. Klotz reads *multis* for *nihil*.

ipsum . . . peccare] For the cognate

peccare me existimem. Careo enim cum familiarissimis multis, quos aut mors eripuit nobis aut distraxit fuga, tum omnibus amicis, quorum benevolentiam nobis conciliarat per me quondam te socio defensa res publica, versorque in eorum naufragiis et bonorum direptionibus, nec audio solum, quod ipsum esset miserum, sed etiam id ipsum video, quo nihil est acerbius, eorum fortunas dissipari, quibus nos olim adiutoribus illud incendium exstinxi-mus, et, in qua urbe modo gratia, auctoritate, gloria floruimus, in ea nunc his quidem omnibus caremus. Obtinemus ipsius Caesaris summam erga nos humanitatem : sed ea plus non potest quam vis et mutatio omnium rerum atque temporum. 3. Itaque orbus iis rebus omnibus, quibus et natura me et voluntas et consuetudo adsuefecerat, cum ceteris, ut quidem videor, tum mihi ipse displiceo. Natus enim ad agendum semper aliquid dignum viro, nunc non modo agendi rationem nullam habeo, sed ne cogitandi quidem, et qui antea aut obscuris hominibus aut etiam sontibus opitulari poteram, nunc P. Nigidio, uni omnium doctissimo et sanctissimo et maxima quondam gratia et mihi certe amicissimo, ne benigne quidem polliceri possum. Ergo hoc ereptum est litterarum genus. 4. Reliquum est ut consoler et adferam rationes, quibus te a molestiis coner abducere. At ea quidem facultas vel tui vel alterius consolandi in te summa est, si umquam in ullo fuit. Itaque eam partem, quae ab exquisita quadam ratione et doctrina proficiscitur, non attingam, tibi totam relinquam. Quid sit forti et sapienti homine dignum, quid gravitas, quid altitudo animi, quid acta tua vita, quid studia, quid artes, quibus a pueritia floruisti, a te flagitent tu videbis. Ego, quod intellegere et sentire, quia sum Romae et quia curo attendoque, possum, id tibi adfirmo : te in istis molestiis in quibus es hoc tempore, non diutius futurum : in iis autem, in quibus etiam nos sumus, fortasse semper fore. 5. Videor mihi perspicere primum ipsius animum, qui plurimum potest, propensum ad salutem tuam.

accusative where we should expect another case, Boeckel compares Fam. vi. 8, 2 (527), *quid sim auctor*.

video, quo nihil est acerbius] cp. Fam. vi. 1, 1 (538).

incendium] i. e. the Catilinarian conspiracy. Nigidius had helped Cicero during that crisis (Sull. 42).

3. *nunc non modo . . . quidem*] 'now I have not only no idea what to do, but not even an idea what to think.'

4. *facultas*] 'gift.'

quae . . . proficiscitur] hendiadys : 'arising from any recondite system of philosophy' : cp. the account of Figulus in the Introduction.

Non scribo hoc temere. Quo minus familiaris sum, hoc sum ad investigandum curiosior. Quo facilius quibus est iratior respondere tristius possit, hoc est adhuc tardior ad te molestia liberandum. Familiares vero eius, et ii quidem, qui illi iucundissimi sunt, mirabiliter de te et loquuntur et sentiunt. Accedit eodem vulgi voluntas vel potius consensus omnium. Etiam illa, quae minimum nunc quidem potest, sed *postea multum* possit necesse est, res publica, quascumque vires habebit, ab iis ipsis, a quibus tenetur, de te propediem, mihi crede, impetrabit. 6. Redeo igitur ad id, ut iam tibi etiam pollicear aliquid, quod primo omiseram. Nam et complectar eius familiarissimos, qui me admodum diligunt multumque mecum sunt, et in ipsius consuetudinem, quam adhuc meus pudor mihi clausit, insinuabo et certe omnes vias persequar, quibus putabo ad id, quod volumus, pervenire posse. In hoc toto genere plura faciam quam scribere audeo. Ceteraque, quae tibi a multis prompta esse certo scio, a me sunt paratissima: nihil in re familiari mea est quod ego meum malim esse quam tuum. Hac de re et de hoc genere toto hoc scribo parcius, quod te id, quod ipse confido, sperare malo, te esse usurum tuis. 7. Extremum illud est, ut te orem et obsecrem, animo ut maximo sis nec ea solum memineris, quae ab aliis magnis viris accepisti, sed illa etiam, quae ipse ingenio studioque peperisti. Quae si colliges, et sperabis omnia optime et quae accident, qualiacumque erunt, sapienter feres. Sed haec tu melius vel

5. Quo facilius . . . liberandum] cp. Fam. vi. 6, 9 (488); 13, 3 (489).

tristius] Dr. Reid notices on Sen. 67 that this adverb has no positive in prose. *Tristius* goes closely with *respondere*, 'to give an unfavourable reply to.'

Etiam illa impetrabit] 'even the free State itself, which now indeed has the smallest influence, but afterwards must have much influence, with all its force will ensure your success with those by whom it is now held down, and that, believe me, speedily.' We have added *postea multum*, which is something like the words that have been omitted. Something is required as an antithesis to *nunc*, and *possum* cannot be used in classical prose without an adjective or adverb in the sense of 'having influence.' Wesenberg supplies *plus iam*, which gives the same sense, but does not so well account for the corruption. *Quascumque vires habebit*

would be more fully expressed by *omnibus viribus quascumque habebit*. In the MSS *a* is omitted before *quibus*, but it must be supplied; it could be omitted only if the verb in both clauses were the same: cp. note to Q. Fr. i. 4, 4 (72), and Mayor on Phil. ii. 26.

6. *insinuabo*] Many editors insert *me* before *consuetudinem* or *insinuabo*; but there is no necessity to do so, as the verb is used both transitively and intransitively: cp. Att. ii. 34, 2 (51); De Orat. i. 90, ii. 149; Liv. xl. 37, 4; Verg. Aen. ii. 228; also Schmalz, *Antibarbarus* i. 690-1, and Lehmann, pp. 18-19.

putabo . . . pervenire posse] For omitted cp. Att. xi. 12, 1 (427), *mandavi non potuisse*.

7. *Sed haec tu melius*] sc. *nosti*. Hofmann compares Att. vii. 3, 5 (294), *vos scilicet plura, qui in urbe estis*. Add Fam. ix. 2, 5 (461).

optime omnium. Ego, quae pertinere ad te intellegam, studiosissimo omnia diligentissimeque curabo tuorumque tristissimo meo tempore meritorum erga me memoriam conservabo.

CCCCLXXXIV. CICERO TO GNAEUS PLANCIUS
(FAM. IV. 15).

ROME; SEPTEMBER; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

Hortatur M. Cicero Cn. Plancium, ut neve propriam sibi fortunam postulet neve communem omnium recuset.

M. CICERO S. D. CN. PLANCIO.

1. Accepi perbreves tuas litteras, quibus id, quod scire cupiebam, cognoscere non potui, cognovi autem id, quod mihi dubium non fuit. Nam quam fortiter ferres communes miserias non intellexi: quam me amares facile perspexi, sed hoc scieram: illud si scissem, ad id meas litteras accommodavissem. 2. Sed tamen etsi antea scripsi quae existimavi scribi oportere, tamen hoc *te* tempore breviter commonendum putavi, ne quo *in* periculo te proprio existimares esse: in magno omnes, sed tamen in communi sumus. Quare non debes aut propriam fortunam et praecipuam postulare aut communem recusare. Quapropter eo animo simus inter nos, quo semper fuimus: quod de te sperare, de me praestare possum.

This was the Cn. Plancius whom Cicero defended in 700 (54). It would appear that Plancius wrote a somewhat peevish letter to Cicero, in which, while professing most unbounded affection for him, he, in a jealous strain, contrasted his own hard lot of exile with the fortunate condition of Cicero, who was now living at Rome, and had been received into favour by Caesar. He may have added something bitter, to the effect that the great disparity of their fortunes now, of course, precluded any continuance of their friendship. If we suppose this, Cicero's reply is a masterpiece of quiet and severe rebuke.

1. *Nam quam fortiter*] 'for I failed to perceive your fortitude under the calamities which befel us all.'

scieram] We retain the reading of M, which is quite intelligible ('I had known this long ago'), in preference to *sciebam* of Lambinus.

2. *hoc te tempore*] Wesenberg (Em. Alt. 10) justly adds *te* before *tempore* where it easily fell out. For this position of the personal pronoun he compares in the next line *periculo te proprio*; also Fam. iv. 9, 1 (487), *quo te animo*. Lambinus added *te* after *breviter*; but there is less reason for its having been omitted if originally in that place, than if it were before *tempore*.

ne quo in periculo] We must add *in*. The ablative of quality could not be used of a transient state of external condition: cp. note to Fam. viii. 2, 1 (196), ix. 21, 2 (497).

in magno . . . recusare] 'we are all in great danger, but yet it is a danger in which we all share. Wherefore you ought not to demand for yourself any special or peculiar position, or refuse to partake in that lot which has fallen to the share of us all.'

CCCCLXXXV. CICERO TO M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS
(FAM. IV. 8).

ROME; SEPTEMBER; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

Collaudata M. Marcelli prudentia Cicero tamen rursus suadet, ut domum ad suos revertendi consilium capiat, et sua officia promittit.

M. CICERO S. D. M. MARCELLO.

1. Neque monere te audeo praestanti prudentia virum nec confirmare maximi animi hominem unumque fortissimum, consolari vero nullo modo. Nam si ea, quae acciderunt, ita fers, ut audio, gratulari magis virtuti debeo quam consolari dolorem tuum: sin te tanta mala rei publicae frangunt, non ita abundo ingenio, ut te consoler, cum ipse me non possim. Reliquum est igitur, ut tibi me in omni re eum praebeam praestemque et ad omnia, quae tui velint, ita sim praesto, ut me non solum omnia debere tua causa *quae possim in tua causa*, sed etiam quae non possim, putem.

2. Illud tamen vel tu me monuisse vel censuisse puta vel propter benevolentiam tacere non potuisse, ut, quod ego facio, tu quoque animum inducas, si sit aliqua res publica, in ea te esse oportere iudicio hominum reque principem, necessitate cedentem tempori: sin autem nulla sit, hunc tamen aptissimum esse etiam ad exsu-

1. *Reliquum . . . tempori*] 'what remains then is that I should show my present and guarantee my future devotion and readiness for all the requirements of your supporters as one should show himself who thinks as I do, that I owe you not merely all the services which are in my power, but even those that are beyond my power. Nevertheless, you should consider that this is my—shall I call it advice or opinion, or something which I cannot, as your friend, suppress, namely, that, just as I am doing myself, you too should make up your mind to this, that if there is anything of a free State you should belong to it as its first man (for all men think you to be so, and it is the case) and that you should yield perforce to the times.'

ut me non solum . . . putem]. The text is due to Lehmann (p. 57). The

mss omit *quae possim in tua causa*. He shows that Cicero often uses *causa* in two different senses within the limits of a single sentence: cp. Fam. vii. 24, 2. *Phameae causam receperam ipsius quidem causa*; Att. vii. 3, 5 (294), *causam solam illa causa non habet*; Rosc. Am. 149, *causam mihi tradidit quam sua causa cupere ac debere intellegebat*. This reading of Lehmann's accounts so well for the corruption that we have adopted it. It is no doubt a somewhat violent addition; but the other remedies which have been proposed are no less drastic. Mendelssohn (N. Jahrb. für Phil., 1891, p. 73) reads *ut me non solum omnia CUPERE tua causa, sed AUSURUM quoque, etiam quae non possim, putent*.

2. *ut, quod*] *ut* is explanatory of *illud*. *sin autem nulla sit . . . locum*] For the sentiment: cp. Fam. vii. 3, 4 (464),

landum locum. Si enim libertatem sequimur, qui locus hoc dominatu vacat? sin qualemcumque locum, quae est domestica sede iucundior? Sed mihi crede, etiam is, qui omnia tenet, favet ingeniis: nobilitatem vero et dignitates hominum, quantum ei res et ipsius causa concedit, amplectitur. Sed plura quam statueram. Redeo ergo ad unum illud, me tuum esse, fore cum tuis, si modo erunt tui: si minus, me certe in omnibus rebus satis nostrae coniunctioni amorique facturum. Vale.

CCCCCLXXXVI. CICERO TO M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS
(FAM. IV. 7).

ROME; SEPTEMBER; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

Laudat M. Marcelli prudentiam, qui perpetuo a patria abesse constituerat, sed hortatur tamen ut redeat in patriam, quod et veniam redeundi a Caesare impetrare facile sit et domi apud suos melius quam extra patriam vivere possit.

M. CICERO S. D. M. MARCELLO.

1. Etsi eo te adhuc consilio usum intellego, ut id reprehendere non audeam, non quin ab eo ipse dissentiam, sed quod ea te sapientia esse iudicem, ut meum consilium non anteponam tuo, tamen et amicitiae nostrae vetustas et tua summa erga me benevolentia, quae mihi iam a pueritia tua cognita est, me hortata est, ut ea scriberem ad te, quae et saluti tuae conducere arbitrarer et non

Veni domum, non quo optima vivendi condicio esset, sed tamen si esset aliqua forma reipublicae, tanquam in patria ut essem, sin nulla, tanquam in exsilio.

sin qualemcumque locum] sc. *sequimur*. Translate 'but if one place is as good as another.' For this indefinite use of *qualiscunque* cp. Att. ix. 6, 4 (360), *cum Pompeio qualicunque consilio uso*. Schmalz (Antib. ii. 397) notices that in this sense *qualiscunque* always precedes its noun.

amplectitur] 'favours' 'is devoted to': cp. Fam. vi. 6, 13 (488).

plura]. sc. *scripsi*.

si modo erunt tui] cp. note to Fam. iv. 7, 6 (486). Marcellus himself says in Fam.

iv. 11, 2 (496) *quod in summa paucitate amicorum propinquorum ac necessariorum qui vere meae saluti faverent.*

satis . . . facturum] 'will satisfy in every respect the claims of that bond of affection which unites us.'

sed quod . . . iudicem] Boeckel remarks that in the second clause of a sentence like this it is most usual to find the indic., e.g. Cic. Tusc. ii. 56: but this potential subj. is sometimes found in Cic., e.g. De Inv. i. 11, *non quod de facto non constet, sed quod id, quod factum sit, aliud alii videatur esse et idcirco alius alio nomine id appellet.*

aliena esse ducerem a dignitate. 2. Ego eum te esse, qui horum malorum initia multo ante videris, consulatum magnificentissime atque optime gesseris, praeclare memini : sed idem etiam illa vidi, neque te consilium civilis belli ita gerendi nec copias Cn. Pompeii nec genus exercitus probare semperque summe diffidere : qua in sententia me quoque fuisse memoria tenere te arbitror. Itaque neque tu multum interfuisti rebus gerendis et ego id semper egi, ne interesssem. Non enim iis rebus pugnabamus, quibus valere poteramus, consilio, auctoritate, causa, quae erant in nobis superiora, sed lacertis et viribus, quibus pares non eramus. Victi sumus igitur aut, si vinci dignitas non potest, fracti certe et abiecti. In quo tuum consilium nemo potest non maxime laudare, quod cum spe vincendi simul abiecisti certandi etiam cupiditatem ostendistisque sapientem et bonum civem initia belli civilis invitum suscipere, extrema libenter non persequi. 3. Qui non idem consilium quod tu secuti sunt, eos video in duo genera esse distractos. Aut enim renovare bellum conati sunt, hique se in Africam contulerunt, aut, quem ad modum nos, victori sese crediderunt. Medium quoddam tuum consilium fuit, qui hoc fortasse humilis animi duceres, illud pertinacis. Fateor a plerisque vel dicam ab omnibus sapiens tuum consilium, a multis etiam magni ac fortis animi iudicatum. Sed habet ista ratio, ut mihi quidem videtur, quemdam modum, praesertim cum tibi nihil deesse arbitrer ad tuas fortunas omnes obtinendas praeter voluntatem. Sic enim intellexi, nihil aliud esse quod dubitationem adferret ei, penes quem est potestas, nisi quod vereretur ne tu illud beneficium

2. *consulatum . . . gesseris*] In 703 (51). Yet his action in scourging the ex-magistrate of Novum Comum Cicero characterized as scandalous (*foede*): cp. Att. v. 11, 2 (200).

praeclare memini] 'I have a vivid recollection of.'

copias] In the celebrated meeting of the Senate on Jan. 1, 705 (49), Marcellus had moved that no decided answer be given to the demands of Caesar till after the levies set on foot by Pompey had been completed: cp. vol. iii. p. xc.

me quoque] Yet in Fam. xvi. 11, 3 (301) Cicero says, writing to his family, *Omnino ex hac quoque parte diligentissime comparatur: id fit auctoritate et studio Pompeii nostri*; however, he continues,

qui Caesarem sero coepit timere.

lacertis et viribus] 'by dint of muscle': cp. Juv. x. 11, *viribus ille Confisus perit admirandisque lacertis.*

extrema libenter non persequi] 'but willingly refuses to pursue it to the bitter end.'

3. *crediderunt*] cp. Hor. Carm. iii. 5, 33, *Qui perfidis se credidit hostibus.* Caes. B. G. vi. 31, 4.

ei penes quem est potestas] Hofmann notices that in the letters to Marcellus Cicero, more frequently than elsewhere, uses such periphrases as these to describe Caesar: cp. §§ 4, 5; *is qui omnia tenet*, iv. 8, 2 (485). In his correspondence with Torquatus (Fam. vi. 1-4) Cicero does not once mention Caesar by name.

omnino non putares. De quo quid sentiam nihil attinet dicere, cum appareat ipse quid fecerim. 4. Sed tamen, si iam ita constituisses, ut abesse perpetuo malles quam ea, quae nolles, videre, tamen id cogitare deberes, ubicumque esses, te fore in eius ipsius, quem fugeres, potestate. Qui si facile passurus esset te carentem patria et fortunis tuis quiete et libere vivere, cogitandum tibi tamen esset Romaene et domi tuae, cuicumodi res esset, an Mytilenis aut Rhodi malles vivere. Sed cum ita late pateat eius potestas, quem veremur, ut terrarum orbem complexa sit, nonne mavis sine periculo tuae domi esse quam cum periculo alienae? Equidem, etiam si oppetenda mors esset, domi atque in patria mallem quam in externis atque alienis locis. Hoc idem omnes, qui te diligunt, sentiunt: quorum est magna pro tuis maximis clarissimisque virtutibus multitudo. 5. Habemus etiam rationem rei familiaris tuae, quam dissipari nolumus. Nam etsi nullam potest accipere iniuriam, quae futura perpetua sit, propterea quod neque is, qui tenet rem publicam, patietur neque ipsa res publica, tamen impetum praedonum in tuas fortunas fieri nolo; hi autem qui essent auderem scribere, nisi te intellegere confiderem. 6. Hic te unius sollicitudines, unius etiam multae et adsiduae lacrimae C. Marcelli, fratris optimi, deprecantur: nos cura et dolore proximi sumus, precibus tardiores, quod ius adeundi, cum ipsi deprecatione eguerimus, non habemus, gratia tantum possumus quantum victi, sed tamen consilio, studio Marcello non desumus. A tuis reliquis non adhibemur: ad omnia parati sumus.

4. *ubicumque . . . esses*] cp. Gibbon, chap. iii. fin.: 'But the Empire of the Romans filled the world, and when the Empire fell into the hands of a single person the world became a safe and dreary prison for his enemies . . . "Wherever you are," said Cicero to the exiled Marcellus, "remember that you are equally within the power of the conqueror."'

cuicumodi] cp. note on Att. iii. 22, 4 (81). Neue ii.² 513, and Schmalz (Antib. i. 344) hold that *cuicumodi* is the genitive, as *cuiuscuiusmodi* does not occur, only *quouismodi* (Plaut. Men. iv. 2, 7). On the readings of this form in mss, cp. Neue ii.¹ 178-9.

6. *fratris*] i.e. cousin: for the Gaius Marcellus, who was consul in 704 (50), and was a neutral in the Civil War, is certainly meant: cp. Att. x. 13, 3 (399),

15, 2 (401); and he was a cousin, not a brother of Marcus. The other Gaius Marcellus consul in 705 (49), who *was* brother of Marcus, was a violent Pompeian, and followed Pompey to Greece. We do not know how he met his end.

cum . . . eguerimus] 'since I myself need intercession.' Wesenberg is almost certainly right in putting only a comma, not a long stop, after *habemus*; then *possumus* will go with *quod*. That Cicero had not any personal intercourse with Caesar at this time appears from Fam. iv. 13, 6 (483), *in ipsius consuetudinem, quam adhuc meus pudor mihi clausit, insinuabo*, and vi. 13, 3 (489), *aditus ad eum difficiliores fuerunt*.

consilio, studio] Though it would be more suited to the copiousness and rhythm of Cicero's language if some word

CCCCLXXXVII. CICERO TO M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS (FAM. IV. 9).

ROME ; SEPTEMBER ; A. U. C. 708 ; B. C. 46 ; AET. CIC. 60.

Etiam his litteris M. Cicero M. Marcello, ut domum redeat, suadet, maxime in eo occupatus, ut singula argumenta, quibus ille sententiam suam defenderat, refutet.

M. CICERO S. D. M. MARCELLO.

1. Etsi perpaucis ante diebus dederam Q. Mucio litteras ad te pluribus verbis scriptas, quibus declaraveram quo te animo censerem esse oportere et quid tibi faciendum arbitrarer, tamen, cum Theophilus, libertus tuus, proficisceretur, cuius ego fidem erga te benevolentiamque perspexeram, sine meis litteris eum ad te venire nolui. Iisdem igitur de rebus etiam atque etiam hortor, quibus superioribus litteris hortatus sum, ut in ea re publica, quaecumque est, quam primum velis esse. Multa videbis fortasse quae nolis, non plura tamen quam audis cotidie. Non est porro tuum uno sensu solum oculorum moveri: cum idem illud auribus percipias, quod etiam maius videri solet, minus laborare. 2. At tibi ipsi dicendum erit aliquid quod non sentias aut faciendum quod non probes. Primum tempori cedere, id est, necessitati parere, semper sapientis est habitum: deinde non habet, ut nunc quidem est, id vitii res. Dicere fortasse quae sentias non licet:

like *officio* were supplied, yet cases of similar asyndeton of two words are found: e.g. Fam. xiii. 11 fin (452), 24, 3 (519). In such phrases as *sarta tecta, equis viris*, such asyndeton is quite common: cp. Lehmann, p. 25.

non adhibemur] Most of the relations of M. Marcellus were not very energetic in endeavouring to compass his return: cp. Fam. iv. 8, 2 (485), *si modi erunt tui*.

1. Q. Mucio] *Scaevolae*—tribune in 700 (54); legate of Appius Claudius in Cilicia 702 (52); and augur in 705 (49): cp. Att. iv. 17, 4 (149); Fam. iii. 5, 5 (191); Att. ix. 9, 3 (364).

rebus] Lehmann (p. 57) objects to *rebus* and proposes *te verbis*: cp. Fam. vi. 6, 2 (488) *nec iis quidem verbis quibus te consoler*. But it may fairly well be trans-

lated 'facts,' and have reference to the pleasures of home, the miseries of exile, the universal dominion of Caesar, &c. If any alteration were necessary Orelli's *rationibus* 'reasons,' 'considerations,' would be the best to adopt.

quod etiam maius] When we hear of misfortune (e. g. the suffering of the poor) we often *suppose* it to be greater than it is, and magnify it in our imagination; but we *feel* it more when we see it. Hence Cicero says, Fam. iv. 13, 2 (483), *video, quo nihil est acerbius*: cp. vi. 1, 1 (538), *oculi augent dolorem*.

2. *id est*] For explanations introduced by these words cp. *Madv.* on *Fin.* ii. 6.

deinde . . . res] 'then, as things are now, life here has not this drawback.' For *id vitii* cp. Att. xiv. 19, 4, *tibi hoc oneris non impono*, and Roby 1296, 1299.

tacere plane licet. Omnia enim delata ad unum sunt. Is utitur consilio ne suorum quidem, sed suo. Quod non multo secus fieret, si is rem publicam teneret, quem secuti sumus. An, qui in bello, cum omnium nostrum coniunctum esset periculum, suo et certorum hominum minime prudentium consilio uteretur, eum magis communem censemus in victoria futurum fuisse quam incertis in rebus fuisset? et, qui nec te consule tuum sapientissimum consilium secutus esset nec fratre tuo consulatum ex auctoritate tua gerente vobis auctoribus uti voluerit, nunc omnia tenentem nostras sententias desideraturum censes fuisse? 3. Omnia sunt misera in bellis civilibus: quae maiores nostri ne semel quidem, nostra aetas saepe iam sensit: sed miserius nihil quam ipsa victoria, quae etiam si ad meliores venit, tamen eos ipsos ferociores impotentioresque reddit, ut, etiam si natura tales non sint, necessitate esse cogantur: multa enim victori eorum arbitrio, per quos vicit, etiam invito facienda sunt. An tu non videbas mecum simul quam illa crudelis esset futura victoria? Igitur tunc quoque careres patria, ne quae nolles videres? Non, inquires: ego enim ipse tenerem opes et dignitatem meam. At erat tuae virtutis in minimis tuas res ponere, de re publica vehementius laborare. Deinde qui finis istius consilii est? Nam adhuc et factum tuum probatur et, ut in tali re, etiam fortuna laudatur: factum, quod et initium belli necessario secutus sis et extrema sapienter persequi nolueris: fortuna, quod honesto otio tenueris et statum et famam dignitatis tuae. Nunc vero nec locus tibi ullus dulcior esse debet patria,

magis communem] 'less exclusive,' 'more communicative,' 'more affable': cp. Lael. 65, *simplicem praeterea et communem (amicum) et consentientem*; Nepos, Milt. 8. 4, *in Miltiade erat cum summa humanitas tum mira communitas ut nemo tam humilis esset cui non ad eum aditus pateret*. The Greek word is κοινός: cp. Xen. Cyneg. 13. 9, οἱ μὲν γὰρ σοφισταὶ πλουσίους καὶ νέους θηρῶνται, οἱ δὲ φιλόσοφοι πᾶσι κοινοὶ καὶ φίλοι.

fratre tuo] i. e. cousin; C. Marcellus, consul 704 (50): cp. note to Fam. iv. 7, 6 (486).

3. *saepe]* four times; see Phil. viii. 7 (quoted by Hofmann), *Sulla cum Sulpicio de iure legum quas per vim consuevit Sulla latas esse dicebat, Cinna cum Octavio de novorum civium suffragiis, rursus cum Mario et Carbone Sulla ne dominarentur*

indigni et ut clarissimorum hominum crudelissimam puniretur necem. Horum omnium bellorum causae ex reipublicae contentione natae sunt. De proximo bello civili (sc. Caesariano) non libet dicere: ignoro causam, detestor exitum. Hoc bellum (sc. Mutinense) quintum civile geritur: atque omnia in nostram aetatem inciderunt.

impotentioresque] 'more ungovernable.' Boeckel quotes Marc. 16, *eum . . . vidi cum insolentiam certorum hominum tum etiam ipsius victoriae ferocitatem extimescentem.*

in minimis tuas res ponere] 'to consider your private concerns as of the smallest importance.'

extrema . . . nolueris] cp. Fam. iv. 7, 2 (486) *quod cum spe vincendi simul abiecasti certandi etiam cupiditatem osten-*

nec eam diligere minus debes, quod deformior est, sed misereri potius nec eam multis claris viris orbatam privare etiam aspectu tuo. 4. Denique, si fuit magni animi non esse supplicem victori, vide ne superbi sit aspernari eiusdem liberalitatem, et si sapientis est carere patria, duri non desiderare; et, si re publica non possis frui, stultum est nolle privata. Caput illud est, ut, si ista vita tibi commodior esse videatur, cogitandum tamen sit ne tutior non sit. Magna gladiatorum est licentia, sed in externis locis minor etiam ad facinus verecundia. Mihi salus tua tantae curae est, ut Marcello fratri tuo aut par aut certe proximus sim. Tuum est consulere temporibus et incolumitati et vitae et fortunis tuis.

CCCCLXXXVIII. CICERO TO AULUS CAECINA
(FAM. VI. 6).

ROME; SEPTEMBER (END); A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

Eundem Caecinam, quem exulantem superiore epistola consolari studuerat, consolatur M. Cicero, quod ei propter ingenium C. Caesaris et per statum rei publ. ipsum meliorem fortunam fore divinat.

M. CICERO S. D. A. CAECINAE.

1. Vereor ne desideres officium meum: quod tibi pro nostra et meritorum multorum et studiorum parium coniunctione deesse

distique sapientem et bonum civem initia belli civilis invitum suscipere, extrema libenter non persequi.

tenueris . . . tuae] 'you have maintained your dignity in its high position and renown.'

deformior] 'lost her beauty,' opp. to *pulchrior*: cp. Gell. v. 11, 11.

4. *duri]* 'hard-hearted,' 'unfeeling.'
possis] 'and if it may be that you cannot enjoy a political life, it is certainly foolish to be unwilling to enjoy a private one.' The subjunctive is used because the contingency is in Cicero's mind a very doubtful one: different from the other suppositions which are taken for granted as facts (*si fuit magni animi: si sapientis est*). Wesenberg (Em. Alt. 8) wishes to read *stultum sit*, governing *sit* by *vide ne*: but the indicative makes the sentence more emphatic.

cogitandum tamen sit ne] 'yet you should take thought lest it may not prove the safer course.'

verecundia] 'scruple.' Wieland remarks that this sentence reads like a prophecy: cp. Fam. iv. 12 for the account of the murder of Marcellus.

consulere . . . tuis] 'to take measures best suited to the present circumstances, and to your own security both of life and property.' *Incolumitas* is often used for 'full possession of civil right,' opp. to *calamitas*: see Reid on Arch. 9, and note on Att. iii. 15, 2 (73), so that, perhaps, we might here translate 'to the present circumstances, to your own restitution, and to the maintenance of your life and fortunes.'

For Caecina, see Introduction.

1. *Vereor]* 'I am afraid you think

non debet: sed tamen vereor ne litterarum a me officium requiras: quas tibi et iam pridem et saepe misissem, nisi cotidie melius exspectans gratulationem quam confirmationem animi tui complecti litteris maluissem. Nunc, ut spero, brevi gratulabimur: itaque in aliud tempus id argumentum epistolae differo. 2. His autem litteris animum tuum, quem minime imbecillum esse et audio et spero, etsi non sapientissimi, at amicissimi hominis auctoritate confirmandum etiam atque etiam puto, nec iis quidem verbis, quibus te consoler ut adfluctum et iam omni spe salutis orbatum, sed ut eum, de cuius incolumitate non plus dubitem quam te memini dubitare de mea. Nam cum me ex re publica expulissent ii, qui illam cadere posse stante me non putabant, memini me ex multis hospitibus, qui ad me ex Asia, in qua tu eras, venerant, audire te de glorioso et celeri reditu meo confirmare. 3. Si te ratio quaedam Tuscae disciplinae, quam a patre, nobilissimo atque optimo viro, acceperas, non fefellit, ne nos quidem nostra divinatio fallat: quam cum sapientissimorum virorum monumentis atque praeceptis plurimoque, ut tu scis, doctrinae studio, tum magno etiam usu tractandae rei publicae magnaque nostrorum temporum varietate consecuti sumus. 4. Cui quidem divinationi hoc plus confidimus, quod ea nos nihil in his tam obscuris rebus tamque perturbatis umquam omnino fefellit. Dicerem quae ante futura

that I am not doing my duty, and that I ought not to fail therein on account of the connexion that exists between us from many mutual services and from similarity of pursuits; still I *am* afraid you may think me neglectful in the matter of letters; but I could have long since and often written to you, were it not that I was every day expecting better news, and preferred that the subject of my letter should be congratulation rather than encouragement of your resolution.' On *sed* resumptive, Lehmann (p. 121) has a good discussion, in which he compares Fam. i. 9, 19 (153), xiv. 5, 2 (283). *Studiorum parium*, viz. in matters of augury, in which Cicero was interested, since he had been made an augur in 701 (53). But we must remember that he did not write *De Divinatione* till 710 (44).

2. *putabant*] The mss give *putarunt*. It is altered by some commentators to the reading in the text, which makes excellent sense, but is rather far from the mss; by others to *putarent*, 'people bitter enough

to think,' generic subjunctive; and by others again to *putarant*, 'who had made up their minds,' an unusual sense: cp. Wesenberg (Em. Alt. 14).

confirmare] 'expressed strong conviction.' Watson compares Fam. iii. 10, 1 (261), *de me tibi sic promitto atque confirmo*.

3. *Si te ratio*] 'If a certain system of Etruscan augury which you have inherited from your illustrious and excellent father has not deceived you, neither shall I be deceived in my prophetic skill; for I have obtained that skill no less from the writings and maxims of most illustrious men, and from philosophical study of, as you know, a very extended nature, than from much experience in the conduct of public affairs and great vicissitudes in the circumstances of my life.' For *ne nos quidem* see Reid on Acad. 1, 5.

4. *divinationi*] Watson quotes Nepos Att. 16, *non enim Cicero ea solum quae vivo se acciderunt futura praedixit sed etiam quae nunc usu veniunt cecinit ut vates*.

dixissem, ni vererer ne ex eventis fingere viderer. Sed tamen plurimi sunt testes me et initio, ne coniungeret se cum Caesare, monuisse Pompeium et postea, ne seiungeret: coniunctione frangi senatus opes, diiunctione civile bellum excitari videbam. Atque utebar familiarissime Caesare, Pompeium faciebam plurimi, sed erat meum consilium cum fidele Pompeio tum salutare utrique.

5. Quae praeterea providerim praetereo. Nolo enim hunc de me optime meritum existimare ea me suasisse Pompeio, quibus ille si paruisset, esset hic quidem clarus in toga et princeps, sed tantas opes, quantas nunc habet, non haberet. Eundum in Hispaniam censui: quod si fecisset, civile bellum nullum omnino fuisset. Rationem haberi absentis non tam pugnavi ut liceret quam ut, quoniam ipso consule pugnante populus iusserat, haberetur. Causa orta belli est. Quid ego praetermisi aut monitorum aut querellarum, cum vel iniquissimam pacem iustissimo bello anteferrem!

6. Victa est auctoritas mea, non tam a Pompeio—nam is movebatur—quam ab iis, qui duce Pompeio freti peropportunam et rebus domesticis et cupiditatibus suis illius belli victoriam fore putabant. Susceptum bellum est quiescente me, depulsum ex Italia manente me, quoad potui. Sed valuit apud me plus pudor meus quam timor: veritus sum deesse Pompeii saluti, cum ille aliquando non defuisset meae. Itaque vel officio vel fama bonorum vel pudore victus, ut in fabulis Amphiaraus, sic ego prudens et sciens ‘ad pestem ante oculos positam’ sum profectus. Quo in

ex eventis fingere] ‘to manufacture after the event.’

monuisse] cp. Phil. ii. 24, *meaque illa vox est nota multis: Utinam, Pompei, cum Caesare societatem aut nunquam coisses aut nunquam diremisses; fuit alterum gravitatis, alterum prudentiae.*

utebar] a common word for associating with, generally used with an adverb or adjective signifying ‘friendly’ but not always: Hor. Epp. i. 12, 22, *Utere Pompeio Grospho*; 17, 2, *maioribus uti*: cp. *χρησθαι*.

5. *Eundum in Hispaniam censui*] In 703 (51) Cicero had spoken strongly against the proposal that Pompey should go to Spain, cp. Att. v. 11, 3 (200); Fam. iii. 8, 10 (222); he spoke to the same effect at the end of 704 (50), but not at all so strongly, cp. Att. vii. 9, 3 (300). If Cicero at any time formally and publicly urged that Pompey should go, it must have been at

the council in Capua at the end of January 705 (49), cp. Fam. xvi. 12, 3 (312), on which occasion this question was brought before the meeting as one of Caesar’s conditions of peace. But he may have suggested it in the private meetings he had with Pompey in December 704 (50).

ipso consule pugnante] cp. vol. iii. p. lxiv.

querellarum] ‘remonstrances,’ cp. Deiot. 9, *cui sunt inaudita cum Deiotaro querellae tuae?*

6. *cupiditatibus*] Hofmann refers to Att. ix. 11, 4 (367), *quid enim illic tu Scipionem, quid Faustum, quid Libonem praetermissurum putas quorum creditores convenire dicuntur*, also to Caes. Bell. Civ. i. 4, 2.

aliquando] In 57 B.C. Pompey used his influence to bring about Cicero’s return from banishment.

Itaque . . . sum profectus] ‘So then, yielding to my sense of duty or to the

bello nihil adversi accidit non praedicente me. 7. Quare quoniam, ut augures et astrologi solent, ego quoque augur publicus ex meis superioribus praedictis constitui apud te auctoritatem augurii et divinationis meae, debebit habere fidem nostra praedictio. Non igitur ex alitis involatu nec e cantu sinistro oscinis, ut in nostra disciplina est, nec ex tripudiis solistimis aut soniviis tibi auguror,

judgment of the constitutionalists or to the feelings of shame, I, like Amphiaras in the play, 'deliberately and knowingly' set out 'to death spread open there before mine eyes.' This latter is certainly a quotation: see Ribbeck Frag. Trag. lxxviii., p. 256, though he cannot fix it to any definite drama. Süpfle says it was probably from the Eriphyle of Accius. Compare with this passage Marc. 14, *tantumque apud me grati animi fidelis memoria valuit, ut nulla non modo cupiditate sed ne spe quidem prudens et sciens tanquam ad interitum ruerem voluntarium.*

7. *astrologi*] 'observers of the stars.' This word is used both for astronomers and astrologers: cp. De Div. i. 132, ii. 88.

constitui] 'I have given a satisfactory guarantee of my power of augury and prophecy.'

Non igitur] 'Not then from the flight of a bird whose flight gives omens nor from a propitious note of one whose cry is watched for, as is the teaching in our augural system, nor from the favourable prognostications of food falling to the ground or its rattling thereon do I foretell this; but I have other signs to watch, which, though not more unerring than those which I have mentioned, yet have in themselves less uncertainty and liability to error.' Cicero, as an augur, would not venture to express general disbelief in the system which his position bound him to uphold; he only notices its difficulty of interpretation and liability to error. As an example of this latter feature an augur would find it hard to tell whether the *tripudium* was natural or *coactum* De Div. i. 27, 28.

tripudiis] There were five kinds of auspices (Fest. 260), (1) *ex caelo* (thunder and lightning), (2) *ex avibus*, (3) *ex tripudiis*, (4) *ex quadrupedibus* (also called *auspicia pedestria*, i.e. *quae dabantur a volpe lupo serpente equo ceterisque animalibus quadrupedibus*, Fest. 244), (5) *ex diris* (any noise or outward event which happened to break the religious silence

required for the auspices). Cicero touches only on (2) and (3) here. As regards birds, some gave auguries by their flights (*alites*), some by their cries (*oscines*). An omen on the left was considered lucky as coming from the east; for the Roman augur always looked south (Varro ap. Fest. 339): cp. Cic. De Div. ii. 74 *fulmen sinistrum auspiciis optimum*. *Tripudium* was the technical name for the falling to the ground of the food which was given to the sacred chickens; for as they greedily devoured it some portions of necessity must fall from their mouths and strike the ground. Thus the derivation Cicero gives of the word (De Div. ii. 72) is *terram pavire, terripavium, inde terripudium, tripudium*: cp. Festus s. v. *PVLs*, p. 244. Yet Cicero is probably wrong in his derivation, for *terri-* remains unaltered in composition e. g. *terricola*: see Vanicek, p. 540. This philologist derives *tripudium* from *tris* thrice, and *pavire* to strike (so too Wordsworth, Frag. and Specimens, p. 83), and refers it to the clattering of the feet of the fowl when feeding: cp. Fest. p. 363, *tripudium cernitur in auspiciis in exsultatione tripudiantium pullorum, dictum a terra pavienda*, where he gives the right interpretation but the wrong derivation. Lange, too (R. A. i. 343), disapproves of the derivation given by Cicero; he says that *tripudium* is derived from the flurry and haste with which the hungry chickens rushed at the food, *tripudiare* being an old form of *trepidare*; however, he does not adduce any proof of this. For further, see Dict. Antiq. s. v. *AUGUR*.

solistimis] 'most perfect' superlative of *sollus* = *salvus*: cp. Festus 293, *sollum Osce totum et solidum significat*; also 298, *sollistimum, App. Pulcher in Auguralis Disciplinae libro I ait esse tripudium quom avi excidit ex ore quod illa fert, saxumve solidum aut arbor viviradix ruit quae nec prae vitio humanave vi caedanturve iacianturve pellanturve.*

soniviis] cp. Festus, p. 297, *SONIVIVM TRIPUDIVM ut ait App. Pulcher quod*

sed habeo alia signa quae observem: quae etsi non sunt certiora illis, minus tamen habent vel obscuritatis vel erroris. 8. Notantur autem mihi ad divinandum signa duplici quadam via: quarum alteram duco e Caesare ipso, alteram e temporum civilium natura atque ratione. In Caesare haec sunt: mitis clemensque natura, qualis exprimitur praeclaro illo libro QUERELLARUM tuarum. Accedit quod mirifice ingeniis excellentibus, quale est tuum, delectatur. Praeterea cedit multorum iustis et officio incensis, non inanibus aut ambitiosis voluntatibus: in quo vehementer eum consentiens Etruria movebit. 9. Cur haec igitur adhuc parum profecerunt? Quia non putat se sustinere causas posse multorum, si tibi, cui iustius videtur irasci posse, concesserit. Quae est igitur, inquires, spes ab irato? Eodem e fonte se hausturum intellegit laudes suas, e quo sit leviter aspersus. Postremo homo valde est acutus et multum providens: intellegit te, hominem in parte Italiae minime contemnenda facile omnium nobilissimum et in communi re publica cuivis summorum tuae aetatis vel ingenio vel gratia vel fama populi Romani parem, non posse prohiberi re publica diutius. Nolet hoc temporis potius esse aliquando beneficium quam iam suum. 10. Dixi de Caesare: nunc dicam de temporum rerumque natura. Nemo est tam inimicus ei causae, quam Pompeius animatus melius quam paratus suscepit, qui nos malos cives dicere aut homines improbos audeat. In quo admirari soleo gravitatem et iustitiam et sapientiam Caesaris: numquam nisi honorificentissime Pompeium appellat. — At in eius persona multa fecit asperius. — Armorum ista et victoriae

sonet cum pullo excidit puls quadrupedive: cp. Plin. H. N. xv. 86, Servius on Aen. iii. 90, *tripudium sonivium si arbor sponte radicibus cadat, si terra tremat*. Accordingly if there is any real difference between *tripudium sollistimum* and *sonivium*, it would appear to be that the sound of the falling object in the latter case must be audible.

8. *temporum civilium*] 'the present state of affairs': cp. § 11.

QUERELLARUM] The title of Caecina's *παλινοδία*: see Introduction.

officio incensis] 'which have the fervour of sincerity.'

ambitiosis] 'interested' or perhaps 'showy', i.e. put forward in order to obtain a reputation for generosity: cp. Fam. vi. 12, 2 (490); *Valent tamen apud*

Caesarem non tam ambitiosae rogationes quam necessariae.

consentiens Etruria] 'the unanimous voice of Etruria.'

9. *Eodem e fonte*] 'he perceives that he will be able to draw abundance of praise for himself from the same source from which he has got a slight wetting'—a strange metaphor. Caecina will praise him in fuller measure than that in which he attacked him before. There is no other example of *haurire* used with the simple abl.: the editors supply *e*, which might readily have fallen out after *eodē*.

10. *gravitatem . . . Caesaris*] 'the firm, upright, and sensible conduct of Caesar.'

in eius persona] One of the meanings of *persona* is 'rôle,' 'character'; see

sunt facta, non Caesaris. At nos quem ad modum est complexus ! Cassium sibi legavit, Brutum Galliae praefecit, Sulpicium Graeciae, Marcellum, cui maxime suscensebat, cum summa illius dignitate restituit. 11. Quo igitur haec spectant? Rerum hoc natura et civilium temporum non patietur: nec manens nec mutata ratio feret primum, ut non in causa pari eadem sit et condicio et fortuna omnium: deinde, ut in eam civitatem boni viri et boni cives nulla ignominia notati non revertantur, in quam tot nefariorum scelerum condemnati reverterunt. 12. Habes augurium meum, quo, si quid addubitarem, non potius uterer quam illa consolatione, qua facile fortem virum sustentarem: te, si explorata victoria arma sumpsisses pro re publica — ita enim tum putabas —, non nimis esse laudandum: sin propter incertos exitus eventusque bellorum posse accidere ut vinceremur putasses, non debere te ad secundam fortunam bene paratum fuisse, adversam ferre nullo modo posse. Disputarem etiam quanto solacio tibi conscientia tui facti, quantae delectationi in rebus adversis litterae esse deberent. Commemorarem non solum veterum, sed horum etiam recentium vel ducum vel comitum tuorum gravissimos casus, etiam externos multos claros viros nominarem: levat enim dolorem communis quasi legis et humanae condicionis recordatio. 13. Exponerem etiam quem ad modum hic et quanta in turba quantaque in confusione rerum

Fausset (Cluentius, Glossary, p. 280), who compares Cluent. 101, *persona viri boni suscepta*. Accordingly it will here mean the character which Pompey assumed, i.e. as Hofmann and Süpfle excellently translate—‘in regard to Pompey as a public man.’ Caesar had a high opinion of Pompey as a private man, but he had to act severely in regard to him as leader of the opposite party. For *in* = ‘in the case of,’ ‘in regard to’: see Reid on Lael. 9.

Graeciae] cp. note to Fam. iv. 4, 2 (495).

cum summa illius dignitate] cp. Fam. iv. 4, 4 (495).

11. *nec manens nec mutata ratio*] ‘state of affairs whether it remains fixed or it is changed.’

12. *addubitarem*] In a learned note of his introduction to the *Pseudolus* Lorenz notices that verbs compounded with the intensitive prepositions *con-*, *ad-*, and *de-* belong largely to the ordinary language of conversation: cp. *accredo*, Att. vi. 2, 3

(256), also Schmalz, *Antib. s. v.*, and Wilkins on Hor. Ep. i. 15, 25.

explorata victoria] ‘quite assured of victory.’

pro re publica—ita enim tum putabas] ‘for the safety of the State, as you then thought.’ At that time, and indeed till comparatively recently, Cicero also thought that the safety of the constitution depended on the victory of the Pompeians, and that Caesar’s government would be simple anarchy, but he had altered his opinion quite recently owing to the magnanimous conduct of Caesar.

etiam externos] It would appear to have been a recognised method among the Romans of enforcing moral rules to collect instances in point, first of distinguished Romans, and then of famous foreigners. It is on this principle that the work of Valerius Maximus is composed.

communis . . . recordatio] hendiadys ‘a recollection of the common law (shall I call it?) of human nature.’

omnium viveremus: necesse est enim minore desiderio perdita re publica carere quam bona. Sed hoc genere nihil opus est. Incolumem te cito, ut spero, vel potius, ut perspicio, videbimus. Interea tibi absenti et huic, qui adest, imagini animi et corporis tui, constantissimo atque optimo filio tuo, studium, officium, operam, laborem meum iam pridem et pollicitus sum et detuli: nunc hoc amplius, quod me amicissime cotidie magis Caesar amplectitur, familiares quidem eius, sicuti neminem. Apud quem quidquid valebo vel auctoritate vel gratia valebo tibi. Tu cura ut cum firmitudine te animi tum etiam spe optima sustentas.

CCCCLXXXIX. CICERO TO Q. LIGARIUS (FAM. VI. 13).

ROME; SEPTEMBER; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

Consolatur M. Cicero Q. Ligarium eundem, pro quo apud C. Caesarem oravit, exsulem, eumque redivisus spe ostensa forti animo esse iubet.

CICERO LIGARIO.

1. Etsi tali tuo tempore me aut consolandi aut iuvandi tui causa scribere ad te aliquid pro nostra amicitia oportebat, tamen adhuc id non feceram, quia neque lenire videbar oratione neque levare posse dolorem tuum. Postea vero quam magnam spem habere coepi, fore ut te brevi tempore incolumem haberemus, facere non potui quin tibi et sententiam et voluntatem declararem meam. 2. Primum igitur scribam, quod intellego et perspicio, non fore in te Caesarem duriores: nam et res eum cotidie et dies et opinio hominum et, ut mihi videtur, etiam sua natura mitiores

13. *quanta . . . viveremus*] 'in what a general state of disorder and chaos we are living.' For *confusio* cp. Fam. iv. 4, 2 (495).

Incolumem] See note to Fam. iv. 9, 4 (487).

studium . . . laborem meum] 'zeal, service, efforts, and exertion.'

nunc hoc amplius . . . neminem] 'now still further: I am every day being drawn into closer relations of intimate friendship by Caesar, and by his friends

I am more sought after than anyone else.'

Apud quem . . . tibi] 'and whatever weight of influence or favour I may have with him shall be used for your interests.' HP give *conciliabo tibi*, but Streicher (p. 167) rightly defends the repetition of *valebo*, by Fam. ii. 11, 2 (255) *Quidquid erit, tibi erit*, xiii. 1, 4 (199) *si peccat . . . peccat*: cp. Caesar's judgment on Brutus, Att. xiv. 1, 2, *Quidquid vult valde vult*.

facit, idque cum de reliquis sentio, tum de te etiam audio ex familiarissimis eius, quibus ego ex eo tempore, quo primum ex Africa nuntius venit, supplicare una cum fratribus tuis non destiti. Quorum quidem et virtute et pietate et amor in te singularis et adsidua et perpetua cura salutis tuae tantum proficit, ut nihil sit quod non ipsum Caesarem tributurum existimem. 3. Sed si tardius fit quam volumus, magnis occupationibus eius, a quo omnia petuntur, aditus ad eum difficiliores fuerunt, et simul Africanae causae iratior diutius velle videtur eos habere sollicitos, a quibus se putat diuturnioribus esse molestiis conflictatum. Sed hoc ipsum intellegimus eum cotidie remissius et placatius ferre. Quare mihi crede et memoriae manda me tibi id adfirmasse, te in istis molestiis diutius non futurum. 4. Quoniam quid sentirem exposui, quid velim tua causa re potius declarabo quam oratione; si tantum possem, quantum in ea re publica, de qua ita sum meritus, ut tu existimas, posse debebam, ne tu quidem in istis incommodis esses: eadem enim causa opes meas fregit, quae tuam salutem in discrimen adduxit. Sed tamen, quidquid imago veteris meae dignitatis, quidquid reliquiae gratiae valebunt, studium, consilium, opera, [gratia] fides mea nullo loco deerit tuis optimis fratribus. 5. Tu fac, habeas fortem animum, quem semper habuisti: primum ob eas causas, quas scripsi: deinde, quod ea de re publica semper voluisti atque sensisti, ut non modo nunc

2. *familiarissimis*] e.g. Dolabella, Hirtius, Balbus, Oppius.

3. *et simul*] 'and at the same time as he is more incensed by the African movement than by others, he wishes to keep its adherents longer in suspense; for he considers that he has been harassed by them with more persistent annoyance than by the others. But I understand that he is every day relaxing and calming down on this very point.' The *Africana causa* means the party who went to Africa and continued to prosecute the war there after the defeat at Pharsalia. Caesar was especially bitter against these, as he believed that their opposition to him was pure obstinacy, and as they involved him in the most serious danger. The word *causa* is used as we should use it of any great movement, in such a phrase as, 'he gave his life for the cause': cp. Lig. 27, *ne condemnare causam illam quam secutus esset videretur*, Fam. iv. 8, 2 (485), *res et*

ipsius causa. For the purport of the sentence cp. note to Fam. iv. 13, 5 (483).

4. *ne tu quidem*] οὐδὲ σὺ δὲ, 'you assuredly would not.' It is an error to suppose that *ne . . . quidem* must always mean 'not even,' see Reid on Acad. i., 5, Arch. 2.

opera] After *opera* the mss add *gratia*, which probably crept in from *gratiae* of the previous line; for in such enumerations as this Cicero generally arranges the words in pairs: 'zeal, advice, exertions, faithful service.' Wesenberg (Em. Alt. 15) holds the same view about the insertion of *gratia*, but thinks that there are three pairs, *studium officium*, *consilium opera*, *res* ('money') *fides* ('credit'); but there is no good reason to be assigned why *officium* and *res* should have been lost. The singular *deerit* is used, as the subjects are not joined by conjunctions (Schmalz, Syntax, § 11).

secunda sperare debeas, sed etiam, si omnia adversa essent, tamen conscientia et factorum et consiliorum tuorum, quaecumque acciderent, fortissimo et maximo animo ferre deberes.

CCCCXC. CICERO TO T. AMPIUS BALBUS
(FAM. VI. 12).

ROME; SEPTEMBER; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero T. Ampio Balbo gratulatur de reditu per Caesaris amicos impetrato reque perfecta consolationem scribit cessare. Reliquum esse, ut se propter communem rei publicae calamitatem litterarum studio consolari studeat.

CICERO AMPIO SAL. PLUR.

1. Gratulor tibi, mi Balbe, vereque gratulor nec sum tam stultus, ut te usura falsi gaudii frui velim, deinde frangi repente atque ita cadere, ut nulla res te ad aequitatem animi possit postea extollere. Egi tuam causam apertius quam mea tempora ferebant. Vincebatur enim fortuna ipsa debilitatae gratiae nostrae tui caritate et meo perpetuo erga te amore culto a te diligentissime. Omnia promissa confirmata, certa et rata sunt, quae ad reditum et ad salutem tuam pertinent. Vidi, cognovi, interfui. 2. Etenim omnes Caesaris familiares satis opportune habeo implicatos consuetudine et benevolentia sic, ut, cum ab illo discesserint, me habeant proximum. Hoc Pansa, Hirtius, Balbus, Oppius, Matus, Postumius, plane ita faciunt, ut me unice diligant. Quod si mihi per me efficiendum fuisset, non me paeniteret pro ratione

For Ampius Balbus see Introd.

1. *usura . . . frui*] 'to hold temporary possession of an unreal joy.' He would only have the usufruct of the unreal joy: he would have soon to surrender it.

Vincebatur . . . diligentissime] 'the very misfortune that my influence has become so weakened has been overcome by my affection for you and my unceasing love for you—a love which you have so carefully fostered.' Cicero means that his affection for Balbus induced him to cast away all feelings of wounded pride, and all that disinclination to put himself

forward, now that he had so much less influence than formerly; and that he exerted himself earnestly on behalf of Balbus, with the result that he now finds his influence becoming once more of considerable weight.

Omnia . . . rata sunt] 'everything that has been promised is settled with perfect certainty, and ratified.'

2. *consuetudine et benevolentia*] 'in intimacy and good feeling.'

cum ab illo discesserint] 'next to him'—the regular Ciceronian phrase: see Att. i. 17, 5 (23); Fam. i. 9, 18 (153).

temporum ita esse molitum. Sed nihil est a me inservitum temporis causa: veteres mihi necessitudines cum his omnibus intercedunt, quibuscum ego agere de te non destiti. Principem tamen habuimus Pansam, tui studiosissimum, mei cupidum, qui valeret apud illum non minus auctoritate quam gratia. Cimber autem Tillius mihi plane satis fecit. Valent tamen apud Caesarem non tam ambitiosae rogationes quam necessariae: quam quia Cimber habebat, plus valuit, quam pro ullo alio valere potuisset. 3. Diploma statim non est datum, quod mirifica est improbitas in quibusdam, qui tulissent acerbius veniam tibi dari, quam illi appellent 'tubam belli civilis,' multaque ita dicunt, quasi non gaudeant id bellum incidisse. Quare visum est occultius agendum neque ullo modo divulgandum de te iam esse perfectum. Sed id erit perbrevis, nec dubito quin legente te has litteras confecta iam res futura sit. Pansa quidem mihi, gravis homo et certus, non solum confirmavit, verum etiam recepit perceleriter se ablaturum diploma. Mihi tamen placuit haec ad te perscribi: minus enim te firmum sermo Eppuleiae tuae lacrimaeque Ampiae declarabant quam significant tuae litterae. Atque illae arbitrabantur, cum a te abessent ipsae, multo in graviore te cura futurum.

qui valeret . . . gratia] 'of considerable influence with Caesar, no less from his weight of character than from personal liking.'

Valent . . . necessariae] 'after all, it is not petitions dictated by vanity which carry weight with Caesar, but those dictated by duty': cp. Fam. vi. 6, 8 (488)—*praeterea cedit multorum iustis et officio incensis, non inanibus aut ambitiosis voluntatibus*.

quam] So the mss. Cratander and Lambinus read *quas*, but the mss reading is a perfectly intelligible sense-construction; 'and because Cimber has such an one,' though we are unable to find an exact parallel. Something like it is Liv. ii. 53, 1: *Veniens bellum ortum est quibus Sabini arma coniunxerant*, quoted by Madv. 317 obs. 1.

3. *Diploma*] 'pass-port': see Boot on Att. x. 17, 4 (403). It was the warrant which allowed him free passage back to Rome. It has nothing to do with the privilege of using the *cursus publicus*, as the latter was not organized till the time of Augustus.

quam . . . tubam] So M: *quem*, H. After the verb *sum* or verbs of naming the relative is often accommodated to the subject which follows: cp. Madv. 316, who quotes Phil. v. 39, *Cn. Pompeio quod imperii populi Romani lumen fuit*; Leg. i. 22, *animal hoc providum . . . quem vocamus hominem*. Of course *quem* would be quite allowable; but *quam* is the *lectio ardua*.

de te . . . perfectum] 'that your case has been settled.'

Sed id erit perbrevis] sc. *perfectum*. The previous clause would be like our 'is virtually settled,' i. e. not quite settled, but sure to be settled shortly.

ablaturum] 'procure,' 'carry away' (from Caesar).

cum a te abessent] 'when they left you.' Eppuleia was wife of Ampius Balbus, Ampia his sister. They thought that Ampius was depressed even when they were with him, but that he would be much more depressed when they left. This is the reading of M: *cum ad te adessent*, H.

Quare magno opere *e re* putavi angoris et doloris tui levandi causa pro certis ad te ea, quae essent certa, perscribi. 4. Scis me antea sic solitum esse scribere ad te, magis ut consolarer fortem virum atque sapientem quam ut exploratam spem salutis ostenderem, nisi eam, quam ab ipsa re publica, cum hic ardor restinctus esset, sperari oportere censerem. Recordare tuas litteras, quibus et magnum animum mihi semper ostendisti et ad omnes casus ferendos constantem ac paratum: quod ego non mirabar, cum recordarer te et a primis temporibus aetatis in re publica esse versatum et tuos magistratus in ipsa discrimina incidisse salutis fortunarumque communium, et in hoc ipsum bellum esse ingressum, non solum, ut victor beatus, sed etiam, si ita accidisset, victus ut sapiens esses. 5. Deinde, cum studium tuum consumas in virorum fortium factis memoriae prodendis, considerare debes nihil tibi esse committendum quam ob rem eorum, quos laudas, te non simillimum praebeas. Sed haec oratio magis esset apta ad illa tempora, quae iam effugisti: nunc vero tantum te para ad haec nobiscum ferenda, quibus ego si quam medicinam invenirem, tibi quoque eandem traderem. Sed est unum perfugium doctrina ac litterae, quibus semper usi sumus: quae secundis rebus delectationem modo habere videbantur, nunc vero etiam salutem. Sed, ut ad initium revertar, cave dubites quin omnia de salute ac reditu tuo perfecta sint.

Quare . . . perscribi] So Guilielmus and Baier; *Qua magno opere putavi* M. In H we find *quam . . . perscripsi*: so that possibly we should here read—*<Quare> quam magno opere <esse> putavi angoris et doloris tui levandi causam, pro certis ad te ea quae essent certa perscripsi.*

4. *cum hic ardor restinctus esset*] ‘when the present fever of excitement has cooled down.’

in ipsa discrimina . . . esses] ‘occurred at the very crisis of the safety and prosperity of us all: and that you entered this war itself with the prospect not merely of enjoying the bliss of victory, but also, if so it chanced, of bearing defeat with resignation (or ‘as a philosopher should’).

5. *prodendis*] Ampius was a historian: cp. Suet. Jul. 77.

unum perfugium] cp. Fam. ix. 2, 5 (461), xiii. 28a. 2 (523).

CCCCXCI. CICERO TO TREBIANUS (FAM. VI. 10, §§ 4-6).

ROME ; SEPTEMBER (?) ; A. U. C. 708 ; B. C. 46 ; AET. CIC. 60.

Trebianus exsuli, qui eo maximo opere animum C. Caesaris offenderat, quod post cladem Pharsalicam ab armis non discesserat, sed bellum in Africa persecutus erat, M. Cicero officia omnia sua pollicetur et spem reditus facit.

M. CICERO TREBIANO S.

4. Antea misissem ad te litteras, si genus scribendi invenirem : tali enim tempore aut consolari amicorum est aut polliceri. Consolatione non utebar, quod ex multis audiebam quam fortiter sapienterque ferres iniuriam temporum quamque te vehementer consolaretur conscientia factorum et consiliorum tuorum. Quod quidem si facis, magnum fructum studiorum optimorum capis, in quibus te semper scio esse versatum, idque ut facias, etiam atque etiam te hortor. 5. Simul et illud tibi, homini peritissimo rerum et exemplorum et omnis vetustatis, ne ipse quidem rudis, sed in studio minus fortasse quam vellem, et in rebus atque usu plus etiam quam vellem versatus, spondeo, tibi istam acerbitem et iniuriam non diuturnam fore. Nam et ipse, qui plurimum potest,

The following letter and this one appear in the mss as forming a single continuous epistle ; but there can be little doubt from the opening words of this letter that it is the beginning of the correspondence with Trebianus.

TREBIANO] The mss give *Trebianus*; but we do not know of any man of this name as a contemporary of Cicero. The *Epitome Taurinense* gives *Trebonio*, but Trebonius was a Caesarian, Att. xi. 20, 1 (444). Corradus, followed by Martyni-Laguna, reads *L. Torquato* : but L. Torquatus had been killed in this year by P. Sittius (Bell. Afr. 96). Nor does it follow, because the Epicurean philosopher Siro was a friend of Cicero's correspondent (cp. Fam. vi. 11, 2), and also a friend of L. Torquatus (Fin. ii. 119), that the correspondent was L. Torquatus; for Siro's acquaintance must have been large. Another possible conjecture is *Trebatio*; but he was always one of Caesar's supporters, and lived at Rome :

cp. Att. xiii. 9, 1. Drumann (vi. 309) calls Cicero's correspondent 'a Roman knight, whose name is unknown.' We think that probably the name is known, and that it is what the mss give—viz. Trebianus.

4. *magnum . . . capis*] 'you gain a great reward for your noble studies.' Note that what is considered the object of studying philosophy is its power to afford comfort in distress.

5. *Simul et illud*] 'at the same time, to you who are in the highest degree versed in the events, models, and record of all history, I, who am not unacquainted with them either, but in literary pursuits less experienced than I should have wished, in the practical affairs of life more experienced than I should have desired, do solemnly promise that this bitter feeling and unjust treatment will not last long. For he who has the supreme power appears to me every day to be inclining to fair dealing and rational conduct.'

cotidie mihi delabi ad aequitatem et ad rerum naturam videtur, et ipsa causa ea est, ut iam simul cum re publica, quae in perpetuum iacere non potest, necessario revivescat atque recreetur, cotidieque aliquid fit lenius et liberalius quam timebamus. Quae quoniam in temporum inclinationibus saepe parvis posita sunt, omnia momenta observabimus neque ullum praetermitteremus tui iuvandi et levandi locum. 6. Itaque illud alterum, quod dixi, litterarum genus cotidie mihi, ut spero, fiet proclivius, ut etiam polliceri possim: id re quam verbis faciam libentius. Tu velim existimes et plures te amicos habere, quam qui in isto casu sint ac fuerint, quantum quidem ego intellegere potuerim, et me concedere eorum nemini. Fortem fac animum habeas et magnum, quod est in uno te: quae sunt in fortuna, temporibus regentur et consiliis nostris providebuntur.

CCCCXCII. CICERO TO TREBIANUS (FAM. VI. 10, §§ 1-3).

ROME; SEPTEMBER (?); A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

Eidem Trebiano iterum omne quod potest, ut reditum conficiat, pollicetur.

M. CICERO TREBIANO S.

1. Ego quanti te faciam semperque fecerim quantique me a te fieri intellexerim sum mihi ipse testis. Nam et consilium tuum vel casus potius diutius in armis civilibus commorandi semper mihi magno dolori fuit et hic eventus, quod tardius, quam est aequum et quam ego vellem, reciperas fortunam et dignitatem tuam, mihi non minori curae est quam tibi semper fuerunt casus mei. Itaque et Postumuleno et Sestio et saepissime Attico

lenius et liberalius] 'with more indulgence and generosity.'

Quae quoniam . . . posita sunt] 'and since these depend on slight variations of circumstances, I shall watch every change.'

6. *fiet proclivius, ut*] 'it will become easier, viz. my being able to promise as well as to console.' The clause *ut . . . possim* is explanatory of *illud alterum*, just before: *proclivius*, lit. 'downhill work.'

As it is doubtful to what month this letter is to be referred, we have placed it in close proximity with the preceding letter to Trebianus.

1. *diutius*] Trebianus did not retire from the civil war till after the defeat at Thapsus. For Caesar's sternness towards those who had been so persistent in opposing him: cp. Fam. vi. 3, 3 (489).

Postumuleno] It is not uncommon to find names in *-enus* formed from the same

nostro proximeque Theudae, liberto tuo, totum me patefeci et haec his singulis saepe dixi, quacumque re possem, me tibi et liberis tuis satis facere cupere: idque tu ad tuos velim scribas, haec quidem certe, quae in potestate mea sunt, ut operam, consilium, rem, fidem meam sibi ad omnes res paratam putent.

2. Si auctoritate et gratia tantum possem, quantum in ea re publica, de qua ita meritus sum, posse debebam, tu quoque is esses, qui fuisti, cum omni gradu amplissimo dignissimus tum certe ordinis tui facile princeps. Sed quoniam eodem tempore eademque de causa nostrum uterque cecidit, tibi et illa polliceor, quae supra scripsi, quae sunt adhuc mea, et ea, quae praeterea videor mihi ex aliqua parte retinere tamquam ex reliquiis pristinae dignitatis. Neque enim ipse Caesar, ut multis rebus intellegere potui, est alienus a nobis et omnes fere familiarissimi eius casu devincti magnis meis veteribus officiis me diligenter observant et colunt. Itaque si qui mihi erit aditus de tuis fortunis, id est, de tua incolumitate, in qua sunt omnia, agendi, quod quidem cotidie magis ex eorum sermonibus adducor ut sperem, agam per me ipse et moliar. 3. Singula persequi non est necesse: universum studium meum et benevolentiam ad te defero. Sed magni mea interest hoc tuos omnes scire, quod tuis litteris fieri potest, ut intellegant omnia Ciceronis patere Trebiano. Hoc eo pertinet, ut nihil existiment esse tam difficile quod non pro te mihi susceptum iucundum sit futurum.

base as names in *-eius* or *-ius*; as we have here *Postumulenus* which is a collateral form of *Postumuleius*. Thédenat (on an Inscription of Tarentum in *Mélanges Graux*, p. 518) proves this by a large induction in defending *Septumulenus* beside *Septumuleius*. To take one example from many quoted by Thédenat we find in C. I. L. x. 5014 *Vettuleius*, 4862 *Vettulenus*.

2. *debebam*] So we read with Wesenberg (E. A., 15) for *deberem* of the mss, compare Fam. vi. 13, 4 (489), *si tantum possem, quantum in ea republica, de qua ita sum meritus, ut tu existimas, posse debebam*.

omni gradu amplissimo dignissimus] 'in any class of society a most worthy member': *ordinis* sc. the equestrian.

aditus . . . agendi] 'opening for me to treat.'

agam moliar] 'I shall treat personally and make every effort.'

3. *omnia Ciceronis patere Trebiano*] 'that everything which Cicero can do is at the disposal of Trebianus': cp. for a somewhat similar meaning Balb. 24 *praemiis quae pateant stipendiariis, pateant hostibus, pateant saepe servis*: also Fam. xiii. 29, 2 (457) and Sall. Cat. 10, 1, where *patuit* is sometimes read for *paruit* and *patebant* for *parebant*.

CCCCXCIII. CICERO TO CORNIFICIUS, HIS BROTHER
AUGUR (FAM. XII. 17).

ROME; ABOUT SEPTEMBER; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero Q. Cornificio de Syriaco tumultu et urbano otio scribit. Quem nuper scripserat librum de optimo genere dicendi commendat et suum ipsi studium confirmat.

CICERO S. D. CORNIFICIO COLLEGAE.

1. Grata mihi vehementer est memoria nostri tua, quam significasti litteris: quam ut conserves, non quo de tua constantia dubitem, sed quia mos est ita rogandi, rogo. Ex Syria nobis tumultuosiora quaedam nuntiata sunt: quae quia tibi sunt propiora quam nobis, tua me causa magis movent quam mea. Romae summum otium est, sed ita, ut malis salubre aliquod et honestum negotium: quod spero fore; video id curae esse Caesari. 2. Me scito, dum tu absis, quasi occasionem quamdam et licentiam nactum scribere audacius, et cetera quidem fortasse, quae etiam tu concederes: sed proxime scripsi de optimo genere dicendi: in quo

This Q. Cornificius was probably the son of Q. Cornificius who was the unsuccessful candidate for the consulship in 690 (64): cp. Att. i. 1, 1 (10), and who was probably the author of the *Rhet. ad Herennium* (composed about 80 B.C.), see Wilkins' *Introd. to De Orat.*, pp. 49 ff. Young Cornificius married in 704 (50) the daughter of Aurelia Orestilla, widow of Catiline: cp. Fam. viii. 7, 2 (243). In 706 (48) he appears on the side of Caesar as propraetor in Illyricum, where he administered the province and conducted the war both judiciously and effectively (Bell. Alex. 42). It was probably in reward for this service that he was made augur. In 708 (46), he was sent out on some mission to the East, but was soon transferred to the governorship of Africa, where he appears in 700 (44), after the death of Caesar. He held Africa bravely for the Senate against L. Calvisius Sabinus, and for some time against Titus Sextius, the governor of Numidia, who in 711 (43) was ordered by the triumvirs (or Antonius) to take the old province from Cornificius.

Eventually, however, he was defeated by Sextius and killed (App. B. C. iii. 85, iv. 36, 53-56. Dio. xlviii. 17, 21, and Reimar's note on the latter passage.)

1. *Ex Syria*] These words, as Watson points out, seem to afford reasonable evidence that Cornificius at this time held some commission in the East, apparently in a lonely place: (cp. *in ista solitudine*, § 2).

negotium] Cicero appears to hope and to anticipate that Caesar will adopt some measures tending to the revival of the constitution.

2. *quae etiam tu concederes*] 'which even you would tolerate' (or 'pardon') viz. the Paradoxa, the Cato, and the Brutus. For *concedere* cp. 2 Verr. i. 128, *omnibus omnia peccata et maleficia concedere*.

de optimo genere dicendi] i.e. the *Orator ad M. Brutum*; cp. Att. xiv. 20, 3, *cum ipsius (Bruti) precibus adductus scripsissem ad eum 'de optimo genere dicendi.'* Cicero wrote another treatise with a very similar name 'De Optimo Genere Oratorum,' but it is very short, a mere preface

saepe suspicatus sum te a iudicio nostro, sic scilicet, ut doctum hominem ab non indocto, paullum dissidere. Huic tu libro maxime velim ex animo, si minus, gratiae causa suffragere. Dicam tuis, ut eum, si velint, describant ad teque mittant. Puto enim, etiam si rem minus probabis, tamen in ista solitudine, quidquid a me profectum sit, iucundum tibi fore. 3. Quod mihi existimationem tuam dignitatemque commendas, facis tu quidem omnium more, sed velim sic existimes, me, cum amori, quem inter nos mutuum esse intellegam, plurimum tribuam, tum de summo ingenio et de studiis tuis optimis et de spe amplissimae dignitatis ita iudicare, ut neminem tibi anteponam, comparem paucos.

CCCCXCIV. CICERO TO SERVIUS SULPICIUS
(FAM. IV. 3).

ROME; OCTOBER (?); A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero consolatur Ser. Sulpicium, post pugnam Pharsalicam a Caesare Achaiae praefectum, dolentem de rei publicae calamitate.

M. CICERO S. D. SER. SULPICIO.

1. Vehementer te esse sollicitum et in communibus miseriis praecipuo quodam dolore angi multi ad nos cotidie deferunt. Quod quamquam minime miror et meum quodam modo agnosco, doleo tamen te sapientia praeditum prope singulari non tuis bonis delectari potius quam alienis malis laborare. Me quidem, etsi nemini concedo, qui maiorem ex perniciie et peste rei publicae

to some translations from Demosthenes and Aeschines. See Sandys' ed. of the *Orator*, p. liv.

doctum] The family of the Cornificii were distinguished for their writings on the theory of rhetoric: see introductory note above.

Huic tu . . . suffragere] 'I should be very glad if you can express approval of this book sincerely; if not, I hope you will do so for my sake.' A modern writer would hardly venture to make such a request, however much he might expect an over-indulgent criticism from his friends.

On Servius Sulpicius: see Introduction.

1. *praecipuo quodam dolore*] 'by a wholly special kind of grief.' *Quidam* (like *τις* in Greek) is used to indicate that the word to which it is attached does not exactly convey the writer's meaning, either that it is too strong, or that (as in the present case) it is not strong enough: cp. Holden on Off. i. 95; Reid on Lael, 6.

meum] 'as my own case.'

etsi . . . traxerit] *qui* = *ut is*. 'Although I do not grant to anyone that he has suffered more sorrow from the ruin and destruction of the State.' On

molestiam traxerit, tamen multa iam consolantur maximeque conscientia consiliorum meorum. Multo enim ante tamquam ex aliqua specula prospexi tempestatem futuram, neque id solum mea sponte, sed multo etiam magis monente et denuntiante te. Etsi enim afui magnam partam consulatus tui, tamen et absens cognoscebam quae esset tua in hoc pestifero bello cavendo et praedicendo sententia et ipse adfui primis temporibus tui consulatus, cum accuratissime monuisti senatum, collectis omnibus bellis civilibus, ut et illa timerent, quae meminissent, et scirent, cum superiores nullo tali exemplo antea in re publica cognito tam crudeles fuissent, quicumque postea rem publicam oppressisset armis, multo intolerabiliorem futurum. Nam quod exemplo fit, id etiam iure fieri putant, sed aliquid atque adeo multa addunt et adferunt de suo. 2. Quare meminisse debes eos, qui auctoritatem et consilium tuum non sint secuti, sua stultitia occidisse, cum tua prudentia salvi esse potuissent. Dices: 'Quid me ista res consolatur in tantis tenebris et quasi parietinis rei publicae?' Est omnino vix consolabilis dolor: tanta est omnium rerum amissio et desperatio recuperandi: sed tamen et Caesar ipse ita de te iudicat et omnes cives sic existimant, quasi lumen aliquod extinctis ceteris elucere sanctitatem et prudentiam et dignitatem tuam. Haec tibi ad levandas molestias magna esse debent. Quod autem a tuis abes, id eo levius ferendum est, quod eodem tempore a multis et magnis molestiis abes: quas ad te omnes perscriberem, nisi vererer ne ea cognosceres absens, quae quia non vides, mihi videris meliore esse condicione quam nos, qui

the construction of *concedo* Dr. Reid has an excellent note on Lael. 18. When *concedere* means 'to give permission,' to do something, it regularly takes *ut* with the subjunctive; but when it means 'to admit' a fact, it is regularly followed by the accusative with infinitive. The subjoined passage shows the distinction: Rosc. Am. 54, *concedo tibi ut ea praetereas quae, cum taces, nulla esse concedis*. Sometimes, however, Cicero substitutes the subjunctive construction for the infinitive, but not *vice versa*, as Lael. 18, *concedant ut viri boni fuerint*, Fin. v. 78, *Si Stoicis concedis ut virtus sola vitam efficiat beatam*. In such passages the effect of the admission is rather looked to than the admission itself. For an

exactly similar construction to the present one Boeckel compares Fam. x. 3, 2, *nemini concedentem qui tibi vetustate necessitudinis potior possit esse*.

perniciem et peste] For the alliteration cp. our phrase 'rack and ruin.'

in . . . praedicendo] 'in trying to guard against, and in foretelling, this war.' For the fact cp. vol. iii. p. lxxvii.

atque adeo] 'or rather,' cp. Att. i. 17, 9 (23).

2. *parietinis*] 'ruins,' cp. note to Fam. xiii. 1, 3 (199).

tanta . . . recuperandi] 'such is the sense of utter loss and of the hopelessness of recovery.'

sanctitatem] 'uprightness.'

quae quia non vides] cp. Fam. vi. 1, 1

videmus. 3. Hactenus existimo nostram consolationem recte adhibitam esse, quoad certior ab homine amicissimo fieres iis de rebus, quibus levare possent molestiae tuae. Reliqua sunt in te ipso neque mihi ignota nec minima solacia, et, ut quidem ego sentio, multo maxima: quae ego experiens cotidie sic probo, ut ea mihi salutem adferre videantur. Te autem ab initio aetatis memoria teneo summe omnium doctrinarum studiosum fuisse omniaque, quae a sapientissimis ad bene vivendum tradita essent, summo studio curaque didicisse. Quae quidem vel optimis rebus et usui et delectationi esse possent: his vero temporibus habemus aliud nihil in quo acquiescamus. Nihil faciam insolenter, neque te tali vel scientia vel natura praeditum hortabor, ut ad eas te referas artes, quibus a primis temporibus aetatis studium tuum dedisti. 4. Tantum dicam, quod te spero approbaturum, me, postea quam illi arti, cui studueram, nihil esse loci neque in curia neque in foro viderim, omnem meam curam atque operam ad philosophiam contulisse. Tuae scientiae excellenti ac singulari non multo plus quam nostrae relictum est loci. Quare non equidem te moneo, sed mihi ita persuasi, te quoque in iisdem versari rebus, quae, etiam si minus prodessent, animum tamen a sollicitudine abducerent. Servius quidem tuus in omnibus ingenuis artibus in primisque in hac, in qua ego me scripsi acquiescere, ita versatur, ut excellat, a me vero sic diligitur, ut tibi uni concedam, praeterea nemini, mihi que ab eo gratia refertur: in quo ille existimat, quod facile appareat, cum me colat et observet, tibi quoque in eo se facere gratissimum.

(538), *tamen oculi augent dolorem, qui ea, quae ceteri audiunt, intueri coguntur nec avertere a miseriis cogitationem sinunt.*

3. *Hactenus . . . fieres*] 'I think that our consolation is rightly adopted, to the extent of informing you,' &c.: *hactenus* goes with *quoad*, cp. De Leg. i. 14, *ius civile eatenus exercuerunt quoad populum praestare voluerunt.*

et, ut . . . maxima] So we read with Cratander. The mss omit *et*.

sapientissimis] Mendelssohn, by reference to N. D. ii. 60, shows that it is unnecessary to add *viris*, as most editors do after Martyni-Laguna.

4. *Tuae scientiae*] 'your professional knowledge,' i.e. knowledge of law.

quae . . . abducerent] This is a plain statement of the motive from which Cicero composed his philosophical works.

Thus written, the wonder is that they are so good.

ita versatur ut excellat] 'is studying with marked success.'

quod facile appareat] 'as can readily appear' potential subjunctive: cp. Att. ii. 22, 6 (49), *Sed, quod facile sentias, taedet ipsum Pompeium.*

cum me colat] Wesenberg (Em. Alt. 7) argues against the use of *cum* for *quod* here and in Fam. xvi. 16, 1; he seems inclined to go further, and hold generally that in Cicero *cum* never stands for *quod*, but he is very far from having proved that, cp. Fam. xiii. 24, 2 (519). As the ideas of time and cause are connected in all languages, and as it would sound badly to have *quod* twice in such close proximity, we have thought it best to adhere to the mss.

CCCCXCV. CICERO TO SERVIUS SULPICIUS
(FAM. IV. 4).

ROME; OCTOBER (?); A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

Ser. Sulpicii excusatione de litteris saepius uno exemplo missis ex parte accepta scribendi laudat elegantiam, probat consilium de Achaiae administratione non recusanda initum. Narrat de senatus in Marcelli restitutione officio, de studiis Servii filii, aliis rebus.

M. CICERO S. D. SER. SULPICIO.

1. Accipio excusationem tuam, qua usus es, cur saepius ad me litteras uno exemplo dedisses, sed accipio ex ea parte, quatenus aut neglegentia aut improbitate eorum, qui epistolas accipiant, fieri scribis, ne ad nos perferantur: illam partem excusationis, qua te scribis orationis paupertate—sic enim appellas—iisdem verbis epistolas saepius mittere, nec nosco nec probo. Et ego ipse, quem tu per iocum—sic enim accipio—divitias orationis habere dicis, me non esse verborum admodum inopem agnosco: *εἰρωνεύεσθαι* enim non necesse est: sed tamen idem, nec hoc *εἰρωνεύομενος*, facile cedo tuorum scriptorum subtilitati et elegantiae. 2. Consilium tuum, quo te usum scribis hoc Achaicum negotium non recusavisse, cum semper probavissem, tum multo magis probavi lectis tuis proximis litteris. Omnes enim causae, quas commemoras, iustissimae sunt tuaque et auctoritate et prudentia dignissimae. Quod aliter cecidisse rem existimas atque opinatus sis, id tibi nullo modo adsentior. Sed quia tanta perturbatio et

1. *Accipio . . . probo*] ‘I accept your apology for having often sent me letters of exactly the same tenor: but I accept it only so far as it explains that it is through the carelessness and dishonesty of those who take the letters that they are not delivered to me. That part of your apology in which you assign “poverty of language”—these are your words—for often sending me letters which are word for word the same, I neither understand nor countenance.’ Sulpicius said he frequently wrote letters which were exact copies of one another, in order to make sure that one at least of those copies reached Cicero, the letter-carriers (he said) were so careless and dishonest.

εἰρωνεύεσθαι] ‘to be mock-modest.’ *subtilitati et elegantiae*] ‘to your writings in conciseness and neatness of expression,’ cp. De Orat. ii. 28. For *subtilitas* = the plain, clearly expressed style, *τὸ ἰσχυρὸν γένος*, see Quintilian, xii. 10, 58; also Wilkins on De Orat. Introd. p. 41, and note on i. 17. For *elegantia* in this sense of ‘neatness of expression,’ cp. Cic. Fin. ii. 27; and Reid’s note on Sull. 79. Quintilian, x. 1, 78, uses these words to describe the style of Lysias; see Peterson’s note on that passage.

2. *Achaicum*] This would seem to be a proof of some weight that Achaia was a separate province, even in a formal point of view, before 27 B.C. Yet cp. Mommsen R. H. iii. 50, note.

confusio est rerum, ita perculsa et prostrata foedissimo bello iacent omnia, utis cuique locus, ubi ipse sit, et sibi quisque miserri-
mus esse videatur, propterea et tui consilii paenitet te et nos, qui
domi sumus, tibi beati videmur: at contra nobis non tu quidem
vacuus molestiis, sed prae nobis beatus. Atque hoc ipso melior
est tua quam nostra condicio, quod tu quid doleat scribere audes,
nos ne id quidem tuto possumus: nec id victoris vitio, quo nihil
moderatus, sed ipsius victoriae quae civilibus bellis semper est
insolens. 3. Uno te vicimus, quod de Marcelli, collegae tui,
salute paullo ante quam tu cognovimus: etiam mehercule, quod
quem ad modum ea res ageretur vidimus. Nam sic fac existimes,
post has misérias, id est, postquam armis disceptari coeptum est
de iure publico, nihil esse actum aliud cum dignitate. Nam et
ipse Caesar accusata acerbitate Marcelli—sic enim appellabat—
laudataque honorificentissime et aequitate tua et prudentia,
repente praeter spem dixit, ‘se senatui roganti de Marcello ne
hominis quidem causa negaturum.’ Fecerat autem hoc senatus,
ut cum a L. Pisone mentio esset facta de Marcello, et C. Marcellus

confusio] ‘chaos.’

ut . . . videatur] ‘each one thinks the place where he is the most wretched in the world, and himself the most miserable being’: cp. Fam. vi. 4, 3 (540), *tempus est huiusmodi, ut suam quisque condicionem miserrimam putet et ubi quisque sit ibi esse minime velit.*

at contra . . . beatus] ‘but we think that while you are indeed not free from annoyances, yet in comparison with us you are happy.’ For *non tu quidem* Watson compares Fam. i. 7, 7 (114), *non nos quidem*: add Phil. ii. 23, *in eo non tu quidem tota re, sed quod maximum est, temporibus errasti.*

insolens] ‘extravagant.’

3. *postquam . . . publico*] ‘since war began to be the arbiter of state rights.’

et ipse Caesar] Hofmann shows admirably the force of this *et*. There is a slight anacoluthon. If the whole passage had been continued with strict accuracy, instead of *fecerat autem hoc senatus*, Cicero should have written *et senatus hoc fecerat*. Cicero relates both what Caesar did and what the Senate did.

acerbitate Marcelli—sic enim appellabat] ‘the “bitter spirit” of Marcellus—that was the expression he used’: cp. § 1 *sic enim appellas.*

ne hominis quidem] ‘that he would not refuse the senate’s request for Marcellus, because it happened to be urged for just that man’—i. e. he would not allow any special grudge he might have against the individual man Marcellus to stand in the way of his yielding to the expressed wish of the senate. This was a decidedly graceful answer; but it can hardly be what Cicero refers to when he speaks of the respect shown to Marcellus on the occasion of his restoration: cp. Fam. vi. 6, 10 (488), *Marcellum cui maxime succensebat cum summa illius dignitate restituit.* The dignity consisted rather in the high Roman formality with which the motion was passed (§ 4). Hofmann reads *ne ominis quidem causa*, ‘even though it was a bad omen’: i. e. it was a bad omen for the friendly co-operation of Caesar and the senate in the future that the first request of the latter should be one which asked such a hard thing of Caesar, namely, that he should show leniency to his bitterest enemy.

L. Pisone] Caesar’s father-in-law. He had been consul with Gabinius in 696 (58).

C. Marcellus] cp. note on Fam. iv. 7, 6 (486).

se ad Caesaris pedes abiecisset, cunctus consurgeret et ad Caesarem supplex accederet. Noli quaerere : ita mihi pulcher hic dies visus est, ut speciem aliquam viderer videre quasi reviviscentis rei publicae. 4. Itaque cum omnes ante me rogati gratias Caesari egissent praeter Volcatium—is enim, si eo loco esset, negavit se facturum fuisse—, ego rogatus mutavi meum consilium. Nam statueram non mehercule inertia, sed desiderio pristinae dignitatis in perpetuum tacere. Fregit hoc meum consilium et Caesaris magnitudo animi et senatus officium. Itaque pluribus verbis egi Caesari gratias, meque metuo ne etiam in ceteris rebus honesto otio privarim, quod erat unum solatium in malis. Sed tamen, quoniam effugi eius offensionem, qui fortasse arbitraretur me hanc rem publicam non putare, si perpetuo tacerem, modice hoc faciam aut etiam intra modum, ut et illius voluntati et meis studiis serviam.

4. *omnes ante me rogati*] It may appear strange that such a question should be passed *per exquisitas sententias*, and not simply *per discessionem*, i. e. straight off by a division; especially in this case where the opinion of the senate appears to have been so marked. Hofmann supposes that in questions relating to individuals the procedure *per exquisitas sententias* was customary; and we know it was the case with regard to triumphs: cp. Phil. iii. 24, *senatusconsultum de supplicatione per discessionem fecit cum id factum esset antea nunquam*. But there were no special classes of question which the law required to be passed by each method. The regular procedure in all cases was *per exquisitas sententias*, and, though on unimportant matters the president might dispense with the questioning, yet any senator had a right to demand that questioning in any case: cp. note to Att. v. 4, 2 (187). It was considered unseemly to decide an important matter *per discessionem* (cp. Tac. Ann. vi. 12); and it certainly made the motion for the recall of Marcellus more dignified, that it was passed with great circumstance and with all due form and ceremony: cp. Fam. vi. 6, 10 (488), quoted on § 3.

si eo loco esset] i. e. if Volcatius had been in Caesar's place he would not have done what Caesar did when he allowed Marcellus to return. Some commentators, as Manutius, suppose that the clause means that if Volcatius had been in the place of Marcellus he would not have

accepted Caesar's clemency. But while Volcatius might have said, 'I would not have done it if I had been in Caesar's place,' he could not possibly have said, 'I would not have done it if I had been in Marcellus' place': for Marcellus had not done anything: it was his friends who had moved in the matter.

Fregit hoc meum consilium] 'This resolution of mine broke down utterly under such magnanimity on the part of Caesar, and loyalty on that of the Senate' (Jeans).

egi Caesari gratias] i. e. in the speech Pro Marcello. In § 2 of that speech Cicero says, *ergo et mihi meae pristinae vitae consuetudinem, C. Caesar, interclusam aperuisti*. For *pluribus verbis* 'at considerable length': cp. Verr. iv. 64.

Sed tamen] 'But be that as it may, since I have avoided his displeasure—for he perchance might think, if I persistently kept silence, that I did not consider his government constitutional—I shall not in this transcend the bounds of moderation, or rather I shall keep well within them, so as to meet his wishes without prejudice to my own studies.' Gellius, xii. 13, 22–24, in a discussion on the meaning of *intra*, after quoting this passage, continues, *Modice dixerat hoc faciam id est cum modo aequo et pari: deinde, quasi hoc displiceret et corrigere id vellet, addidit: aut etiam intra modum: per quod minus sese ostendit id facturum esse quam quod fieri modice videretur: id est, non ad ipsum modum, sed retro paululum et citra modum*.

Nam etsi a prima aetate me omnis ars et doctrina liberalis et maxime philosophia delectavit, tamen hoc studium cotidie ingravescit, credo et aetatis maturitate ad prudentiam et his temporum vitiis, ut nulla res alia levare animum molestiis possit. 5. A quo studio te abduci negotiis intellego ex tuis litteris: sed tamen aliquid iam noctes te adiuwabunt. Servius tuus vel potius noster summa me observantia colit: cuius ego cum omni probitate summaque virtute tum studiis doctrinaque delector. Is mecum saepe de tua mansione aut decessione communicat. Adhuc in hac sententia, nihil ut faciamus nisi quod maxime Caesar velle videatur. Res sunt eius modi, ut, si Romae sis, nihil te praeter tuos delectare possit. De reliquis nihil melius ipso est Caesare, cetera eius modi, ut, si alterum utrum necesse sit, audire ea malis quam videre. Hoc nostrum consilium nobis minime iucundum est, qui te videre cupimus, sed consulimus tibi. Vale.

CCCCXCVI. MARCUS MARCELLUS TO CICERO
(FAM. IV. 11).

MYTILENE ; OCTOBER ; A. U. C. 708 ; B. C. 46 ; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Marcellus se Ciceronis auctoritate plus etiam quam C. Marcelli fratris commotum esse significat, ut reditum in patriam pararet, eiusque benevolentiam sibi maxime gratam fuisse.

MARCELLUS CICERONI S.

1. Plurimum valuisse apud me tuam semper auctoritatem cum in omne re tum in hoc maxime negotio potes existimare. Cum

Nam etsi . . . prudentiam] 'For although from my earliest youth every branch of a cultivated and liberal education, and especially philosophy, charmed me, yet this latter study is with me every day becoming more serious, as my years ripen in wisdom.' *Ingravescere* is used properly of a disease which is getting worse (De Div. ii. 16, Plin. Epp. ii. 20, 5) and is seldom found, as here, in a favourable sense. *Ad prudentiam* lit. 'in reference to wisdom,' or perhaps, 'as my years are ripening towards wisdom,' *prudentia* being regarded as a kind of ideal, like *φρόνησις* in Greek philosophy. Cicero was now sixty years old.

levare animum] cp. Fam. iv. 3, 3 (494).

5. *cuius . . . delector*] 'and I am delighted as well by his thorough sense of honour and excellent character as by his literary tastes.'

de tua mansione aut decessione] 'On the question whether you should remain in the province or return home.' Mr. Watson quotes for this use of *decessio*, Q. Fr. i. 2, 1 (53), *si una tecum decederet*, Muren. 37, 68, Planc. 67, where Holden quotes Sall. Jug. 36, 4 *Albinus Romam decessit*, 'left his province and came to Rome.'

delectare] often used absolutely, e. g. Q. Fr. ii. 13, 1 (141), Fam. vi. 4, 4 (540), so that there is no necessity to add *te* with Baiter: cp. Lehmann, pp. 16, 17.

mihi C. Marcellus, frater amantissimus mei, non solum consilium daret, sed precibus quoque me obsecraret, non prius mihi persuadere potuit quam tuis est effectum litteris ut uterer vestro potissimum consilio. Res quem ad modum sit acta vestrae litterae mihi declarant. Gratulatio tua etsi est mihi probatissima, quod ab optimo fit animo, tamen hoc mihi multo iucundius est et gratius, quod in summa paucitate amicorum, propinquorum ac necessariorum, qui vere meae saluti faverent, te cupidum esse mei singularemque mihi benevolentiam praestitisse cognovi. 2. Reliqua sunt eius modi, quibus ego, quoniam haec erant tempora, facile et aequo animo carebam: hoc vero eius modi esse statuo, ut sine talium virorum et amicorum benevolentia neque in adversa neque in secunda fortuna quisquam vivere possit. Itaque in hoc ego mihi gratulor. Tu vero ut intellegas homini amicissimo te tribuisse officium, re tibi praestabo. Vale.

CCCCXCVII. CICERO TO PAPIRIUS PAETUS

(FAM. IX. 21).

ROME; MONTH UNCERTAIN; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero cum L. Paeto iocatur, quod ille se eius orationis fulmina imitari non posse scripserat: tum negat recte existimasse familiarem suum, Papirium quemquam nisi plebeium fuisse, id quod ita confutat, ut eius gentis historiam interponat.

CICERO PAETO S.

1. Ain tandem? insanire tibi videris, quod imitere verborum meorum, ut scribis, fulmina? Tum insanires, si consequi non

1. *tuis litteris*] Cicero's letter to Marcellus, which gave an account of the debate in the senate about his recall, cp. Fam. iv. 4, 3 (495), and to which this is an answer, is unfortunately lost.

cupidum esse mei] The mss give *cupidissimum*, whence Wesenberg (E. A. 8) reads *cupidissimum mei esse*, for we certainly require *esse* to balance *praestitisse*. But the reading in the text is simpler.

2. *eius modi, quibus . . . carebam*] 'The rest of the matters (which you urge in order to induce me to return to Rome) are such as they are, and I can easily and contentedly forego them when circumstances are like the present.' We must

avoid translating 'are such that I can easily forego them,' as that would require *caream*: cp. Fam. iv. 14, 1 (535), *quod est difficile in eius modi bello cuius exitus ex altera parte caedem ostendat, ex altera servitutem* 'in a war like the present; as its issue,' &c.

The opening words of this letter refer to a criticism of Paetus on Cicero's speech *Pro Marcello*.

1. *Ain tandem?*] 'Really you don't say so': this is a common usage in conversational style, cp. Att. vi. 1, 17 (252), and is accordingly frequent in the comedies (Plaut. Asin. v. 2, 46, Aul. ii. 4, 19). *fulmina*] often applied to the eloquence

posses : cum vero etiam vincas, me prius irrideas quam te oportet. Quare nihil tibi opus est illud a Trabea, sed potius ἀπότευγμα meum. Verum tamen quid tibi ego videor in epistolis? nonne plebeio sermone agere tecum? nec enim semper eodem modo. Quid enim simile habet epistola aut iudicio aut contioni? quin ipsa iudicia non solemus omnia tractare uno modo. Privatas causas et eas tenues agimus subtilius, capitis aut famae scilicet ornatius : epistolas vero cotidianis verbis texere solemus. 2. Sed tamen, mi Paete, qui tibi venit in mentem negare Papirium quemquam umquam nisi plebeium fuisse? fuerunt enim patricii minorum gentium, quorum princeps L. Papirius Mugillanus, qui censor cum L. Sempronio Atriatino fuit (cum ante consul cum eodem fuisset), annis post Romam conditam cccxii. Sed tum Papisii dicebamini. Post hunc xiii sederunt in sella curuli ante

of Demosthenes: compare Cicero Orat. 234 and Sandys' note, who quotes Att. xv., 1b. 2, Δημοσθένους *fulmina*, the Treatise on the Sublime 34, καταβροντᾷ καὶ καταφέγγγει τοὺς ἀπ' αἰῶνος ῥητόρας, and the celebrated passage from Milton, Paradise Regained, iv. 270, 'and fulminated over Greece to Macedon and Artaxerxes' throne.'

Quare] 'Wherefore you need not have adduced that quotation from Trabea, the fiasco rather was mine.' Ribbeck (Fr. Com. 32) says: 'Paetum Trabeae versu quodam usum esse quo significaret non succedere ipsi quod aggressus erat, coniecit Manutius: immo ipsam illam imitandi insaniam vel ἀπότευγμα nimiam sibi esse animi voluptatem videtur Paetus scripsisse;' referring to the line of Trabea, *Ego voluptatem animi nimiam summum esse errorem arbitror*. But Cicero would probably have quoted this line, or, at least, some portion of it, as it was a favourite of his (Fam. ii. 9 (224) Tusc. iv. 35; Fin. ii. 13), so that it is better to confess our ignorance of the exact quotation. Wesenberg (E. A. 30) thinks that *insanire*, *imitere*, *fulmina*, are parts of the quotation from Trabea, which signified that he was mad who attempted to imitate the thunder of Jupiter.

subtilius] 'in a plain, unadorned fashion.' Wilkins on De Orat. i. 17 traces the meaning of *subtilis* from its original sense of 'finely woven' (a sense not found in Cicero) through its various metaphorical senses (all found in Cicero)

of (1) refined, graceful (2), precise, accurate (3), plain, unadorned, cp. note on Fam. iv. 4, 1 (495), and Peterson on Quintil. x. 1, 78. We have constantly emphasised what Cicero here asserts, viz. *epistolas vero cotidianis verbis texere solemus*: see esp. vol. i.² pp. 59 ff.

2. *Sed tamen*] 'but be that as it may, yet.'

Papirium] G. F. Unger (N. Jahrb. für Philologie, 1891, pp. 646, ff.) thinks that Cicero may have derived his knowledge of the following matters of history from the Annals of Libo, which appear to have been published in this year. Cicero refers to the same work again next year (Att. xiii. 30, 3; 44, 3).

patricii minorum gentium] These were the heads of patrician families belonging originally to the Latin, Sabine or Etrurian communities, neighbouring on Rome, who, when their cities were incorporated into the Roman state, and their families into the patriciate, were themselves received into the Senate. The Papirii Mugillani are the only *gens* positively mentioned as having belonged to the *minores gentes*: cp. Willems, *Le Sénat*, i. 21-2.

ante] i.e. in 310 (444 B.C.).

Papisii] Tradition ascribed the change of *s* into *r* (cp. Quintil. i. 4, 13), to Appius Claudius Caecus, cons. 307 (447): cp. Dig. 1, 2, 2, 36.

sederunt in sella curuli] We have adopted Wesenberg's (E. A. 30) correction of *fuerunt sella curuli* of the mss. He justly denies that *sella curuli* can be

L. Papirium Crassum, qui primum Papisius est vocari desitus. Is dictator, cum L. Papirio Cursore magistro equitum, factus est annis post Romam conditam ccccxv et quadriennio post consul cum K. Duilio. Hunc secutus est Cursor, homo valde honoratus; deinde L. Masso aedilicius: inde multi Massones. Quorum quidem tu, omnium patriciorum, imagines habeas volo. 3. Deinde Carbones et Turdi insecuntur. Hi plebei fuerunt, quos contemnas censeo. Nam praeter hunc C. Carbonem, quem Damasippus occidit, civis e re publica Carbonum nemo fuit. Cognovimus Cn. Carbonem et eius fratrem scurram: quid his improbius? De hoc amico meo, Rubriae filio, nihil dico. Tres illi fratres fuerunt C., Cn., M. Carbones. Marcus P. Flacco accusante est condemnatus, fur magnus, ex Sicilia: Gaius accusante L. Crasso cantharidas sump-

considered as a quality of the man; and says that you might as well say *homo erat equo bono* for 'the man had a good horse': cp. also note to Fam. viii. 2, 1 (196). The corruption arose because *sed* was written *s*, and IN dropped out after NT. For *sedere in sella curuli*, Wesenberg compares Att. iv. 10, 1 (121).

Cursor, homo valde honoratus] he was consul six times and dictator three times between 414 (340) and 445 (309).

aedilicius] This man probably never attained a higher magistracy than the aedileship which he held in 431 (323).

multi Massones] Six are given in Dict. Biogr. 'and I would have you hold that the images of all these are images of patricians.'

3. *Carbones*] We append a genealogy of the Carbones, slightly altered, from the Dict. Biogr.*

C. Carbonem, quem Damasippus occidit] No. 6. He was slain in 672 (82). He

was a very rhythmical speaker (Orat. 213, Brut. 221). He was trib. pl. in 664 (90), and one of the authors of the Lex Plautia Papiria which granted citizenship to the Italians.

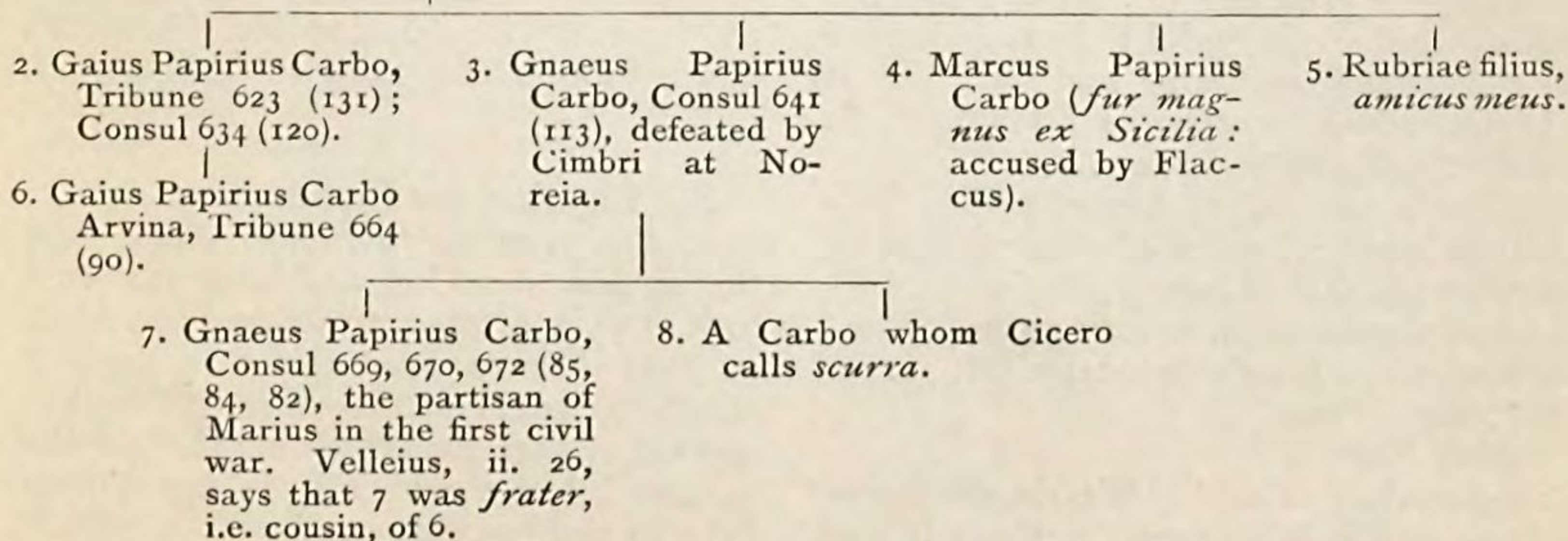
Rubriae filio] No. 5; but possibly he may have been a son of a brother of No. 1, as *frater* can mean 'cousin.'

illi] No. 5. *Tres fratres*, Nos. 2, 3, 4.

Marcus] of him we know nothing more than what is recorded here.

Gaius] He was a great orator. In 621 (133), he was *triumvir agrorum dividundorum*, and in 623 (131) trib. pl. During this year he proposed two most important measures (1) that re-election to the tribunate should be allowed as often as it was necessary; (2) that vote should be by ballot in the case of legislative enactments. Up to about 629 (125), he had been a democrat: then he turned aristocrat, and so losing favour

* 1. C. Papirius Carbo, Praetor 586 (168): cp. Liv. xlv. 17, xlv. 12.



sisse dicitur : is et tribunus pl. seditiosus *fuit* et P. Africano vim attulisse existimatus est. Hoc vero, qui Lilybaei a Pompeio nostro est interfectus, improbior nemo meo iudicio fuit. Iam pater eius accusatus a M. Antonio sutorio atramento absolutus putatur. Qua re ad patres censeo revertare : plebei quam fuerint importuni, vides.

CCCCXCVIII. CICERO TO QUINTUS LIGARIUS

(FAM. VI. 14).

ROME ; NOVEMBER 26 ; A. U. C. 708 ; B. C. 46 ; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero Q. Ligario significat se cum C. Caesare de eius salute egisse eumque iam bene sperare iubet.

CICERO LIGARIO.

1. Me scito omnem meum laborem, omnem operam, curam, studium in tua salute consumere : nam cum te semper maxime dilexi, tum fratrum tuorum, quos aequae atque te summa benevolentia sum complexus, singularis pietas amorque fraternus nullum me patitur officii erga te stœdiique munus aut tempus praetermittere. Sed quae faciam fecerimque pro te ex illorum te litteris quam ex meis malo cognoscere. Quid autem sperem aut confidam et exploratum habeam de salute tua, id tibi a me declarari volo.

with both parties was accused of *repetundae* by L. Crassus in 635 (119), and committed suicide : cp. Rein *Criminalrecht*, p. 648, Zumpt. *Criminalprocess*, p. 470.

cantharidas] a very deadly poison : cp. Ovid, *Ibis*, 306 ; Plutarch, *De and. Poet.* c. 5 (= 22, 6).

fuit] Wesenberg (E. A. 31) supplies this word. It might have dropped out between *seditiosus* and *et*. If it is not added *existimatus est* would be understood with *seditiosus*.

P. Africano] That Africanus died from natural causes, and that the charges of murder against different politicians were probably calumnies, is now generally admitted, since Ihne's discussion (R. H. iv. 417, Eng. Trans.).

Hoc] No. 7.

pater eius] No. 3. We do not know of what he was accused ; perhaps it was

of *perduellio* on account of his defeat by the Cimbri : cp. Rein, *op. cit.*, p. 493.

sutorio atramento absolutus] 'acquitted by shoemaker's vitriol,' i.e. he poisoned himself with this chemical (sulphate of copper). It was called *χάλκανθον* in Greek : cp. Plin. H. N. xxxiv. 123.

patres] 'patricians.'

importuni] 'monstrous,' 'unnatural' : cp. Cluent. 12, 177, and Mr. Faussett's discussion on the word in his glossary, p. 278.

For Ligarius, see Introduction.

1. *tum fratrum tuorum*] 'moreover the sincere devotion and true fraternal love of your brother, to whom, as well as to you, I have ever felt the warmest affection, would not allow me to neglect any act or occasion which could show the earnest interest which it is my simple duty to feel towards you.'

Nam si quisquam est timidus in magnis periculosisque rebus semperque magis adversos rerum exitus metuens quam sperans secundos, is ego sum, et si hoc vitium est, eo me non carere confiteor. 2. Ego idem tamen cum a. d. v. Kal. intercalares priores rogatu fratrum tuorum venissem mane ad Caesarem atque omnem adeundi et conveniendi illius indignitatem et molestiam pertulissem, cum fratres et propinqui tui iacerent ad pedes et ego essem locutus, quae causa, quae tuum tempus postulabat, non solum ex oratione Caesaris, quae sane mollis et liberalis fuit, sed etiam ex oculis et vultu, ex multis praeterea signis, quae facilius perspicere potui quam scribere, hac opinione discessi, ut mihi tua salus dubia non esset. 3. Quam ob rem fac animo magno fortique sis, et, si turbidissima sapienter ferebas, tranquilliora laete feras. Ego tamen tuis rebus sic adero ut difficillimis, neque Caesari solum, sed etiam amicis eius omnibus, quos mihi amicissimos esse cognovi, pro te, sicut adhuc feci, libentissime supplicabo. Vale.

CCCCXCIX. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 6).

TUSCULUM ; SECOND INTERCALARY MONTH ; A. U. C. 708 ; B. C. 46 ;
AET. CIC. 60.

De negotio Caeliano, de Tyrannionis quodam libro, de Oratore suo, de Caesare, de Atticae valetudine.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. De Caelio, vide, quaeso, ne quae lacuna sit in auro. Ego ista non novi. Sed certe in collubo est detrimenti satis. Huc

2. *intercalares priores*] In this year (the *ultimus annus confusionis*), as the calendar had become some 80 days wrong, not only was the ordinary intercalation of the month Mercedonius made in February, but two extraordinary intercalary months (of 29 and 28 days respectively) were inserted between November and December, and also an additional period of ten days. The date here signified is accordingly November 26th of the old calendar, which was really about September 23.

indignitatem et molestiam] 'degradation and annoyance.'

mollis et liberalis] 'mild and generous.'

3. *et, si . . . feras*] 'and if you have met fortune's worst storms with wisdom, so meet her calmer weather now with gladness of heart.'

1. *Caelio*] Caelius was a banker ; Cicero refers to him, Att. xii. 5, 2.

lacuna] 'flaw,' 'defect' in the gold ; the word is sometimes used by Cicero to indicate more generally 'loss,' e.g. *lacunam rei familiaris explere*, 2 Verr. ii. 138. The Latin for a 'dimple' is *lacuna*.

ista non novi] 'I am not versed in such matters.'

collubo] 'exchange,' 'agio.' Cicero

aurum si accedit sed quid loquor? Tu videbis. Habes Hegesiae genus, quod Varro laudat. 2. Venio ad Tyrannionem. Ain tu? verum hoc fuit? sine me? At ego quotiens, cum essem otiosus, sine te tamen nolui? Quo modo hoc ergo lues? Uno scilicet, si mihi librum miseris: quod ut facias, etiam atque etiam rogo. Etsi me non magis liber ipse delectabit quam tua admiratio delectavit. Amo enim πάντα φιλειδήμονα, teque istam tam tenuem θεωρίαν tam valde admiratum esse gaudeo. Etsi tua quidem sunt eius modi omnia. Scire enim vis, quo uno animus alitur. Sed, quaeso, quid ex ista acuta et gravi refertur ad τέλος? Sed longa oratio est et tu occupatus es in meo fortasse aliquo

says 'the exchange will involve loss enough; if to this is to be added loss arising from the inferior quality of the material of the coin——' and then breaks off with an aposiopesis, which he says is characteristic of the style of the rhetorician Hegesias, who introduced the Asiatic school of rhetoric, and who was commended by Varro. For Hegesias of Magnesia see Mommsen, R. H. iv. p. 567. Mommsen makes him responsible for 'the vulgarism of Asia Minor,' which was a reaction from the classicism which had hitherto prevailed in the higher language of conversation, and consequently also in literature. Hegesias and his school rebelled 'against the orthodox Atticism, and demanded full currency for the language of life without distinction, whether the word or phrase originated in Attica, or in Caria and Phrygia.' The prevailing characteristic of the style of Hegesias was its 'abruptness.'

2. *Tyrannionem*] Tyrannio had written a book on accents, περὶ προσωδιῶν, which Cicero was annoyed to find that Atticus had read without waiting for him to read it with him. Cicero had more than once put off his perusal of the work until Atticus should be with him. He says Atticus can only atone for his error now by sending him the book.

πάντα φιλειδήμονα] This is a very probable correction of φιλόδημον of the mss, which used to be explained by supposing that Cicero writes to Atticus, 'I like every man to be patriotic, and so I am glad to find that you, Atticus, admire the work of this Greek, Tyrannio.' But this is very forced, and the corrected reading gives a natural sentiment, and one often expressed or hinted at by Cicero. 'I

like every man to have a taste for knowledge' (of all sorts). We should prefer to read παντοφιλειδήμονα, a word which would have been very likely to undergo corruption. He likes a man to desire knowledge of all sorts, even of such minute studies as the doctrine of accentuation. Reading πάντα φιλειδήμονα we are obliged to supply in thought a word or words expressing 'of all sorts,' which is conveyed by παντοφιλειδήμονα. He often quotes the Greek sentiment, γλυκύτερον οὐδὲν ἢ πάντ' εἰδέναι.

tua sunt eius modi omnia] 'the whole bent of your mind is for subtle speculations.'

quo uno] 'you desire knowledge, which is the only pabulum of the mind.' This is a good example of the difference between the indicative and subjunctive; with alitur the meaning would be, 'you want to know by what the mind is fed.'

quid ex ista acuta et gravi] 'what in that acute and grave treatise has any bearing on the ultimate principle of conduct?' The epithets chosen contain a play on the 'acute and grave' accents, which were the subject of the treatise; Cicero had projected at this time the De Finibus, a treatise on the τέλος, the summum bonum or ultimate principle of conduct; no doubt he had unfolded his project to Atticus in a lost letter, and now observes that this particular study is not germane to its scope.

Sed longa oratio] We cannot understand this passage at all, except on the hypothesis that a sentence has fallen out in which Cicero wrote to Atticus about his projected De Finibus, and probably asked Atticus to give his judgment on some scheme of the future work. The

negotio. Et pro isto asso sole, quo tu abusus es in nostro pratulo, a te nitidum solem unctumque repetemus. Sed ad prima redeo. Librum, si me amas, mitte. Tuus est enim profecto, quoniam quidem est missus ad te.

3. Chremes, tantumne ab re tua est oti tibi ,

ut etiam 'Oratorem' legas? Macte virtute! Mihi quidem gratum est et erit gratius, si non modo in libris tuis, sed etiam in aliorum per librarios tuos 'Aristophanem' reposueris pro 'Eupoli.'

4. Caesar autem mihi irridere visus est 'quaeso' illud tuum, quod erat εὐπινὲς et urbanum. Ita porro te sine cura esse iussit, ut

missing sentence may have ended with the word τέλος, and so may have fallen a victim to that common source of omissions in mss called *corruptio ex homoeoteleuto*. He breaks off with the reflection, 'It would take a long time to develop to you my scheme, and you are busy, probably on my affairs.'

asso sole] In his Brutus Cicero introduced Atticus as one of the interlocutors in the discussion about distinguished orators, held in pratulo propter Platonis statuam (Brut. 24). Atticus had a far higher opinion of that treatise than Cicero himself entertained. Now if we may assume that Cicero thought of giving Atticus a place among the speakers in the De Finibus he might very well have written here words which would playfully express the sentiment that he would put into the mouth of Atticus in the projected dialogue far more ornate and elegant language than that with which he had furnished him in the Brutus. He calls the whole dialogue 'a basking' (sole) because it was held in pratulo, and he writes, 'Instead of that dry basking in the meadow we shall call on you for one full of unguents and all sorts of richness.' Then he returns to the subject of Tyrannio's book on accents. He did introduce Atticus into De Fin. v., but did not give him much to say. In Att. xiii. 12, 3, he calls the De Fin. περὶ τελῶν σύνταξιν, and writes, Bruto, ut tibi placuit, despondimus. Perhaps Atticus requested Cicero not to give him an important place among the characters in the dialogue.

[I feel sure there is no allusion to the De Finibus. The word τέλος is to be explained by tua sunt eius modi omnia : scire enim vis. The τέλος of Atticus is to obtain

knowledge. But is any real knowledge to be gained from a work on so trivial a subject as that of accentuation? It would take long to discuss the point, as Atticus is so delighted with Tyrannio's book. The sentence Et pro isto . . . repetemus is to be explained by the one preceding. Its general drift is, 'I shall be getting a much greater boon from you (in the great attention you are giving to my affairs; cp. the last sentence of Att. xii. 5, 2, te quidem . . . ignota) than the boon I conferred on you (in giving you a place in my Brutus).' Repetemus = I shall be claiming in return—J. S. R.].

abusus es] Abuti means 'to use to the full' in many passages of Cicero; in others of course it means 'to use ill,' 'to abuse.'

3. Chremes . . . tibi] Ter. Heaut. i. 1, 23.

Aristophanem . . . pro Eupoli] See Orator 29, and Dr. Sandys's note there. The verses which Cicero wrongly ascribed to Eupolis were verses in the Acharnians of Aristophanes, 530—

ἐντεῦθεν ὀργῇ Περικλέης Οὐλύμπιος
ἥστραπτ' ἐβρόντα ξυνεκύκα τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

The mistake of Cicero arose from the fact that Eupolis also often called Pericles 'the Olympian' or Zeus (ὁ σχινοκέφαλος Ζεύς). In Brut. 38 and 59 Cicero refers to two celebrated eulogies of Eupolis on Pericles, that 'he alone of all the speakers left his sting in his hearers,' and that 'persuasion sat upon his lips.'

4. 'quaeso'] Atticus must have used this word too often, and thus incurred the bantering of Caesar. The word itself is frequently used by Cicero.

εὐπινὲς] 'quaint,' almost as we would say, 'a classicism.'

mihi quidem dubitationem omnem tolleret. Atticam doleo *tam* diu, sed quoniam iam sine horrore est, spero esse ut volumus.

D. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 7).

TUSCULUM; SECOND INTERCALARY MONTH; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46;
AET. CIC. 60.

De Cicerone ne eat in Hispaniam, de Balbo et Dolabella.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Quae desideras, omnia scripsi in codicillis—eosque Eroti dedi—breviter, sed etiam plura quam quaeris, in iis de Cicerone, cuius quidem cogitationis initium tu mihi attulisti. Locutus sum cum eo liberalissime, quod ex ipso velim, si modo tibi erit commodum, sciscitere. Sed quid differo? exposui te ad me detulisse, et quid vellet, et quid requireret: 'velle Hispaniam, requirere liberalitatem.' De liberalitate dixi, quantum Publilius,

dubitationem] This refers to the case of the Buthrotians, whose land was in danger of confiscation, but owed its preservation to the good offices of Atticus with Caesar. Cicero says the tone of Caesar to Atticus was such as to leave no doubt in his mind that everything would go as Atticus wished.

tam diu] sc. *febri laborare*.
horrore] 'shivering.'

1. *in codicillis*] See on Q. Fr. ii. 9, 1 (132).

cuius . . . initium] 'of whose intentions you gave me the first notice'; in *Cicerone* he refers to his son Marcus.

quod ex ipso velim] 'I wish you would ask him, if convenient, whether this is not so,' whether I have not adopted a most liberal view in my dealings with him.

exposui . . . liberalitatem] 'I explained that you had communicated to me both what were his wishes, and what his requirements, namely, that his wish was a journey to Spain (to join Caesar), and his requirements a liberal allowance: on the latter point I told him that I would give him as much as Publilius or

the Flamen Lentulus allowed their sons. On the subject of Spain, I put forward two arguments: first, the one which I used to you, that I feared unfavourable comment: *Was it not enough for us to abandon Pompey's cause?* people would say; *must we even embrace Caesar's?* Secondly, I urged that he would be galled by being completely surpassed by his cousin Quintus in the friendship and favour of Caesar.'

We read with Boot and Wesenberg *ad me* for *ex me*, which could not mean 'by my orders.' *Ecquid* is quite inexplicable; it could only be taken as the adverb, as in Fam. vii. 16, 3 (157), *ecquid in Italiam venturi sitis fac sciam*, and then *vellet* and *requireret* would want an object. *Requirere* generally has the meaning of 'to miss,' 'to notice the loss of,' but here it is just the same as our 'require,' as in *virtutes requiruntur*, Leg. Manil. 64; *magnam res diligentiam requirebat*, Caes. B. G. vi. 34. Publilius is probably the father of Publilia, the young lady whom Cicero was now thinking of marrying, having divorced Terentia, Att. xii. 11.

quantum flamen Lentulus filio. De Hispania duo attuli, primum idem, quod tibi, me vereri vituperationem: non satis esse, si haec arma reliquissemus? etiam contraria? deinde fore, ut angeretur, cum a fratre familiaritate et omni gratia vinceretur. Vellem magis liberalitate uti mea quam sua libertate: sed tamen permisi: tibi enim intellexeram non nimis displicere. Ego etiam atque etiam cogitabo teque ut idem facias rogo. Magna res est, simplex est manere, illud anceps: verum videbimus. 2. De Balbo et in codicillis scripseram, et ita cogito, simul ac redierit. Sin ille tardius, ego tamen triduum, et, quod praeterii, Dolabella etiam mecum.

DI. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 8).

TUSCULUM; SECOND INTERCALARY MONTH; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46;
AET. CIC. 60.

De Cicerone, tum quid Caesar egerit cum candidatis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

De Cicerone, multis res placet, comes est idoneus. Sed de prima pensione ante videamus. Adest enim dies et ille currit. Scribe, quaeso, quid referat Celer egisse Caesarem cum candidatis,

vellem magis] 'I wish he would take advantage of my handsome offer rather than his own independence. However, I have left the matter to his discretion.' Cicero wished his son to go to Athens to study, and was willing to give him an allowance of about £850 a-year. See I², p. 38.

Magna res] 'it is an important step; his staying here can involve no complications, while his going to Spain will.'

2. *et ita cogito*] Without the *codicilli* we cannot fill up the ellipse. As Balbus is mentioned afterwards in connexion with Tullia's dower, Att. xii. 12, 1; perhaps here too that is the reference; the ellipse would then be *nos rem confecturos*.

triduum] sc. *Romae ero*.

Dolabella etiam mecum] sc. *est* or *erit*.

De Cicerone] sc. *consilium*; 'my design of sending him to Athens is generally approved of.'

comes] L. Tullius Montanus; see Att. xii. 52, 1.

de prima pensione] 'let us see to securing the payment of the first instalment of Tullia's dower, by Dolabella's agents': cp. *teneor dum a Dolabellae procuratoribus exigam primam pensionem*. Fam. vi. 18, 5 (534). Tullia was now divorced from Dolabella.

ille currit] 'Dolabella is hasting off to Caesar's camp in Spain,' Cicero seems to think it will be harder to get the money when Dolabella leaves.

Celer] Q. Pilius Celer, the father-in-law of Atticus, mentioned Att. x. 1, 4 (378); xi. 4, 1 (413).

utrum ipse in Fenicularium an in Martium campum cogitet. Et scire sane velim num quid necesse sit comitiis esse Romae. Nam et Piliae satis faciendum est et utique Atticae.

DII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 11).

TUSCULUM ; SECOND INTERCALARY MONTH ; A. U. C. 708 ; B. C. 46 ;
AET. CIC. 60.

De morte Seii, de Postumia Sulpicii, de Pompeii filia, de aliis condicionibus.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Male de Seio. Sed omnia humana tolerabilia ducenda. Ipsi enim quid sumus aut quam diu haec curaturi sumus? Ea videamus, quae ad nos magis pertinent, nec tamen multo: quid agamus de senatu. Et, ut ne quid praetermittam, Caesonius ad me litteras misit Postumiam Sulpicii domum ad se venisse. De

utrum ipse in Fenicularium] The meaning is: What does Celer report about Caesar's arrangements with the candidates for the approaching *comitia*? Will Caesar nominate the magistrates himself in Spain, or leave the election to the people in Rome? The way in which he chooses to express this is, 'Will the Master (*ipse*) proceed to the plain of Fennel or of Mars for the purpose of the election?' The *Campus Fenicularius* is the Latin form of τὸ μαραθῶνος πεδῖον, 'the Plain of the Fennel-bed' in Spain mentioned by Strabo iii. 4, 9.

Nam et Piliae] These ladies probably desired Cicero's presence in Rome. So he writes, 'I should like to know whether the elections will demand my presence in Rome. For I must gratify Pilia and Attica.' The *nam* would be best explained if we could feel justified in making the assumption of some editors, that Attica and Pilia were interested in the success of some of the candidates. The meaning would then be, 'if the elections are really to be fairly and openly held in Rome, I must go there and help the ladies' candidate.' If we do not make this assumption, we must understand the meaning to be, 'I should

like to know whether I must be in Rome for the elections; for [in any case] I am bound to go there to please Pilia and Attica.'

Male de Seio] This was the usual formula for expressing sorrow at the death of a friend. The word *beatulus* was applied by their friends to the recently dead; we say 'poor so-and-so,' but the Romans, who said *beatulus*, and the Greeks, who said ὁ μακαρίτης, were more euphemistical. Cp. Catullus's *o factum male* on the death of Lesbia's sparrow.

ad nos pertinent] 'which concerns me more nearly,' as being a thing which I may avoid, and is not a necessary evil like death, namely, 'the question what I am to do about the senate, am I to attend it or no?'

multo] sc. *magis ad nos pertinent*.

Postumiam Sulpicii] sc. *uxorem*. She seems to have been a highly energetic woman, and was now busying herself about some new marriage which she wished to recommend to Cicero; probably she desired that the daughter of Pompey should be the successor to the divorced Terentia. We find that he is not disposed to entertain that proposal. As to

Pompeii Magni filia tibi rescripsi nihil me hoc tempore cogitare. Alteram vero illam, quam tu scribis, puto, nosti. Nihil vidi foedius. Sed adsum. Coram igitur.

Obsignata epistola accepi tuas. Atticae hilaritatem libenter audio: commotiunculis *συμπάσχω*.

DIII. CICERO TO MARIUS (FAM. VII. 4).

CUMAE; XIII. KAL. DECEMBRES; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46;
AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero praemonet M. Marium de adventu suo in Pompeianum.

M. CICERO S. D. M. MARIO.

A. d. XIII. Kal. in Cumanum veni cum Libone tuo vel nostro potius: in Pompeianum statim cogito, sed faciam ante te certior. Te cum semper valere cupio tum certe, dum hic sumus. Vides enim, quanto post una futuri simus. Qua re, si quod constitutum cum podagra habes, fac ut in alium diem differas. Cura igitur ut valeas et me hoc biduo aut triduo exspecta.

the other candidate for Cicero's hand we are left without any knowledge, but it is amusing to find the sexagenarian orator and philosopher writing 'I never saw anything uglier than she is,' yet expressing himself as prepared still to consider the question. He subsequently married Publilia for her dowry. He does not seem to have felt any affection for her, and he soon divorced her.

adsum] A nice use of the present for the future.

hilaritatem] 'the excellence of her spirits.'

commotiunculis] 'slight indisposition'; we have *leviter commotus* in the same sense in Att. xiv. 5, 1.

Kal.] i.e. *Decembres*: cp. note to Fam. vi. 14, 2 (498).

Libone] Father-in-law of Sext. Pompey: cp. note to Fam. i. 1, 3 (95). He was a vigorous Pompeian, Att. ix. 11, 4 (367), Caes. Bell. Civ. i. 26.

Vides . . . simus] 'for you see the amount of one another's company we are likely to have in the future,' i.e. how little we are likely to see of one another.

constitutum cum podagra] 'If you have any assignation with your friend the gout, put it off to another day': cp. for *constituere*, in this sense, Juv. iii. 12, *Hic ubi nocturnae Numa constituebat amicae*; vi. 487.

DIV. CICERO TO L. PAPIRIUS PAETUS (FAM. IX. 23).

CUMAE; XIII. KAL. DECEMBRES; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46;

AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero L. Paeto significat se prope diem ad eum venturum esse.

CICERO PAETO.

Heri veni in Cumanum, cras ad te fortasse; sed cum certum sciam, faciam te paullo ante certiore. Etsi M. Caeparius, cum mihi in silva Gallinaria ob viam venisset quaesissemque quid ageres, dixit te in lecto esse, quod ex pedibus laborares. Tuli scilicet moleste, ut debui, sed tamen constitui ad te venire, ut et viderem te et viserem et cenarem etiam. Non enim arbitror cocum etiam te arthriticum habere. Exspecta igitur hospitem cum minime edacem tum inimicum cenis sumptuosis.

DV. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 1).

ARPINUM; IX. KAL. DECEMBRES; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero circumiens circum villas suas Attico significat hilare quo die ad eum venturus sit.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Undecimo die, postquam a te discesseram, hoc litterularum exaravi egrediens e villa ante lucem, atque eo die cogitabam in

Heri] = XIII. Kal. Decembres: cp. Fam. vii. 4, 1 (503).

silva Gallinaria] near Cumae, a notorious resort of robbers: Juv. iii. 307, and Mayor's note.

ex pedibus] Perhaps Paetus, as well as Balbus, suffered from gout following upon too high living: cp. note to Fam. ix. 17, 1 (480).

ut et viderem . . . etiam] 'to have a look at you, to pay you a visit, and even to have dinner with you.'

arthriticum] 'attacked with gout.'

cum minime edacem tum inimicum] We

should wish to alter the position of *minime* from qualifying *edacem* to qualifying *inimicum*. Whenever Cicero, as here, is joking with Paetus he always represents himself as a great gourmet: cp. Fam. ix. 20, 2 (475), *cum homine et edaci tibi res est et qui iam aliquid intellegat*. But it is safer to adhere to the MSS, and compare Fam. ix. 16, 9 (472)

1. *hoc litterularum exaravi]* 'scribble this bit of a note.'

e villa] Probably in Arpinum.

Anagnino, postero autem in Tusculano: ibi unum diem: v. Kalend. igitur ad constitutum. Atque utinam continuo ad complexum meae Tulliae, ad osculum Atticae possim currere! Quod quidem ipsum scribe quaeso, ad me, ut, dum consisto in Tusculano, sciam, quid garriat: sin rusticatur, quid scribat ad te: eique interea aut scribes salutem aut nuntiabis itemque Piliae. Et tamen, etsi continuo congressuri sumus, scribes ad me, si quid habebis. 2. Cum complicarem hanc epistolam, noctuabundus ad me venit cum epistola tua tabellarius: qua lecta, de Atticae febricula scilicet valde dolui. Reliqua, quae expectabam, ex tuis litteris cognovi omnia. Sed quod scribis, 'igniculum matutinum γερωντικόν,' γερωντικώτερον est memoriola vacillare. Ego enim IIII. Kal. Axio dederam, tibi III., Quinto, quo die venissem, id est, II. Kal. Hoc igitur habebis, novi nihil. Quid ergo opus erat

ad constitutum] 'to our tryst,' the place and time where we appointed to meet.

Quod quidem ipsum] *Quod* is the nom. before *garriat*. Having mentioned the mouth of little Attica, which he longs to kiss, he adds, 'and what is the prattle of that same little mouth, you must write to me and let me know while I am stopping at Tusculum. If she is in the country tell me what she writes to you, and give her by letter or word of mouth my love and the same to Pilia.' The child may have been between eight and nine now: see on Att. v. 19, 2 (220). Of course *quod ipsum* may be the object of *scribe*, then we would take *osculum* understood as the subject of *garriat* rather than *Attica*. The mention of her writing would show that she must have been more than four or five years of age, and we have not found any evidence for the statement that the child was born in 703 (51). Indeed the tone of 220, 2 seems to us inconsistent with such a view. We think she may have been four years old when Cicero congratulated Atticus in that letter on the delight he took in his little girl.

tamen] 'all the same, though we are to meet at once, write to me.'

2. *noctuabundus*] 'by night.' As there is no verb *noctuare*, this is a strange word. We are inclined to take the view of Mr. Watson, who suggests that Cicero was here misled by the false analogy of such words as *lacrimabundus* or *volutabundus* (which Cicero uses De Rep. ii. 68), just as he wrongly wrote *Phliuntii* instead of *Phliasii*, misled by the false analogy

of *Opus*, *Opuntii*, as he tells us himself in Att. vi. 2, 3 (256). He uses *ludibundus* in Fam. xvi. 9, 2 (292). Either Cicero was not aware that *bundus* must come from a verb form, and so formed *noctuabundus* erroneously from the stem of *nox*, or there existed a verb *noctuare*, 'to be a night-owl,' of which no trace remains except in this word.

scilicet] 'naturally.'

γερωντικόν] Cicero had asked Atticus to have a fire for him in the morning. Atticus says that to want a fire in the morning at such a season was 'old-manish'; Cicero retorts it is 'more old-manish' to forget the date of an appointment, his appointment with Atticus was for the 30th not the 29th, which was the day of his appointment with Axius. *Memoriola vacillare* is 'to have a shaky old memory,' the diminutive indicating *poorness*, *weakness*, as in *vocula*, 'my poor voice,' Att. ii. 23, 1 (50), where see note.

hoc igitur habebis] 'so there's for you,' 'there's a Roland for your Oliver.' Cicero apparently alludes to the expression *hoc habet* applied to the gladiator when he received 'a palpable hit.' In Plautus we have in a like sense *serva* and *em serva*. However, it is perhaps better to regard the words as not referring to the foregoing pleasantry, but as simply meaning, 'you will kindly remember that this is our arrangement, there is no change.' If the former interpretation is adopted, *novi nihil* will mean, 'you'll get no news from me.'

Quid ergo opus erat] 'what then (you

epistola? quid, cum coram sumus et garrimus quidquid in buccam? Est profecto quiddam λέσχη, quae habet, etiamsi nihil subest, colloctione ipsa suavitatem.

DVI. CICERO TO P. SERVILIUS ISAURICUS
(FAM. XIII. 66).

ROME; MONTH UNCERTAIN; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero P. Servilio A. Caecinam diligentissime commendat.

M. CICERO P. SERVILIO S.

1. A. Caecinam, maxime proprium clientem familiae vestrae, non commendarem tibi, cum scirem qua fide in tuos, qua clementia in calamitosos soleres esse, nisi me et patris eius, quo sum familiarissime usus, memoria et huius fortuna ita moveret, ut hominis omnibus mecum studiis officiisque coniunctissimi movere debebat. A te *tamen* hoc omni contentione peto, sic, ut maiore cura, maiore animi labore petere non possim, ut ad ea, quae tua sponte sine cuiusquam commendatione faceres in hominem tantum et talem tamque calamitosum, aliquem adferant cumulum meae litterae, quo studiosius eum, quibuscumque rebus possis, iuves. 2. Quod si Romae fuisses, etiam salutem A. Caecinae essemus, ut opinio

will say) was the use of writing if you have no news? What is the use of our meeting and chattering away about everything that rises to our lips?

λέσχη] 'the very *causerie* is something, and has a charm in the very fact that we are chatting together, even though there is nothing in what we say': cp. *est enim quiddam advenientem non esse peregrinum atque hospitem*, Att. vii. 3, 4 (264); *est quiddam etiam animum levare*, Att. xiii. 44, 2.

For Servilius Isauricus, see Introd. to Fam. xiii. 68 (482).

1. A. Caecinam] cp. Fam. vi. 5 to 9. calamitosos] This is the regular adjective applied to exiles, opposite to *incolumes*, Reid on Arch. 9.

hominis . . . coniunctissimi] 'of one who is most closely connected by every kind of common interest and service.'

A te tamen] So we venture to read, though the mss omit *tamen*. But, as Wesenberg (E. A. 47) shows, an adversative conjunction is required. He suggests *Nunc*, comparing § 2, also Fam. xiv. 1, 2 (82); 17 (421). But *tamen* is more likely to have dropped out after *te*; or possibly we should read *Attamen a te*.

talem tamque calamitosum] *Tamque* is the addition of Lehmann, p. 61. It is possible, however, that *calamitosum* may be a gloss on *talem* suggested by *calamitosos* above.

aliquem adferant . . . iuves] 'my letters may supply an additional stimulus to induce you to help him more sedulously by whatever means you can.'

mea fert, per te consecuti: de qua tamen magnam spem habemus freti clementia collegae tui. Nunc, quoniam tuam iustitiam secutus tutissimum sibi portum provinciam istam duxit esse, etiam atque etiam te rogo atque oro, ut eum et in reliquiis veteris negotiationis colligendis iuves et ceteris rebus tegas atque tueare. Hoc mihi gratius facere nihil potes.

DVII. CICERO TO THE SAME SERVILIUS
(FAM. XIII. 67).

ROME; MONTH UNCERTAIN; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero P. Servilio commendat Andronem Laodicensem.

M. CICERO P. SERVILIO PRO PR. S.

1. Ex provincia mea Ciliciensi, cui scis *τρεῖς διοικήσεις* Asiaticas attributas fuisse, nullo sum familiarius usus quam Androne Artemonis filio Laodicensi, eumque habui in ea civitate cum hospitem tum vehementer ad meae vitae rationem et consuetudinem accommodatum: quem quidem multo etiam pluris postea, quam decessi, facere coepi, quod multis rebus expertus sum gratum hominem meique memorem. Itaque eum Romae libentissime vidi. Non te enim fugit, qui plurimis in ista provincia benigne fecisti, quam multi grati reperiantur. 2. Haec propterea scripsi, ut et me non sine causa laborare intellegeres et tu ipse eum dignum hospitio tuo iudicares. Feceris igitur mihi gratissimum, si ei declararis quanti me facias, id est, si receperis eum in fidem tuam et quibuscumque rebus honeste ac sine molestia tua poteris adiuveris. Hoc mihi erit vehementer gratum, idque ut facias, te etiam atque etiam rogo.

2. *collegae tui*] sc. Caesar. He was colleague of Servilius, both in the augurate, cp. Fam. xiii. 68, 2 (482), and also in the consulship in 706 (48).

in reliquiis . . . colligendis] 'in gathering together the remnants of his old business,' probably the banking business in Asia, to which reference is made in Fam. vi. 8, 2 (527).

tegas atque tueare] 'shield and protect.'

1. *τρεῖς διοικήσεις Asiaticas*] viz.

Cibyra, Apamea, Synnada: see note on Fam. iii. 8, 5 (222). Both *attribuere* and *contribuere* are used of assigning or subjecting territories to any established government.

tum vehementer accommodatum] 'exceedingly congenial to my ordinary mode of life.'

pluris facere] 'to value more highly.'
decessi] the regular word for leaving a province: see note to Fam. iv. 4, 5 (495).

DVIII. CICERO TO THE SAME SERVILIUS
(FAM. XIII. 69).

ROME ; MONTH UNCERTAIN ; A. U. C. 708 ; B. C. 46 ; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero P. Servilium rogat, ut C. Curtium in fidem suam recipiat.

CICERO P. SERVILIO COLLEGAE S. PLURIMAM.

1. C. Curtius Mithres est ille quidem, ut scis, libertus Postumī familiarissimi mei, sed me colit et observat aequae atque illum ipsum patronum suum. Apud eum ego sic Ephesi fui, quotienscumque fui, tamquam domi meae, multaque acciderunt in quibus et benevolentiam eius erga me experirer et fidem. Itaque si quid aut mihi aut meorum cuipiam in Asia opus est, ad hunc scribere consuevi, huius cum opera et fide tum domo et re uti tamquam mea. Haec ad te eo pluribus scripsi, ut intellegeres me non *volgari more* nec ambitiose, sed ut pro homine intimo ac mihi pernecessario scribere. 2. Peto igitur a te, ut in ea controversia, quam habet de fundo cum quodam Colophonio, et in ceteris rebus, quantum fides tua patietur quantumque tuo commodo poteris, tantum ei honoris mei causa commodes, etsi, ut eius modestiam cognovi, gravis tibi nulla in re erit. Si et mea commendatione et sua probitate adsecutus erit, ut de se bene existimes, omnia se adeptum arbitrabitur. Ut igitur eum recipias in fidem habeasque in numero tuorum, te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo. Ego, quae te velle quaeque ad te pertinere arbitrabor, omnia studiose diligenterque curabo.

1. *C. Curtius Mithres*] A Greek freedman of C. Curtius Postumus: cp. Att. ix. 2, 3 (355): also note on Fam. xiii. 21, 2 (516).

experirer] So M: in H we find *expertus sum*. The latter is the natural reading to expect; but how did the *lectio arduo* of M arise? The reading of M is right: 'Many events arose of such a nature as allowed me to experience, &c.' The copyist of H was probably one who had a little knowledge of Latin, and at times

did not adhere very closely to what he found in his text.

opera . . . re] 'his services and honesty as well as his house and purse.'

volgari more] So we read with Klotz for *volgare* of the mss. The ordinary *volgariter* is not classical, and is besides further from the mss than *volgari more*. Perhaps *volgari ratione*.

ambitiose] 'from interested motives.'

2. *gravis*] 'troublesome.'

DIX. CICERO TO THE SAME SERVILIUS
(FAM. XIII. 70).

ROME ; MONTH UNCERTAIN ; A. U. C. 708 ; B. C. 46 ; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero P. Servilio Isaurico T. Ampium Menandrum Balbi libertum commendat.

M. CICERO P. SERVILIO COLLEGAE S. PLUR.

Quia non est obscura tua in me benevolentia, [sic] fit ut multi per me tibi velint commendari. Ego autem *id* tribuo non numquam in vulgus, sed plerumque necessariis, ut hoc tempore. Nam cum T. Ampio Balbo mihi summa familiaritas necessitudoque est. Eius libertum, T. Ampium Menandrum, hominem frugi et modestum et patrono et nobis vehementer probatum, tibi commendo maiorem in modum. Vehementer mihi gratum feceris, si quibuscumque rebus sine tua molestia poteris ei commodaris. Quod ut facias, te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

DX. CICERO TO THE SAME SERVILIUS (FAM. XIII. 71).

ROME ; MONTH UNCERTAIN ; A. U. C. 708 ; B. C. 46 ; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero P. Servilio Isaurico T. Agusium commendat.

M. CICERO S. D. P. SERVILIO COLLEGAE.

Multos tibi commendem necesse est, quoniam omnibus nota nostra necessitudo est tuaque erga me benevolentia. Sed tamen

[*sic*] *fit*] Wesenberg (E. A. 47) says that *sic* in the sense of *ideo* in connexion with *quia* is not Latin, and ejects it here, supposing it to have arisen from ditto-graphy *sic fit*. In Plaut. Most. ii. 2, 20 (441). Theopr. *Quid vos, insanin estis?* Tran. *Quidum?* Theopr. *Sic quia foris ambulatis*, Ussing shows that *sic* goes with *foris*. We have accordingly bracketed the word.

id tribuo] Wesenberg adds *id* (= *ut multi per me tibi velint commendari*) ; for *tribuo* must have an object : cp. Fam. xiii.

22, 2 (517). In Fam. xiii. 9, 2 (236) Kayser has added *plurimum*. But Nägelsbach holds (Stil. 376), on the basis of these passages, that *tribuo* can be used absolutely.

in vulgus] ‘promiscuously.’ Something similar is Att. ix. 5, 2 (359), *alter (dies) in vulgus ignotus*, ‘generally unknown’: compare Tac. Hist. i. 71, ii. 26.

T. Ampio Balbo] See Introduction. For the name of his freedman see note to Fam. xiii. 21, 2 (516).

etsi omnium causa, quos commendo, velle debeo, tamen cum omnibus non eadem mihi causa est. T. Agusius et comes meus fuit illo miserrimo tempore et omnium itinerum, navigationum, laborum, periculorum meorum socius: neque hoc tempore discessisset a me, nisi ego ei permissem. Qua re sic tibi eum commendo, ut unum de meis domesticis et maxime necessariis. Pergratum mihi feceris, si eum ita tractaris, ut intellegat hanc commendationem sibi magno usu atque adiumento fuisse.

DXI. CICERO TO THE SAME SERVILIUS
(FAM. XIII. 72).

ROME; MONTH UNCERTAIN; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero P. Servilio Isaurico Caerelliae negotia et procuratores commendat.

M. CICERO P. SERVILIO COLLEGAE S.

1. Caerelliae necessariae meae rem, nomina, possessiones Asiaticas commendavi tibi praesens in hortis tuis quam potui diligentissime, tuque mihi pro tua consuetudine proque tuis in me perpetuis maximisque officiis omnia te facturum liberalissime recepisti. Meminisse te id spero: scio enim solere. Sed tamen Caerelliae procuratores scripserunt te propter magnitudinem provinciae multitudinemque negotiorum etiam atque etiam esse commonefaciendum. 2. Peto igitur, ut memineris te omnia, quae tua fides pateretur, mihi cumulate recepisse. Equidem existimo habere te magnam facultatem—sed hoc tui est consilii et iudicii—ex eo senatus consulto, quod in heredes C. Vennonii factum est, Caerelliae commodandi. Id senatus consultum tu interpretabere pro tua sapientia.

illo miserrimo tempore] sc. my exile: cp. Fam. xiii. 21, 2 (516), *mihi*que *molestissimis temporibus . . . praesto fuit.*

1. *Caerelliae]* See Introduction.
solere] sc. *meminisse.*

2. *Peto igitur]* 'I beg of you then to remember that you guaranteed to me in the fullest manner that you would do everything as far as you could in honour.'

consilii et iudicii] 'your discretion and judgment.'

senatus consulto . . . quod in heredes C. Vennonii factum est] For another example of a *senatus consultum* issued with regard to a special case and in violation of the laws, see Att. v. 21, 12 (250), and cp. Mommsen, St. R. iii. 1230 ff.

C. Vennonius] This is probably the man referred to in Att. vi. 1, 25 (252).

Scio enim eius ordinis auctoritatem semper apud te magni fuisse. Quod reliquum est, sic velim existimes, quibuscumque rebus Caerelliae benigne feceris, mihi te gratissimum esse facturum.

DXII. CICERO TO SERVIUS SULPICIUS RUFUS
(FAM. XIII. 17).

ROME; MONTH UNCERTAIN; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero M'. Curium Ser. Sulpicio, Achaiae praesidi, commendat.

CICERO S. D. SER. SULPICIO.

1. M'. Curius, qui Patris negotiatur, multis et magnis de causis a me diligitur. Nam et amicitia pervetus mihi cum eo est, ut primum in forum venit, instituta, et Patris cum aliquotiens antea tum proxime hoc miserrimo bello domus eius tota mihi patuit: qua si opus fuisset tam essem usus quam mea. Maximum autem mihi vinculum cum eo est quasi sanctioris cuiusdam necessitudinis, quod est Attici nostri familiarissimus eumque unum praeter ceteros observat ac diligit. 2. Quem si tu iam forte cognosti, puto me hoc, quod facio, facere serius. Ea est enim humanitate et observantia, ut eum tibi iam ipsum per se commendatum putem. Quod tamen si ita est, magno opere a te quaeso, ut ad eam voluntatem, si quam in illum ante has meas litteras contulisti, quam maximus potest mea commendatione cumulus accedat. 3. Sin autem propter verecundiam suam minus se tibi obtulit aut nondum eum satis habes cognitum aut quae causa est

On Servius Sulpicius cp. Fam. xiii. 27, 3 (476), and see Introduction. He was at this time governor of Achaëa.

1. *negotiatur*] 'has a banking business.' For Curius cp. Fam. vii. 28 (477). 'The *negotiatores*, or money-lenders, were the complement of the publicans. . . They were those knights or moneyed men for whom there was no room in the *societates* of the publicans. . . These men of business who settled themselves in the provinces after the soldiers had done their work were bankers, brokers, money-lenders, money-changers, anything in

fact but legitimate traders,' Arnold, Roman Prov. Adm. 80 ff. Patrae was perhaps the most Roman town in Greece.

2. *Ea est enim . . . observantia*] 'he is so cultivated and attentive.'

quam maximus . . . accedat] 'the greatest possible addition be made by my recommendation.'

3. *Sin autem*] 'But if by reason of his modesty he has not called on you, or you have not yet satisfied yourself as regards his character, or if there is any reason, &c.': with *quae* supply *si* out of *sin*.

cur maioris commendationis indigeat, sic tibi eum commendo, ut neque maiore studio quemquam neque iustioribus de causis commendare possim, faciamque id, quod debent facere ii, qui religiose et sine ambitione commendant: spondebo enim tibi vel potius spondeo in meque recipio, eos esse M'. Curii mores eamque cum probitatem tum etiam humanitatem, ut eum et amicitia tua et tam accurata commendatione, si tibi sit cognitus, dignum sis existimaturus. Mihi certe gratissimum feceris, si intellexero has litteras tantum, quantum scribens confidebam, apud te pondus habuisse.

DXIII. CICERO TO THE SAME SULPICIUS

(FAM. XIII. 18).

ROME; MONTH UNCERTAIN; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero Ser. Sulpicio gratias agit de voluntate erga Atticum, eumque denuo commendat, ut ei neque in Epiroticis neque aliis in rebus desit, petens.

CICERO SERVIO S.

1. Non concedam, ut Attico nostro, quem elatum laetitia vidi, iucundiores tuae suavissime ad eum et humanissime scriptae litterae fuerint quam mihi. Nam etsi utrique nostrum prope aeque gratae erant, tamen ego admirabar magis te, qui, si rogatus aut certe admonitus liberaliter Attico respondisses *gratum nobis fecisses*,—quod tamen dubium nobis, quin ita futurum fuerit, non erat,—ultro ad eum scripsisse eique nec opinanti voluntatem tuam tantam per litteras detulisse. De quo non modo rogare te, ut eo studiosius mea quoque causa facias, non debeo—nihil enim cumulatius fieri potest quam polliceris —, sed ne gratias quidem agere, quod tu et ipsius causa et tua sponte feceris. 2. Illud tamen

religiose et sine ambitione] 'conscientiously and without any interested motive.'

1. *tuae litterae*] 'your most courteous and kindly letters to him.'

gratum nobis fecisses] We have ventured with Lehmann (p. 61) to add these words

as giving the sense at all events of what Cicero wrote: cp. Fam. xiii. 64, 1 (235), *itaque si ea feceris . . . gratissimum mihi feceris*.

ultro . . . detulisse] 'that you spontaneously wrote to him, and, when he did not expect it, you voluntarily showed in your letters that you wish him so well.'

dicam, mihi id, quod fecisti, esse gratissimum. Tale enim tuum iudicium de homine eo, quem ego unice diligo, non potest mihi non summe esse iucundum; quod cum ita sit, esse gratum necesse est. Sed tamen, quoniam mihi pro coniunctione nostra vel peccare apud te in scribendo licet, utrumque eorum, quae negavi mihi facienda esse, faciam. Nam et ad id, quod Attici causa te ostendisti esse facturum, tantum velim addas, quantum ex nostro amore accessionis fieri potest, et, quod modo verebar, tibi gratias agere, nunc plane ago teque ita existimare volo, quibuscumque officiis in Epiroticis reliquisque rebus Atticum obstrinxeris, iisdem me tibi obligatum fore.

DXIV. CICERO TO THE SAME SULPICIUS
(FAM. XIII. 19).

ROME ; MONTH UNCERTAIN ; A. U. C. 708 ; B. C. 46 ; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero Ser. Sulpicium rogat, ut Lysonem, iam antea commendatum, in fidem et necessitudinem recipiat.

CICERO SERVIO S.

1. Cum Lysonē Patrensi est mihi quidem hospitium vetus, quam ego necessitudinem sancte colendam puto, sed ea causa etiam cum aliis compluribus, familiaritas tanta nullo cum hospite et ea cum officiis eius multis tum etiam consuetudine cotidiana sic est aucta, ut nihil sit familiaritate nostra coniunctius. Is cum Romae annum prope ita fuisset, ut mecum viveret, etsi eramus in magna spe te meis litteris commendationeque diligentissime facturum—id quod fecisti—ut eius rem et fortunas absentis tuerere, tamen, quod in unius potestate erant omnia et quod Lyso fuerat in nostra causa nostrisque praesidiis, cotidie aliquid timebamus. Effectum

2. *mihi id . . . gratissimum*] ‘that I take what you have done as the greatest possible favour.’

Nam et ad id . . . fieri potest] ‘For what you showed that you would do for the sake of Atticus, I wish you would supplement by as large an addition as you can on the score of our mutual affection.’

1. *Lysonē Patrensi*] cp. Fam. xvi. 4, 2 (288).

Is . . . viveret] ‘when he was staying at Rome for a year almost living in my house.’

commendationeque] For *que* after a short *ē*: cp. Fam. i. 9, 20 (153), *significationeque*; xi. 14, 2, *Caesareque* and Lehmann, p. 61.

in nostra causa nostrisque praesidiis] ‘on our side and in our camp,’ i.e. the Pompeian side and camp.

tamen est et ipsius splendore et nostro reliquorumque hospitem studio, ut omnia quae vellemus a Caesare impetrarentur: quod intelleges ex iis litteris, quas Caesar ad te dedit. 2. Nunc non modo non remittimus tibi aliquid ex nostra commendatione, quasi adepti iam omnia, sed eo vehementius a te contendimus, ut Lysonem in fidem necessitudinemque tuam recipias. Cuius dubia fortuna timidius tecum agebamus, verentes ne quid accideret eius modi, ut ne tu quidem mederi posses: explorata vero eius incolumitate omnia a te summo studio et cura peto. Quae ne singula enumerem, totam tibi domum commendo, in his adolescentem filium eius, quem C. Maenius Gemellus, cliens meus, cum in calamitate exsilii sui Patrensis civis factus esset, Patrensi legibus adoptavit, ut eius ipsius hereditatis ius causamque tueare. 3. Caput illud est, ut Lysonem, quem ego virum optimum gratissimumque cognovi, recipias in necessitudinem tuam. Quod si feceris, non dubito quin in eo diligendo ceterisque postea commendando idem, quod ego, sis iudicii et voluntatis habiturus. Quod cum fieri vehementer studeo tum etiam illud vereor, ne, si minus cumulate videbere fecisse aliquid eius causa, me ille neglegenter scripsisse putet, non te oblitum mei. Quanti enim me faceres cum ex sermonibus cotidianis meis tum ex epistolis etiam tuis potuit cognoscere.

splendore] 'distinction.'

2. *summo studio et cura peto*] This quite intelligible reading of H sets aside the many corrections which have been proposed of the reading of M, *omnia a te studia summo cura peto*. For *summo studio et cura* cp. Fam. iv. 3, 3 (494), *summo studio curaque*.

C. Maenius Gemellus] This is the reading found in the best mss, not *Memmius*, so that the opinion that this man was the

politician Gaius Memmius, and that the cognomen of the latter was Gemellus can hardly be maintained: cp. vol. iii., p. lxxvi.

ut . . . tueare] Take with *commendo*, 'I recommend to you the young son of him whom Maenius adopted, . . . so that in the case of the inheritance of Maenius you may maintain the rights of his case.'

3. *minus cumulate*] 'at all in a perfunctory way.'

DXV. CICERO TO THE SAME SULPICIUS
(FAM. XIII. 20).

ROME ; MONTH UNCERTAIN ; A. U. C. 708 ; B. C. 46 ; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero Ser. Sulpicio Asclaponem medicum commendat.

CICERO SERVIO S.

Asclapone Patrensi, medico, utor familiariter eiusque cum consuetudo mihi iucunda fuit tum ars etiam, quam sum expertus in valetudine meorum : in qua mihi cum ipsa scientia tum etiam fidelitate benevolentiaque satis fecit. Hunc igitur tibi commendo et a te peto, ut des operam ut intellegat diligenter me scripsisse de sese meamque commendationem usui magno sibi fuisse. Erit id mihi vehementer gratum.

DXVI. CICERO TO THE SAME SULPICIUS
(FAM. XIII. 21).

ROME ; MONTH UNCERTAIN ; A. U. C. 708 ; B. C. 46 ; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero Ser. Sulpicio M. Aemilii absentis cum res ceteras tum libertum Hammonium commendat.

CICERO SERVIO S.

1. M. Aemilius Avianius ab ineunte adulescentia me observavit semperque dilexit, vir cum bonus tum perhumanus et in omni genere officii diligendus. Quem si arbitrarer esse Sicyone et

Asclapone] This Asclapo attended Tiro when the latter was ill at Patrae : cp. Fam. xvi. 9, 2 (292).

1. *et in omni genere officii diligendus*] 'and worthy of regard in every kind of service.' There is no necessity to alter this, the mss reading, to *diligentissimus* with Lambinus and Wesenberg : cp.

Balb. 63, *officia observantiamque dilexit* ; and for the gerundive used for an adjective in *-bilis* cp. Tusc. 49, *nec in misera vita quicquam est praedicabile aut gloriantum nec in ea quae nec misera sit nec beata. Et est in aliqua vita praedicabile aliquid et gloriantum ac prae se ferendum*, quoted by Nägelsbach (ed. 7), p. 218.

Sicyone] Avianius had his banking establishment at Sicyon.

nisi audirem ibi eum etiam nunc, ubi ego reliqui, Cibyrae commorari, nihil esset necesse plura me ad te de eo scribere. Perficeret enim ipse profecto suis moribus suaque humanitate, ut sine cuiusquam commendatione diligeretur abs te non minus quam et a me et a ceteris suis familiaribus. 2. Sed cum illum abesse putem, commendo tibi in maiorem modum domum eius, quae est Sicyone, remque familiarem, maxime C. Avianium Hammonium, libertum eius, quem quidem tibi etiam suo nomine commendo. Nam cum propterea mihi est probatus, quod est in patronum suum officio et fide singulari, tum etiam in me ipsum magna officia contulit mihiq̄ue molestissimis temporibus ita fideliter benevoleque praesto fuit, ut si a me manu missus esset. Itaque peto a te, ut eum [Hammonium] et in patroni eius negotio sic tueare, ut eius procuratorem, quem tibi commendo, et ipsum suo nomine diligas habeasque in numero tuorum. Hominem pudentem et officiosum cognosces et dignum qui a te diligatur. Vale.

DXVII. CICERO TO THE SAME SULPICIUS
(FAM. XIII. 22).

ROME; MONTH UNCERTAIN; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero Ser. Sulpicio T. Manlium suo et Varronis Murenæ nomine commendat.

CICERO SERVIO S.

1. T. Manlium, qui negotiatur Thespiis, vehementer diligo. Nam et semper me coluit diligentissimeque observavit et a studiis

Cibyrae] in Phrygia 'where I left him' (when I was returning from Cilicia).

2. *C. Avianium Hammonium*] Freedmen usually took the prenomen and nomen of their patron in addition to retaining their own servile name: cp. Att. iv. 15, 1 (143); Fam. v. 20, 1 (302), xiii. 69 (508). The same practice appears to have been observed when a foreigner obtained Roman citizenship by the influence of any distinguished Roman: cp. below Fam. xiii. 23 (518); 30; 32, 1; 36, 1; 52; 69; 70. Verr. iv. 37, *mensam citream a Q. Lutatius Diodoro, qui Q. Catuli beneficio ab L. Sulla civis*

Romanus factus est, abstulisti. See Reid on Arch., p. 9.

quod est . . . officio et fide singulari] 'because he is a most remarkably faithful assistant of his patron.'

molestissimis temporibus] 'in my most troubled times.'

ita . . . fuit] 'put himself as faithfully and kindly at my disposal as if he had been my own freedman.'

[*Hammonium*]] prob. a gloss, though read in M H.

1. *negotiatur*] see note on Fam. xiii. 17, 1 (512).

nostris non abhorret. Accedit eo, quod Varro Murena magno opere eius causa vult omnia: qui tamen existimavit, etsi suis litteris, quibus tibi Manlium commendarat, valde confideret, tamen mea commendatione aliquid accessionis fore. Me quidem cum Manlii familiaritas tum Varronis studium commovit, ut ad te quam accuratissime scriberem. 2. Gratissimum igitur mihi feceris, si huic commendationi meae tantum tribueris, quantum cui tribuisti plurimum, id est, si T. Manlium quam maxime, quibuscumque rebus honeste ac pro tua dignitate poteris, iuveris atque ornaveris, ex ipsiusque praeterea gratissimis et humanissimis moribus confirmo tibi te eum, quem soles fructum a bonorum virorum officiis expectare, esse capturum.

DXVIII. CICERO TO THE SAME SULPICIUS
(FAM. XIII. 23).

ROME; MONTH UNCERTAIN; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero Ser. Sulpicio L. Cossinium Anchialum libertum commendat.

CICERO SERVIO S.

1. L. Cossinio, amico et tribuli tuo, valde familiariter utor. Nam et inter nosmet ipsos vetus usus intercedit et Atticus noster maiorem etiam mihi cum Cossinio consuetudinem fecit. Itaque tota Cossinii domus me diligit in primisque libertus eius, L. Cossinius Anchialus, homo et patrono et patroni necessariis, quo in numero ego sum, probatissimus. 2. Hunc tibi ita commendo,

Varro Murena] A. Terentius Varro Murena, son of L. Licinius Murena, consul in 692 (62), was adopted by A. Terentius Varro. He was a partisan of Pompey, but was pardoned by Caesar. He is perhaps the same Murena who subdued the Salassi in 729 (25), and was consul in 731 (23). He was executed for connexion with the conspiracy of Fannius Caepio 732 (22). Dio (liv. 3, 4) says of him ἀκράτῳ καὶ κατακορεῖ παρρησίᾳ πρὸς πάντας δημοίως ἐχρήτο. Horace addressed to him, under his original name, an ode (ii. 10) on the

virtue of moderation.

2. *iuveris atque ornaveris*] 'you give assistance and do honour to.'

1. *tuo*] So the mss, wrongly altered by Victorius and Wesenberg to *meo*. Membership of the same tribe formed a bond which implied mutual acquaintanceship, and some closer connexion than subsisted between ordinary citizens: cp. Rosc. Am. 47; Att. i. 18, 4 (24); Hor. Ep. i. 13, 15; and Mommsen, St. R. iii. 197.

L. Cossinius Anchialus] see note on Fam. xiii. 21, 2 (516).

ut, si meus libertus esset eodemque apud me loco esset, quo et est apud suum patronum, maiore studio commendare non possem. Qua re pergratum mihi feceris, si eum in amicitiam tuam receperis atque eum, quod sine molestia tua fiat, si qua in re opus ei fuerit, iuveris. Id et mihi vehementer gratum erit et tibi postea iucundum. Hominem enim summa probitate, humanitate observantiaque cognosces.

DXIX. CICERO TO THE SAME SULPICIUS
(FAM. XIII. 24).

ROME ; MONTH UNCERTAIN ; A. U. C. 708 ; B. C. 46 ; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero Ser. Sulpicio Lysonem, quem iam antea non sine eventu commendarat, iterum commendat.

CICERO SERVIO S.

1. Cum antea capiebam ex officio meo voluptatem, quod memineram quam tibi diligenter Lysonem, hospitem et familiarem meum, commendassem, tum vero, postea quam ex litteris eius cognovi tibi eum falso suspectum fuisse, vehementissime laetatus sum me tam diligentem in eo commendando fuisse. Ita enim scripsit ad me, sibi meam commendationem maximo adiumento fuisse, quod ad te delatum diceret sese contra dignitatem tuam Romae de te loqui solitum esse. 2. De quo etsi pro tua facilitate et humanitate purgatum se tibi scribit esse, tamen primum, ut debeo, tibi maximas gratias ago, cum tantum litterae meae potuerunt, ut iis lectis omnem offensionem suspicionis, quam habueras

2. *summa . . . observantiaque*] 'most upright, kindly, and attentive.'

1. *quod . . . esse*] 'because he said that a report had been brought to your ears that he was accustomed to speak disrespectfully about you at Rome.' For *diceret*, cp. note to Att. i. 1, 3 (10), and Roby, 1746. It is an extension of the virtual oblique construction.

2. *gratias*] So M: *grates* H. Both are good Latin: cp. Plaut. Trin. iv. 1, 2,

laudes ago et grates gratiasque habeo. The reading of H would be the more likely of the two to have been corrupted, but as Cicero nearly always uses *gratias*, and as most of the mss have this reading we shall do well to retain it.

cum] Wesenberg here reads *quod*, as he holds that *cum* never means the same as *quod* in Cicero. See note on Fam. iv. 3, 4 (494).

omnem offensionem suspicionis] 'all that annoying suspicion.'

de Lysone, deponeres: deinde credas mihi adfirmanti velim me hoc non pro Lysone magis quam pro omnibus scribere, hominem esse neminem qui umquam mentionem tui sine tua summa laude fecerit. Lyso vero cum mecum prope cotidie esset unaque viveret, non solum, quia libenter me audire arbitrabatur, sed quia libentius ipse loquebatur, omnia mihi tua et facta et dicta laudabat. 3. Quapropter etsi a te ita tractatur, ut iam non desideret commendationem meam unisque se litteris meis omnia consecutum putet, tamen a te peto in maiorem modum, ut eum etiam atque etiam tuis officiis liberalitate complectare. Scriberem ad te, qualis vir esset, ut superioribus litteris feceram, nisi eum iam per se ipsum tibi satis esse notum arbitrarer.

DXX. CICERO TO THE SAME SULPICIUS
(FAM. XIII. 25).

ROME; MONTH UNCERTAIN; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero Ser. Sulpicio Hagesaretum Larisaeum commendat.

CICERO SERVIO S.

Hagesaretus Larisaeus, magnis meis beneficiis ornatus in consulatu meo, memor et gratus fuit meque postea diligentissime coluit. Eum tibi magno opere commendo, ut et hospitem et familiarem meum et gratum hominem et virum bonum et principem civitatis suae et tua necessitudine dignissimum. Pergratum mihi feceris, si dederis operam ut is intellegat hanc meam commendationem magnum apud te pondus habuisse.

credas . . . velim] This is the true apodosis to the clause introduced above by *etsi*.

hoc] 'this, that there is no man,' &c.; the clause *hominem . . . fecerit* is in apposition to *hoc*.

3. *officiis liberalitate*] For the asyndeton, see note on Fam. iv. 7, 6 (486).

satis esse notum arbitrarer] So H. In M *esse* is again inserted after *notum*.

Hagesaretus] So the mss, but it is a very strange form. Most editors read *Hegesaratus*. We should doubtless read *Hegesaretus*, and consider him to be the same man as Caesar (Bell. Civ. iii. 35), speaks of as *veteris homo potentiae*, and as head of the Pompeian faction in Thessaly.

Larisaeus] i. e. of Larissa in Thessaly.
postea diligentissime coluit] 'afterwards was most attentive to me.'

DXXI. CICERO TO THE SAME SULPICIUS

(FAM. XIII. 26).

ROME; MONTH UNCERTAIN; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero Ser. Sulpicio Mescinii Rufi negotia Achaica commendat.

CICERO SERVIO S.

1. L. Mescinius ea mecum necessitudine coniunctus est, quod mihi quaestor fuit. Sed hanc causam, quam ego, ut a maioribus accepi, semper gravem duxi, fecit virtute et humanitate sua iustior. Itaque eo sic utor, ut nec familiaris ullo nec libentius. Is quamquam confidere videbatur te sua causa quae honeste posses lubenter esse facturum, magnum esse tamen speravit apud te meas quoque litteras *pondus habituras*. Id cum ipse ita iudicabat, tum pro familiari consuetudine saepe ex me audierat quam suavis esset inter nos et quanta coniunctio. 2. Peto igitur a te, tanto scilicet studio, quanto intellegis debere me petere pro homine tam mihi necessario et tam familiari, ut eius negotia, quae sunt in Achaia, ex eo, quod heres est M. Mindio, fratri suo, qui Eli negotiatus est, explices et

1. *L. Mescinius*] sc. Rufus: cp. introductory note to Fam. v. 20 (302).

ea . . . quod] So MP: cp. Verr. iii. 109, *propter hanc causam quod ipsi Leontini publice non sane me multum adiuverunt*—a passage which would also give some support to the reading of H, *ea causa et necessitudine mecum quod*. Ernesti erroneously alters to *eo . . . quod*; but this collocation is not used for *ideo . . . quod* in Cicero, though common in other authors, as Boot (Obs. Crit. 24) points out: cp. Schmalz, Antib. ii. 423. Boot himself proposes *ea re . . . quod*, which is allowable (Fam. xi. 2, 3), but unnecessary.

Itaque . . . libentius] 'Accordingly I am on terms of friendship with him, and with none more intimately and gladly.'

pondus habituras] an old addition—not in M H. Mendelssohn, however (N. Jahrb, 1891, p. 349), objecting to the unusual order of the words (cp. Fam. xiii. 33, *magnum apud te pondus habuisse*),

proposes to read *magni* for *magnum*. He compares Fam. xiii. 72, 2 (511), *scio eius ordinis auctoritatem semper apud te magni fuisse*; xv. 15, 4 (448), *magni erunt mihi tuae litterae*. As to the present infinitive after *speravit* there is no difficulty: cp. note to Att. ii. 1, 11 (27); also Att. viii. 3, 7 (333). This is a simple correction, but the objection as regards the order of words is not sufficiently strong to induce us to eject a reading which has held its ground so long, is so Ciceronian, and probably had some evidence for its original introduction.

2. *ex eo quod*] 'from the fact that': cp. Phil. vi. 1.

Eli] So the mss give both here and N. D. iii. 59 for the more usual *Elide*: cp. *Elim*, Liv. xxvii. 32, 2.

explices et expeditas] 'settle and arrange.' For M. Mindius, cousin (*frater patruelis* of Mescinius Rufus, cp. Fam. v. 20, 2 (302)).

expedias cum iure et potestate, quam habes, tum etiam auctoritate et consilio tuo. Sic enim praescripsimus iis, quibus ea negotia mandavimus, ut omnibus in rebus, quae in aliquam controversiam vocarentur, te arbitro et, quod commodo tuo fieri posset, te disceptatore uterentur. Id ut honoris mei causa suscipias, vehementer te etiam atque etiam rogo. 3. Illud praeterea, si non alienum tua dignitate putabis esse, feceris mihi pergratum, si qui difficiliore erunt, ut rem sine controversia confici nolint, si eos, quoniam cum senatore res est, Romam reieceris. Quod quo minore dubitatione facere possis, litteras ad te a M. Lepido consule, non quae te aliquid iuberent—neque enim id tuae dignitatis esse arbitramur—, sed quodam modo quasi commendaticias sumpsimus. 4. Scriberem quam id beneficium bene apud Mescinium positurus esses, nisi et te scire confiderem et mihi peterem. Sic enim velim existimes, non minus me de illius re laborare quam ipsum de sua. Sed cum illum studeo quam facillime ad suum pervenire, tum illud laboro, ut non minimum hac mea commendatione se consecutum arbitretur.

arbitro . . . disceptatore] Forcellini explains this passage 'ut tu suas controversias cognosceres, non ad alium reiceres.' It is doubtful whether any clear distinction is intended here between *arbiter* and *disceptator*, 'your arbitration and, as far as I shall not inconvenience you, your settlement': if there is any distinction, perhaps the idea of enforcing the decision is suggested more strongly in *disceptator* than in *arbiter*. For the strict difference between *iudex* and *arbiter*, see Wordsworth, *Frag. and Specimens*, p. 421: 'The *iudex* decided sharply for or against one of two contending parties in matters which admitted of such decisions: cp. *Rosc. Com.* 10. An *arbiter* is a *vir bonus*, an unprejudiced man, probably an expert, called in to decide or arbitrate between two parties where the law is certain, but where the extent of its application is not clear, e.g. in cases of disputed boundaries, &c. The terms were, however, used loosely *iudex arbiterve*, and Cicero laughs at the lawyers for not having decided which was to be used: cp. *Muren.* 27.'

3. *cum senatore*] If a Roman citizen, and especially if a senator, complained against a subject or a subject community,

the governor could order these to appear either personally or by counsel (*ecclici*) at Rome: cp. *Fam. xiii.* 56 (231). It was a great abuse. Interest was frequently made, as in the present case, to get a letter from one of the chief magistrates to the governor, suggesting (virtually ordering) that the case be transferred to Rome: cp. Mommsen, *St. R.* ii², 256, note 2; iii. 1214, notes 2, 3.

possis] This pres. subj. refers to action subsequent to the time of writing, so that in regard to *possis*, *sumpsimus* virtually means *habemus*, but in relation to *iuberent*, it has reference to the time, already past, at which Cicero received the letters. The present *arbitramur* refers to the opinion entertained by Cicero and Lepidus, not only when the letter was composed, but also regarded as still existing, so that there is no necessity to alter to *arbitrabamur* with Lambinus.

M. Lepido] As Caesar and Lepidus were consuls for 46, this passage helps to fix the date of these letters to Sulpicius.

quodam modo quasi commendaticias] 'in a manner what I may call recommendatory.' In form they were recommendatory, but in reality mandatory.

DXXII. CICERO TO THE SAME SULPICIUS
(FAM. XIII. 27).

ROME ; MONTH UNCERTAIN ; A. U. C. 708 ; B. C. 46 ; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero Ser. Sulpicio C. Avianium Hammonium, quem commendationis suae causa liberaliter ab illo tractatum esse laetatur, iterum commendat.

CICERO SERVIO S.

1. Licet eodem exemplo saepius tibi huius generis litteras mittam, cum gratias agam, quod meas commendationes tam diligenter observes, quod feci in aliis et faciam, ut video, saepius, sed tamen non parcam operae et, ut vos soletis in formulis, sic ego in epistolis DE EADEM RE ALIO MODO. 2. C. Avianius igitur Hammonius incredibiles mihi gratias per litteras egit et suo et Aemilii Avianii, patroni sui, nomine, nec liberalius nec honorificentius potuisse tractari nec se praesentem nec rem familiarem absentis patroni sui. Id mihi cum iucundum est eorum causa, quos tibi ego summa necessitudine et summa coniunctione adductus commendaveram, quod M. Aemilius unus est ex meis familiarissimis atque intimis, maxime necessarius homo et magnis meis beneficiis devinctus et prope omnium, qui mihi debere aliquid videntur, gratissimus, tum multo iucundius te esse in me tali voluntate, ut plus prosis amicis meis, quam ego praesens fortasse prodessem, credo, quod magis ego dubitarem quid illorum causa facerem, quam tu quid mea. 3. Sed hoc non dubito quin existimes mihi esse gratum. Illud te rogo, ut illos quoque gratos esse homines putes: quod ita esse tibi promitto atque confirmo. Qua re velim, quidquid habent negotii, des operam, quod commodo tuo fiat, ut te obtinente Achaïam conficiant. 4. Ego cum tuo Servio iucun-

1. *soletis*] sc. *scribere*: cp. Fam. vii. 17, 3 (146) to Trebatius, who was also a lawyer. '*Hoc*' quem ad modum vos scribere soletis in vestris libris '*idem* Q. Cornelio videbatur.'

DE EADEM RE ALIO MODO] 'Est formula iurisconsultis antiquis usitata in praescribendis actionibus, cum ostenderent eiusdem rei consequendae vias

complures esse et actiones varias posse institui,' Brissonius.

2. *nec honorificentius*] 'and that neither he himself personally nor the private interests of his absent master could have been dealt with in a more complimentary manner.' For the double neg. cp. Dräger, i. 135.

4. *iucundissime et coniunctissime*] so H.

dissime et coniunctissime vivo magnamque cum ex ingenio eius singularique studio tum ex virtute et probitate voluptatem capio.

DXXIII. CICERO TO THE SAME SULPICIUS

(FAM. XIII. 28 a).

ROME; MONTH UNCERTAIN; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero Ser. Sulpicio agit gratias, quod Mescinio commendatio sua profuerit, rogatque, ut pergat ei bene facere.

CICERO SERVIO S.

1. Etsi libenter petere a te soleo, si quid opus est meorum cuipiam, tamen multo libentius gratias tibi ago, cum fecisti aliquid commendatione mea, quod semper facis. Incredibile est enim quas mihi gratias omnes agant, etiam mediocriter a me tibi commendati: quae mihi omnia grata sunt, de L. Mescinio gratissimum. Sic enim est mecum locutus, te, ut meas litteras legeris, statim procuratoribus suis pollicitum esse omnia, multo vero plura et maiora fecisse. Id igitur—puto enim etiam atque etiam mihi dicendum esse—velim existimes mihi te fecisse gratissimum.

2. Quod quidem hoc vehementius laetor, quod ex ipso Mescinio te video magnam capturum voluptatem. Est enim in eo cum virtus et probitas et summum officium summaque observantia tum studia illa nostra, quibus antea delectabamur, nunc etiam vivimus. Quod reliquum est, velim augeas tua in eum beneficia omnibus rebus, quae te erunt dignae: sunt duo, quae te nominatim rogo: primum ut, si quid satis dandum erit, **AMPLIUS EO NOMINE NON PETI**, cures, ut satis detur fide mea, deinde, cum fere consistat hereditas in iis

As M omits *et* the editors, after Victorius, mostly alter to *iucundissimo*. But Cratander was right in adopting what we now find to be the reading of H.

virtute et probitate] 'excellent and upright character.'

1. *grata sunt*] We read *sunt* for *sed* with Wesenberg (E. A. 43), for the verb substantive can hardly be omitted in such sentences: cp. Fam. x. 3, 1, *quae*

omnia mihi iucunda, hoc extremum etiam gratum fuit.

plura] sc. than he promised.

2. *Est enim in eo*] 'He possesses a manly and upright character, is most serviceable and most respectful, and further engages in those literary pursuits which were formerly my pleasure, but now my very life': cp. Fam. ix. 2, 5 (461); vi. 12, 5 (490).

AMPLIUS EO NOMINE NON PETI] cp. note on Att. i. 8, 1 (5).

rebus, quas avertit Oppia, quae uxor Mindii fuit, adiuves in easque rationem quem ad modum ea mulier Romam perducatur. Quod si putarit illa fore, ut opinio nostra est, negotium conficiemus. Hoc ut adsequamur, te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo. 3. Illud, quod supra scripsi, id tibi confirmo in meque recipio, te ea, quae fecisti Mescinii causa quaeque feceris, ita bene collocaturum, ut ipse iudices homini te gratissimo, iucundissimo benigne fecisse. Volo enim ad id, quod mea causa fecisti, hoc etiam accedere.

DXXIV. CICERO TO THE SAME SULPICIUS
(FAM. XIII. 28 b).

ROME; MONTH UNCERTAIN; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero Ser. Sulpicio hac epistola causam Lacedaemoniorum commendat.

CICERO SERVIO S.

1. Nec Lacedaemonios dubitare arbitror quin ipsi sua maiorumque suorum auctoritate satis commendati sint fidei et iustitiae tuae, et ego, qui te optime novissem, non dubitavi quin tibi notissima et iura et merita populorum essent. Itaque cum a me peteret Philippus Lacedaemonius, ut tibi civitatem commendarem, etsi memineram me ei civitati omnia debere, tamen respondi commendatione Lacedaemonios apud te non egere. 2. Itaque sic velim existimes, me omnes Achaiae civitates arbitrari pro horum temporum perturbatione felices, quod iis tu praesis, eundemque me ita iudicasse, te, quod unus optime nosset non nostra solum,

avertit] 'made away with': cp. Fam. xii. 26, 2; 2 Verr. i. 11.

Mindii] cousin of Mescinius Rufus: cp. Fam. xiii. 26, 2 (521).

3. *Illud . . . id*] For this collocation cp. an admirable note of Dr. Reid's, Acad. Post. i. 1, 1, *illum . . . eum*, where the two pronouns refer to the same person.

tibi confirmo] omitted in M, but found in H. In uncials D and O are like one another, so the corruption in M may be

ex homoeoteleuto. It is noticeable that *id* is the last word of a line in M.

gratissimo, iucundissimo] For the asyndeton, see note to Fam. iv. 7, 6 (480).

There is no sign in the mss that this is a new letter; but it has been rightly marked as such by Manutius and all subsequent editors.

2. *iudicasse*] So Wesenberg (E. A. 44), most acutely for *iudicare* of the mss. He argues that if the present *iudicare* is kept,

sed etiam Graeciae monumenta omnia, tua sponte amicum Lacedaemoniis et esse et fore. Qua re tantum a te peto, ut, cum ea facies Lacedaemoniorum causa, quae tua fides, amplitudo, iustitia postulabit iis, si tibi videbitur, significes te non moleste ferre, quod intellegas ea, quae facias, mihi quoque grata esse. Pertinet enim ad officium meum eos existimare curae mihi suas res esse. Hoc te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

DXXV. CICERO TO AULUS ALLIENUS (FAM. XIII. 78).

ROME ; MONTH UNCERTAIN ; A. U. C. 708 ; B. C. 46 ; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero ab Allieno procos. Siciliae petit, ut Democritum in fidem suam recipiat.

M. CICERO ALLIENO S.

1. Democritus Sicyonius non solum hospes meus est, sed etiam, quod non multis contigit, Graecis praesertim, valde familiaris. Est enim in eo summa probitas, summa virtus, summa in hospites liberalitas et observantia, meque praeter ceteros et colit et observat et diligit. Eum tu non modo suorum civium, verum paene Achaiae principem cognosces. 2. Huic ego tantum modo aditum ad tuam cognitionem patefacio et munio : cognitum per te ipsum,

the reading must be either *noscas* (cp. *praesis* after *arbitrari*) or *noveris*, and that it is easier to suppose that *iudicasse* was corrupted into *iudicare* than that either *noscas*, or *noveris*, or *noris* became *nosses*.

monumenta] 'records.'

amplitudo] 'dignity.'

postulabit, iis] So Wesenberg (l.c.) for *postulat ut iis*. In such restrictive clauses the time must be virtually the same as that of the verb which is restricted. Wesenberg compares Fam. xiii. 14, 2 (455) *videbitur* after the pres. subj. referring to future time, 22, 3 (517), *poteris*, and many more, such as the usual *ut iis*, *quantum tua fides dignitasque patietur, commodas*. The case is different where a causal (not restrictive) clause is added almost parenthetically, e.g. xiii. 59 (247), *servabis, ut tua fides dignitasque postulat, edictum*.

In 46 Allienus was pro-consul of Sicily : cp. Eckhel, v. 134. He had been propraetor in the same province in 48 (Bell. Afr. 2, 34). In 49 he had been one of the praetors, and in 60 one of the legati of Q. Cicero in Asia, cp. Q. Fr. i. 1, 10 (30), *Allienus autem noster est cum animo et benevolentia tum vero etiam imitatione vivendi*. We cannot fix the time of the year at which Cicero wrote this letter and the following one.

1. *sed etiam . . . valde familiaris*] For a good discussion on the relation of Cicero to the Greeks, and the way in which they were regarded and treated by Romans of distinction, see Mahaffy, *The Greek World under Roman Sway*, chap. vi., esp. p. 136.

et colit et observat et diligit] 'esteems, respects, and loves.'

2. *Huic . . . munio*] 'I am now only opening and paving a way for him so that you may gain some knowledge of him.'

quae tua natura est, dignum tua amicitia atque hospitio iudicabis. Peto igitur a te, ut his litteris lectis recipias eum in tuam fidem, polliceare omnia te facturum mea causa. De reliquo, si, id quod confido fore, dignum eum tua amicitia hospitioque cognoveris, peto ut eum complectare, diligas, in tuis habeas. Erit id mihi maiorem in modum gratum. Vale.

DXXVI. CICERO TO THE SAME ALLIENUS
(FAM. XIII. 79).

ROME; MONTH UNCERTAIN; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero Allieno procos. C. et M. Avianos commendat.

M. CICERO S. D. ALLIENO PROCOS.

Et te scire arbitror quanti fecerim C. Avanium Flaccum et ego ex ipso audieram, optimo et gratissimo homine, quam a te liberaliter esset tractatus. Eius filios dignissimos illo patre meosque necessarios, quos ego unice diligo, commendo tibi sic, ut maiore studio nullos commendare possim. C. Avanius in Sicilia est: Marcus est nobiscum. Ut illius dignitatem praesentis ornes, rem utriusque defendas, te rogo. Hoc mihi gratius in ista provincia facere nihil potes, idque ut facias, te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

recipias eum in tuam fidem] 'take him under your charge.'

ut eum . . . habeas] 'that you esteem and regard him, and consider him as one

of your friends.'

C. Avanium Flaccum] In 53 Cicero had introduced this man to Titius: see Fam. xiii. 75 (178).

DXXVII. CICERO TO AULUS CAECINA (FAM. VI. 8).

ROME; DECEMBER; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

Sibi hoc concessum a Balbo et Oppio scribit, ut Caecinae liceret in Sicilia esse, ibique ut commoretur neve longius abeat, suadet.

CICERO CAECINAE.

1. Cum esset mecum Largus, homo tui studiosus, locutus Kalendas Ianuarias tibi praefinitas esse, quod omnibus rebus perspexeram, quae Balbus et Oppius absente Caesare egissent, ea solere illi rata esse, egi vehementer cum his, ut hoc mihi darent, tibi in Sicilia, quoad vellemus, esse uti liceret. Qui mihi consuescent aut libenter polliceri, si quid esset eius modi, quod eorum animos non offenderet, aut etiam negare et adferre rationem cur negarent, huic meae rogationi *vel efflagitationi* potius non continuo responderunt: eodem die tamen ad me reverterunt: mihi hoc dederunt, ut esses in Sicilia quoad velles: se praestatueros nihil ex eo te offensionis habiturum. Quoniam quid tibi permittatur cognosti, quid mihi placeat puto te scire oportere. 2. Actis his rebus litterae a te mihi redditae sunt, quibus a me consilium petis quid sim tibi auctor, in Siciliane *ut* subsidas an ut ad reliquias Asiaticae negotiationis proficiscare. Haec tua deliberatio non mihi convenire visa est cum oratione Largi. Ille enim mecum, quasi tibi non liceret in Sicilia diutius commorari, ita locutus erat: tu autem, quasi concessum sit, ita deliberas. Sed ego, sive hoc sive illud est, in Sicilia censeo commorandum. Propinquitas locorum

1. *praefinitas*] 'fixed as the limit' for Caecina's stay in Sicily.

illi] The dative of the agent is sometimes used with the passive participle: cp. Roby, § 1146, who quotes Tusc. iv. 44, *Cui non sunt auditae Demosthenis vigiliae*.

vel efflagitationi] or rather 'my earnest supplication.' Some strong word of this meaning and with the same termination as *rogationi* must be added. Wesenberg (E. A. 14) has chosen *efflagitationi*, and for it he compares, Fam. v. 19, 2, *quasi quaedam admonitio videtur esse officii vel potius efflagitatio*.

offensionis] 'that you shall not thereby be in any way prejudiced with Caesar.'

2. *quid sim tibi auctor*] For this phrase cp. Atticus ap. Att. ix. 10, 5 (365). It belongs to the language of ordinary life: cp. Plaut. Pseud. i. 3, 2; iv. 7, 72; and I². p. 62 (f).

ut subsidas] *ut* is added by Wesenberg: for we must have it in the second clause as well as in the first.

ad reliquias] 'to settle the remnants of your business in Asia.'

Propinquitas] 'The proximity of these regions is of importance, either for

vel ad impetrandum adiuvat crebris litteris et nuntiis vel ad reditus celeritatem, re aut impetrata, id quod spero, aut aliqua ratione confecta. Quam ob rem censeo magno opere commorandum. 3. T. Furfanio Postumo, familiari meo, legatisque eius, item meis familiaribus, diligentissime te commendabo, cum venerint: erant enim omnes Mutinae. Viri sunt optimi et tui similium studiosi et mei necessarii. Quae mihi venient in mentem, quae ad te pertinere arbitror, ea mea sponte faciam: si quid ignorabo, de eo admonitus omnium studia vincam. Ego etsi coram de te cum Furfanio ita loquar, ut tibi litteris meis ad eum nihil opus sit, tamen, quoniam tuis placuit, te habere meas litteras, quas ei redderes, morem iis gessi. Earum litterarum exemplum infra scriptum est.

DXXVII. CICERO TO T. FURFANIUS POSTUMUS
(FAM. VI. 9).

(ENCLOSED IN THE PRECEDING LETTER.)

M. Cicero T. Furfanio Postumo proc. A. Caecinam diligenter commendat.

M. CICERO T. FURFANIO PROCOS. S.

1. Cum A. Caecina tanta mihi familiaritas consuetudoque semper fuit, ut nulla maior esse possit. Nam et patre eius, claro homine et forti viro, plurimum sum usus et hunc a puero, quod et spem magnam mihi adferebat summae probitatis summaeque eloquentiae et vivebat mecum coniunctissime non solum officiis amicitiae, sed etiam studiis communibus, sic semper dilexi, ut non

carrying through your point, as letters and messengers can often come and go; or for a speedy return if your point is gained, as I hope it will be, or if some compromise is effected.' The meaning of the latter clause is certainly what Manutius gives to it, viz. that Caecina may be allowed to live in Italy, provided he does not come to Rome: not, as Bill. says, 'if something should be brought to pass,' an euphemism for, if Caesar should be defeated in Spain. *Crebris nuntiis* is ablative of the cause.

3. *T. Furfanio Postumo*] This Furfanius was a judge in the case of Milo, and had been threatened by Clodius (Mil. 75). He appears to have held the government of Sicily in 705 (49), as we are told that a certain Postumius was appointed by the Senate to succeed him: cp. Att. vii. 15, 2 (311). In 709 (45) he was again governor of Sicily.

1. *non solum . . . communibus*] 'not only on terms of friendship, but also sharing in the same pursuits.'

ullo cum homine coniunctius viverem. 2. Nihil attinet me plura scribere: quam mihi necesse sit eius salutem et fortunas quibuscumque rebus possim tueri, vides. Reliquum est ut, cum cognorim pluribus rebus quid tu et de bonorum fortuna et de rei publicae calamitatibus sentias, nihil a te petam, nisi ut ad eam voluntatem, quam tua sponte erga Caecinam habiturus es, tantus cumulus accedat commendatione mea, quanti me a te fieri intellego. Hoc mihi gratius facere nihil potes. Vale.

DXXIX. CICERO TO TITIUS (FAM. V. 16).

ROME (?); A. U. C. 708 (?); B. C. 46 (?); AET. CIC. 60 (?).

Consolatur M. Cicero amicum in morte liberorum admodum dolentem.

M. CICERO S. D. T. TITIO.

1. Etsi unus ex omnibus minime sum ad te consolandum accommodatus, quod tantum ex tuis molestiis cepi doloris, ut consolatione ipse egerem, tamen, cum longius a summi luctus acerbitate meus abesset dolor quam tuus, statui nostrae necessitudinis esse meaeque in te benevolentiae non tacere tanto in tuo maerore tam diu, sed adhibere aliquam modicam consolationem quae levare dolorem tuum posset, si minus sanare potuisset. 2. Est autem consolatio pervulgata quidem illa maxime, quam semper in ore atque in animo habere debemus, homines nos ut esse meminimus ea lege natos, ut omnibus telis fortuna proposita sit vita

2. *tantus . . . intellego*] 'an addition be made by means of my recommendation proportional to the esteem in which I know you hold me.'

We cannot fix definitely the place or time at which this letter was written, and have inserted it in this part as most of Cicero's letters of consolation are here collected. It is also quite uncertain who this Titius was, whether L. Titius L. F. Rufus, who was Praetor Urbanus in 704 (50), cp. Fam. xiii. 58 (248), or T. Titius, who was legatus of Pompey, Fam. xiii. 75 (178), or someone else. Most probably

the latter, as in either of the other cases we might have expected some reference to the important function Titius had discharged.

1. *a summi . . . acerbitate*] 'from the intensity of the deepest grief.' Boeckel notices the gradation of synonyms for grief here used, *molestiae*, *dolor*, *luctus*, *maeror*, 'trouble, sorrow, grief, misery.'

2. *telis fortunae*] 'slings and arrows of fortune.' For the sentiment of the whole passage cp. Att. xv. 1a, 1, *Sed ad haec omnia una consolatio est quod ea conditione nati sumus, ut nihil, quod homini accidere possit, recusare debeamus.*

53 nostra, neque esse recusandum quo minus ea, qua nati sumus, condicione vivamus, neve tam graviter eos casus feramus, quos nullo consilio vitare possimus, eventisque aliorum memoria repetendis nihil accidisse novi nobis cogitemus. 3. Neque hae neque ceterae consolationes, quae sunt a sapientissimis viris usurpatae memoriaeque litteris proditae, tantum videntur proficere debere, quantum status ipse nostrae civitatis et haec perturbatio temporum perditorum, cum beatissimi sint, qui liberos non susceperunt, minus autem miseri, qui his temporibus amiserunt, quam si eosdem bona aut denique aliqua re publica perdidissent. 4. Quod si tuum te desiderium movet aut si tuarum rerum cogitatione maeres, non facile exauriri tibi istum dolorem posse universum puto: sin illa te res cruciat, quae magis amoris est, ut eorum, qui occiderunt, miseras lugeas, ut ea non dicam, quae saepissime et legi et audiui, nihil mali esse in morte, ex qua si resideat sensus, immortalitas illa potius quam mors ducenda sit, sin amissus, nulla videri miseria debeat quae non sentiatur, hoc tamen non dubitans confirmare possum, ea misceri, parari, impendere rei publicae, quae qui reliquerit, nullo modo mihi quidem deceptus esse videatur. Quid est enim iam non modo pudori, probitati, virtuti, rectis studiis, bonis artibus, sed omnino libertati ac saluti loci? Non mehercule quemquam audiui hoc gravissimo et pestilentissimo anno adulescentulum aut puerum mortuum, qui mihi non a dis immortalibus ereptus ex his miseriis atque ex iniquissima condicione vitae videretur. 5. Quare si tibi unum hoc detrahi potest, ne quid iis, quos amasti, mali putes contigisse, permultum erit ex maerore tuo deminutum. Relinquetur enim simplex illa iam cura doloris tui, quae non cum illis communicabitur, sed ad te ipsum proprie referetur: in qua non est iam gravitatis et sapientiae tuae, quam

3. *memoriaeque litteris proditae*] 'and handed down to posterity in literature': *litteris* is ablative of the means.

bona . . . re publica] 'when there was a proper or indeed any form of free government.'

4. *illa res . . . ut . . . lugeas*] The *ut* is explicative of *illa res*.

ut ea non dicam] 'not to mention.'

legi] probably in Xenophon, Cyr. viii. 7, 19 ff. (cp. De Sen. 81), or Plat. Apol. 40 (cp. Tusc. i. 97).

ea . . . rei publicae] 'such confusion

reigns, such projects are on foot, such dangers are threatening the state.' *deceptus*, 'unfairly dealt with.'

rectis studiis, bonis artibus] 'honest pursuits and liberal studies.'

5. *Quare . . . deminutum*] Cicero speaks like an Epicurean, trying to divest his correspondent of all fear that his loved ones should be suffering the terrors of Hades.

contigisse] used here of bad fortune, as in Lael. 8, *nec ullo casu arbitror hoc constanti homini posse contingere ut ulla inter-*

tu a puero praestitisti, ferre immoderatus casum incommodorum tuorum, qui sit ab eorum, quos dilexeris, miseria maloque seiunctus. Etenim eum semper te et privatis in rebus et publicis praestitisti, tuenda tibi ut sit gravitas et constantiae serviendum. Nam quod adlatura est ipsa diuturnitas, quae maximos luctus vetustate tollit, id nos praecipere consilio prudentiaque debemus. 6. Etenim si nulla fuit umquam liberis amissis tam imbecillo mulier animo, quae non aliquando lugendi modum fecerit, certe nos, quod est dies adlatura, id consilio anteferre debemus neque expectare temporis medicinam, quam repraesentare ratione possimus. His ego litteris si quid profecissem, existimabam optandum quiddam me esse adsecutum: sin minus forte valuissent, officio tamen esse functum viri benevolentissimi atque amicissimi, quem me tibi et fuisse semper existimes velim et futurum esse confidas.

missio fiat officii, where Dr. Reid compares our passage, and also Lael. 72; N. D. i. 27; Phil. xiv. 24; and quotes with approval Seyffert's opinion, that *contingere*, like *προσῆκειν*, signifies the happening of something which is natural or to be expected under the circumstances.

casum incommodorum tuorum] 'the misfortunes which have befallen you.'

et constantiae serviendum] 'and regard should be paid to firmness.'

Nam . . . tollit] 'For that which mere progress of time is sure to bring, which by its long lapse wears out even the deepest sorrows.' This recalls the grand and simple line of Aeschylus (Eum. 286):—

χρόνος καθαιρεῖ πάντα γηράσκων ὁμοῦ.

The same sentiment is in the Sophoclean *χρόνος γὰρ εὐμαρῆς θεός* (El. 179), 'Time is a comfortable god.'

6. *anteferre*] This must mean 'anticipate': though no parallel has been adduced for this usage, yet the form of the compound would not seem to render it

impossible. Some editors read *ante ferre*. Cobet conjectures *antevertere*, which means 'to anticipate,' in Lael. 16: Streicher, *ante adferre*; and Mendelssohn, *anteire*, or rather the archaic form *anteire*.

quam . . . possimus] 'which we can have ready to hand if we are reasonable'; *repraesentare* is lit. 'to bring into the present from the future,' hence, 'to do at once'; cp. Phil. ii. 118, *repraesentari* ('acquired at once') *morte mea libertas civitatis potest*; Att. xvi. 2, 3: Caes. B.G. i. 40, 14. The word also means, 'to pay ready money,' Att. xii. 25, 1: 29, 2; Fam. xvi. 14, 2. For the general sentiment cp. Att. xii. 10, *Consolationum autem multae viae, sed illa rectissima: impetret ratio quod dies impetratura sit*; also Fam. vii. 28, 3 (477), *quamquam me non ratio solum consolatur, quae plurimum debet valere, sed etiam dies, quae stultis quoque mederi solet*.

sin minus] Cicero does not appear to have thought that his letters of consolation were much more than mere acts of politeness.

DXXX. CICERO TO C. CASSIUS LONGINUS
(FAM. XV. 18).

ROME; END OF YEAR; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero excusat brevitatem litterarum: tristitiam temporum accusat, nihil ex Hispania adferri significat.

M. CICERO S. D. C. CASSIO.

1. Longior epistola fuisset, nisi eo ipso tempore petita esset a me, cum iam iretur ad te: longior etiam, si *φλύαρον* aliquem habuisset: nam *σπουδάζειν* sine periculo vix possumus. Ridere igitur, inquires, possumus? Non mehercule facillime. Verum tamen aliam aberrationem a molestiis nullam habemus. Ubi igitur, inquires, philosophia? Tua quidem in culina, mea in

1. *Longior*] 'This letter would have been longer had I not been asked for it just the moment a post was going out to you.'

longior etiam] 'longer, too, if it had any *bavardage* for its contents.' Lambinus altered *autem* of the mss to *etiam*; the latter can only mean 'and indeed' in enumerations: cp. Muren. 49. Mendelssohn (Neue Jahrb. 1891, p. 351) proposes either to read *si autem longior φλύαρον*, or to eject *si* altogether; but neither proposal is very satisfactory.

aberrationem] 'diversion,' 'distraction.'

Tua quidem . . . audiam] 'Yours indeed belongs to the kitchen, mine to the school-room. For I am ashamed to live a slave, and so I represent myself as being careless, in order to avoid hearing the reproaches of Plato': cp. Rep. iii. 387 B, τοσοῦτῳ ἤττον ἀκουστέον παισὶ καὶ ἀνδράσιν οὐδ' δεῖ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι δούλειαν θανάτου μᾶλλον πεφοβημένους. *Palaestra* is used for a rhetorical school as well as a wrestling school. Cicero is referring to the declamations he was practising: cp. Fam. ix. 18, 3 (473). *Alias res* (or *aliud*) *agere* was a common phrase for attending to secondary or subordinate subjects to the neglect of essentials; hence it came to mean 'to be careless or indifferent': cp. Cluent. 179, Brut. 233, *ita* (Fimbria)

futurebat tamen ut mirarere tam alias res agere populum ut esset insano inter disertos locus; Tac. Agr. 43, *volgus quoque et hic aliud agens populus*, 'this apathetic, indifferent populace.'

The text is the emendation of Manutius: the mss give *mea molesta est*. Baiter conjectures *in oleo est*, which means much the same as *in palaestra*; cp. Catull. 63, 64, *decus olei*; but it is further from the mss, and is a word less suited for prose than *palaestra* unless in connexion with the latter. Kleyn reads *orchestra*, and supposes that Cassius enjoyed himself not only by eating good dinners, but also by going to the theatre; and that the *orchestra* was where the senators sat (Vitruv. v. 6, 1). He adds (Pref. lxvii.) that he is unable to conceive what *in palaestra* can mean, and certainly it is a strange expression. Mendelssohn (*l. c.* p. 352) proposes *in luto est* for *molesta est*, 'You have embraced the kitchen philosophy (i.e. the Epicurean), I am still in perplexity as to what sect to follow.' The general expression is *in luto haerere* (or *haesitare*), but *in luto esse* occurs in Plaut. Pseud. iv. 2, 27 (987). Perhaps we should read *Tua quidem iucunda* (for *in culina*), *mea molesta est*, 'Yours is of course a pleasant philosophy, mine keeps vexing me; for I feel ashamed at being a slave.' To read *iucunda* for *in culina* is not to depart further

palaestra est: pudet enim servire. Itaque facio me alias res agere, ne convicium Platonis audiam. 2. De Hispania nihil adhuc certi, nihil omnino novi. Te abesse mea causa moleste fero, tua gaudeo. Sed flagitat tabellarius. Valebis igitur meque, ut a puero fecisti, amabis.

from the mss than to read *in palaestra* for *molesta*; and a copyist would be only too prone to make a reference to the kitchen when the subject was the philosophy of Epicurus. According to this reading we have also a more satisfactory explanation of *enim*.

facio . . . agere] For this use of *facere* with infinitive cp. 2 Verr. i. 100, *quod plus fecit Dolabella Verrem accepisse quam iste in suis tabulis habuit*. Boot (Obs.

Crit. 25), who does not think this usage possible, alters to *facile patior*: cp. Att. xiii. 23, 1. But this is too far from the mss.

convicium] This word is connected with *vox*, and means the din of many voices. Dr. Reid (on Arch. 12) notices that in passages like the one before us, and Acad. ii. 34 (*convicio veritatis*), there is present the idea of *repetition* of sounds by the same voice.

LETTERS OF THE TWENTY-FOURTH YEAR OF CICERO'S
CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. DXXXI.-DCLXX.

A. U. C. 709 ; B. C. 45 ; AET. CIC. 61.

CONS. C. JULIUS CAESAR IV. SINE COLLEGA, IDEM DICTATOR ;
M. AEMILIUS LEPIDUS, MAGISTER EQUITUM.

THE chief event in this year, as far as Cicero was concerned, was the death of Tullia, in February. At first Cicero seemed crushed. A large number of the letters to Atticus after Tullia's death have relation to a monument which Cicero intended to build to her memory. After his first burst of grief Cicero strove to deaden his sorrow by writing literary and philosophical treatises. He published in the course of the year a *Consolatio*, the *De Finibus*, *Academica*, and probably *Hortensius*. Such constant work was salutary, and towards the end of the year he appears to have regained his normal composure. Some time in the late autumn he defended King Deiotarus before Caesar.

DXXXI. CICERO TO C. CASSIUS LONGINUS
(FAM. XV. 16).

ROME ; JANUARY : A. U. C. 709 ; B. C. 45 ; AET. CIC. 61.

M. Cicero ridet opiniones Epicureorem et ipsum Cassium disciplinae Epicureae studiosum.

M. CICERO S. D. C. CASSIO.

1. Puto te iam suppuere, quem haec tertia iam epistola ante oppressit quam tu scidam aut litteram. Sed non urgeo : longiores enim expectabo vel potius exigam. Ego si semper haberem cui darem, vel ternas in hora darem. Fit enim nescio qui ut quasi coram adesse videare, cum scribo aliquid ad te, neque id κατ' εἰδῶλων φαντασίας, ut dicunt tui amici novi, qui putant etiam διανοητικὰς φαντασίας spectris Catianis excitari—nam, ne te fugiat, Catius Insuber, Epicureus, qui nuper est mortuus, quae ille Gargettius et iam ante Democritus εἰδῶλα, hic spectra nominat ; 2.—his autem spectris etiam si oculi possent feriri, quod quae velis

1. *Puto te iam suppuere*] 'I think now you must be somewhat ashamed of yourself that already this third letter is upon you before you send a sheet or a line (lit. 'a letter of the alphabet'). But I am not pressing.' The text is the reading of Gronovius : see Adn. Crit. Note the ellipse of *misisti*. For *scida*, see Att. i. 20, 7 (26).

Sed . . . exigam] Nonius (p. 291) quotes this passage, with the addition, *quando hercle ego temere exigam*.

nescio qui] 'somehow or other,' ablative.

κατ' εἰδῶλων φαντασίας] cp. κατ' εἰδῶλων ἐμπτώσεις, Att. ii. 3, 2 (29). This was the Epicurean theory of vision.

διανοητικὰς φαντασίας] 'mental pictures.'

spectris Catianis] 'by what Catius calls spectres or ghosts.' This translation of εἰδῶλα by *spectra* appears to have been ridiculous : cp. Fam. xv. 19. 1, 2, though unless we had this evidence we should not have thought so. The word *spectra* occurs only in these two passages. Catius, the Insubrian, was an Epicurean writer who had recently died. He treated his subject

superficially, but in a fairly readable manner, Quintil. x. 1, 124, *In Epicureis levis quidem sed non iniucundus tamen auctor est Catius*. That this Catius is not the Catius of Hor. Sat. ii. 4 is almost certain : see Prof. Palmer's Introd. to that Satire.

Ille Gargettius] Epicurus, who belonged to the deme of Gargettus, seven miles N.W. of Athens.

2. *his autem spectris*] Cicero's objections to the Epicurean theory of mental images are these : Granted that the mental image of an object is caused by idola impinging on the eye, how is it that the mind in thought is affected by just those images which we will should affect it—that just those idola reach the mind. We read *quod quae velis ipsa incurrunt*, 'even supposing that the eye can be struck by these spectres, because the actual images you wish do run in, I cannot see how it is that the mind can be struck.' The images you wish with countless others stream into the eyes : but how the mind is struck by just the images you wish is the difficulty. The most common word

ipsa incurrunt, animus qui possit ego non video. Doceas tu me oportebit, cum salvus veneris, in meane potestate sit spectrum tuum, ut, simul ac mihi collibitum sit de te cogitare, illud occurrat, neque solum de te, qui mihi haeres in medullis, sed, si insulam Britanniam coepero cogitare, eius εἶδωλον mihi advolabit ad pectus? 3. Sed haec posterius. Tempto enim te quo animo accipias. Si enim stomachabere et moleste feres, plura dicemus postulabimusque, ex qua αἰρέσει VI HOMINIBUS ARMATIS deiectus

for objects striking on the eye is *incurro* (cp. Att. xii. 21, 5, Fam. ii. 16, 2 (394), Quintil. x. 3, 16), and as it is supported by H and its family had better be retained. M reads *occurrunt*, which is generally altered to *accurrunt*, a word which occurs in a passage bearing on the same objection as the present one, viz. De Div. ii. 137-8; cp. Lucret. iv. 779 ff. and N.D. i. 108. These φανταστικά ἐπιβολὰ τῆς διανοίας 'represent the impression derived from the *spectra* or *idola*, which are too delicate to affect the senses, but which can act upon the mind,' if the mind strains itself to see them: but as to this straining of the mind, which is the real difficulty, the Epicureans give no account of it, and Lucretius simply 'assumes that the mind is able to attend, to abstract, to concentrate itself. In other words he takes for granted a spontaneity—a power of initiation, selection, and determination, which his primitive atoms are not supposed to possess, but which he naturally enough, if somewhat illogically, assumes to exist and operate.' (Wallace, *Epicureanism*, p. 225; cp. p. 119.) Somewhat different is the explanation of Munro (Lucr. iv. 802): 'Neither here nor elsewhere does Lucretius explain the all-important point how the mind is first turned to any object of thought. When the mind is once roused and the will set in motion, then it may be said that it attends solely or mainly to the images connected with such object; but why should one image more than any other image first strike on the mind? This he does not explain: he attributed it, I presume, to accident, and therefore thought it unnecessary to enlarge upon it.' If Epicurus and Lucretius had got a firm hold of the theory of 'latent modifications,' which has been used to explain the apparent vagaries of thought and the association of ideas, they might at least have given a possible explanation of the

difficulty, and so thrown on their opponents the burden of proof. Among the many other emendations proposed (see Adn. Crit.) that of Koch's is noticeable, *quod velis nolis ipsa accurrunt*, 'because willy nilly (whether you will or no) they themselves run up.' For *velim nolim* without conjunction, in colloquial language: cp. N. D. i. 17; Q. Fr. iii. 8, 4 (159).

haeres in medullis] cp. Phil. i. 36, *in medullis populi Romani ac visceribus haerebant*.

advolabit ad pectus] 'will fly into my mind': cp. Att. xiii. 12, 4, *toto pectore cogitemus*. Strictly *pectus* is the seat of the emotions, and not of the intellect: but perhaps the expression is conditioned by the immediately preceding *qui mihi haeres in medullis*. Professor Palmer has suggested to us that possibly *ad pectus* is a corruption of *ad adspectus*: though the plural is rare, yet *adspectus* in the singular is a very Ciceronian word. But the objection which Cicero is combating is not how the images come into the eye, this he allows as possible for the sake of argument (§ 2, init.), but how the *mind* is stimulated.

Tempo enim te quo] This is a construction more common in Greek than in Latin.

postulabimusque] 'we shall make an application that you be restored to that system from which you have been ousted by force of arms.' Cassius is facetiously represented as having been ousted from the Stoic philosophy by the arms of Caesar, and as having embraced the Epicurean tenets of the latter. Cicero says he will get an interdict from the praetor that he be restored to his former possession, viz. the Stoic philosophy.

VI HOMINIBUS ARMATIS] The interdict *unde vi* ran thus:—*Unde tu illum vi deiecisti, aut familia tua deiecit, de eo, quaeque ille tunc ibi habuit, tantummodo*

sis, in eam restituare. In hoc interdicto non solet addi IN HOC ANNO. Qua re si iam biennium aut triennium est, cum virtuti nuntium remisisti delenitus illecebris voluptatis, in integro res nobis erit. Quamquam quicum loquor? cum uno fortissimo viro, qui, postea quam forum attigisti, nihil fecisti nisi plenissimum amplissimae dignitatis. In ista ipsa αἰρέσει metuo ne plus nervorum sit quam ego putaram, si modo eam tu probas. Qui id tibi in mentem venit? inquires. Quia nihil habebam aliud quod scriberem. De re publica enim nihil scribere possum: nec enim quod sentio libet scribere.

DXXXII. AULUS CAECINA TO CICERO (FAM. VI. 7).

SICILY; JANUARY; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

A. Caecina excusat se M. Ciceroni, quod alterum librum non reddiderit filius. Queritur sibi iratum esse C. Caesarem propter stilum, cum aliis ignovisset, qui contra se deos precati essent. Cautē se scribere ait ne Caesaris animum offendat. Rogat Ciceronem ut reditum sibi a Caesare impetret neve librum suum exire patiatur nisi ita correctum ut sibi ne noceat.

CAECINA CICERONI PLUR. SAL.

1. Quod tibi non tam celeriter liber est redditus, ignosce timori nostro et miserere temporis. Filius, ut audio, pertimuit, neque

intra annum, post annum de eo quod ad eum qui vi deiecit pervenerit iudicium dabo (Dig. 43, 16, 1 pr.). Ulpian, however, especially notices that this interdict only applies to *atrox vis* (§ 3). But in the time of Gaius (iv. 154, 155) there were two kinds of edicts *unde vi*, 'the every-day' (*cotidianum*) edict when 'every-day' violence had been used, and the other evoked only in the case of armed violence. The latter differed from the former by the omissions of the exceptions (the exceptions being that the man ousted must have held possession, neither *vi*, *clam*, nor *precario*) and the omission of limitation to a year: cp. Poste's Gaius (ed. 2), pp. 630-1; Sandar's Justinian (ed. 6), iv. 15, 6, p. 492.

iam biennium . . . voluptatis] Nonius in quoting this (p. 278) omits *aut triennium*.

nuntium remisisti] This is another facetious metaphor, 'you have cast off your true spouse Virtue, beguiled by the allurements of Pleasure.' *Nuntium re-*

mittere means 'to send a message of divorcement': cp. Att. 1, 13, 3 (19). Divorce was effected by sending a message (which in later times was delivered verbally by a freedman) in the formal words *tuas res tibi habeto*, or *tuas res tibi agito*, Dig. 24, 2, 2, 1. Bücheler conjectures that the formula in the XII. Tables was *baete foras mulier* from Varro τῷ πατρὶς τὸ παιδίον, Fr. 2, *annos multos quod parere non poterat mulierem foras baetere iussit*: cp. Mart. xi. 104, 1, *Uxor, vade foras aut moribus utere nostris*. Mayor on Phil. ii. 69; Palmer on Plaut. Amph. iii. 2, 47. Marquardt *Privatleben* 69.

in integro res nobis est] 'the matter will be open to us.'

Qui id . . . venit, inquires] *Id* refers to the whole discussion in the letter on the Epicurean theory, to which there is a sportive reference in *in mentem venit*. To refer it to the sentence immediately preceding would make the answer of Cicero very rude.

iniuria, si liber exisset, quoniam non tam interest quo animo scribatur quam quo accipiatur, ne ea res inepte mihi noceret, cum praesertim adhuc stili poenas dem. Qua quidem in re singulari sum fato: nam cum mendum scripturae litura tollatur, stultitia fama multetur, meus error exsilio corrigitur: cuius summa criminis est, quod armatus adversario male dixi. 2. Nemo nostrum est, ut opinor, quin vota Victoriae suae fecerit, nemo quin, etiam cum de alia re immolaret, tamen eo quidem ipso tempore, ut quam primum Caesar superaretur, optaret. Hoc si non cogitat, omnibus rebus felix est: si scit et persuasus est, quid irascitur ei, qui aliquid scripsit contra suam voluntatem, cum ignorit omnibus, qui multa deos venerati sunt contra eius salutem? 3. Sed ut eodem revertar, causa haec fuit timoris. Scripsi de te parce me dius fidius et timide, non revocans me ipse, sed paene refugiens. Genus autem hoc scripturae non modo liberum, sed incitatum atque elatum esse debere quis ignorat? Solutum existimatur esse alteri male dicere, tamen cavendum est ne in petulantiam incidas, impeditum se ipsum laudare, ne vitium adrogantiae subsequatur, solum vero liberum alterum laudare, de quo quidquid detrahas necesse est aut infirmitati aut invidiae adsignetur: ac nescio an tibi gratius opportuniusque acciderit:

1. *liber*] SC. QUERELLARUM: cp. Fam. vi. 6, 8 (488).

ne ea res inepte mihi noceret] 'lest this should stupidly do me some harm,' i.e. by its stupidity—a careless expression no doubt, but we must not expect great precision of language from Caecina. Wessenberg (E. A. 14) wishes to read either *impense* for *inepte*, or to omit the word altogether: see Adn. Crit.

nam, cum] 'for whereas a slip of the pen is removed by an erasure, and a *bêtise* suffers the penalty of notoriety, the penalty inflicted on my fault is exile.'

2. *persuasus est*] This is not by any means an unheard of construction in classical prose: cp. Cornif. ad Herenn. i. 9, *cum animus persuasus esse videatur*; 10, *si persuasus auditor fuerit*; Auct. Bell. Afr. 55, *Caesaris nomine persuasi a rege Iuba desciscant*. The use of the accusative is not found in Cicero or Caesar, but appears in Ennius (quoted by Servius on Aen. x. 10), *quis te persuasit*. In Prop. v. 1, 146, we have *persuasae fallere*

rima sat est; Ov. A. A. iii. 679, *Iam dudum persuasus erit*; and often in post-classical prose, e.g. Val. Max. iii. 8, 1, *Capuam pacisci persuasam*; Plin. H. N. x. 66, *persuasae*; Petron. 46, *te persuadeam*; 62, *persuadeo hospitem*; 182, *a matre persuasus est*; Phaedr. i. 8, 7, *persuasa est*. So that we must not say too roundly that Caecina here wrote bad Latin.

3. *paene refugiens*] 'not only checking myself but almost starting away.'

incitatum atque elatum] 'spirited and elevated.'

Solutum] 'No restraint is thought to exist in the case of literary attack.'

petulantiam] 'aggressiveness,' 'bullying,' Juv. iii. 278.

impeditum] 'It is a difficult thing to praise oneself lest the fault of presumption should ensue.'

ac nescio] 'and I am inclined to think that what I have done (i.e. referring to you only slightly) is more pleasing to you and suits your circumstances better.' It would have been plainer if *nihil* had been added after *an*.

nam quod praeclare facere non poteram, primum erat non attingere: secundum [beneficium] quam parcissime facere. Sed tamen ego quidem me sustinui: multa minui, multa sustuli, complura ne posui quidem. Quem ad modum igitur, scalarum gradus si alios tollas, alios incidas, non nullos male haerentes relinquas, ruinae periculum struas, non ascensum pares, sic tot malis tum vinctum tum fractum studium scribendi quid dignum auribus aut probabile potest adferre? 4. Cum vero ad ipsius Caesaris nomen veni, toto corpore contremesco, non poenae metu, sed illius iudicii: totum enim Caesarem non novi. Quem putas animum esse, ubi secum loquitur? 'hoc probabit: hoc verbum suspiciosum est.'—'Quid, si hoc muto? at vereor ne peius sit.'—'Age vero, laudo aliquem: non offendo?' 'Cum porro reprendo aliquem, quid, si non vult?' 'Armati stilum persequitur: victi et nondum restituti quid faciet?' Auges etiam tu mihi timorem, qui in *Oratore* tuo caves tibi per Brutum et ad excusationem socium quaeris. Ubi hoc 'omnium patronus' facit, quid me, veterem tuum, nunc omnium clientem sentire oportet? In hac igitur calumnia timoris et caecae suspicionis tormento cum plurima ad alieni

beneficium] It is awkward to have this word in the second clause. It is not wanted, and was ejected by Lambinus.

sustinui] 'restrained myself.'

Quem ad modum . . . adferre] 'As then in a staircase, if you remove some of the steps, cut into others, leave some hardly fastened together, you are creating for people a danger of falling down, not constructing a means for them to ascend; so one's literary talent, when it is hampered and crushed by so many discouragements, what can it produce worth being listened to or likely to win approval?' Romans appear to have judged of literary works in a large measure by the effect they made when read out: cp. Fam. xvi. 10, 2. Most rich Romans had special slaves to read out to them (*ἀνάγνωσται*): cp. Att. i. 12, 4 (17); Fam. v. 9, 2; Mayor on Plin. Epp. iii. 5, 10; Becker-Göll Gallus ii. 144. Hence in after times the great prevalence of public recitations which were introduced by Pollio. On recitations, see Mayor on Juv. i. 9. Nepos (Att. 14) notices that reading was the only amusement (*acroama*) which Atticus used to provide for his guests during dinner.

4. *totum enim Caesarem non novi*] 'for I do not know Caesar thoroughly.'

loquitur] sc. *animus*.

Age vero . . . vult] We read *reprendo aliquem* with Wesenberg (E. 85) for *offendam*. The proximity of *offendo* probably caused the corruption. 'Come, now, I am praising a man. "Am I not offending him?"' (my timid self asks). When further I go on to blame anyone. "What, suppose he does not like it." Wesenberg compares for the antithesis *laudo*, *reprehendo*, Fam. v. 12, 8 (109), *scribant necesse est si quid est laudandum et praeter-eant si quid reprehendendum est*.

Oratore] The *Orator*, which was written in this year was quite fresh in Caecina's memory: cp. Cicero in reference to his own eulogy on Cato in Orat. 35. *Itaque hoc sum aggressus statim Catone absoluto: quem ipsum nunquam attigissem tempora timens inimica virtuti, nisi tibi hortanti et illius memoriam mihi caram excitanti non parere nefas esse duxissem. Sed testificor me a te rogatum et recusantem haec scribere esse ausum*, and Dr. Sandys' note on this passage relative to Cicero's *Cato*.

In hac igitur . . . sentimus] 'In this

sensus coniecturam, non ad suum iudicium scribantur, quam difficile sit evadere, si minus expertus es, quod te ad omnia summum atque excellens ingenium armavit, nos sentimus. Sed tamen ego filio dixeram, librum tibi legeret et auferret aut ea condicione daret, si reciperes te correcturum, hoc est, si totum alium faceres. 5. De Asiatico itinere, quamquam summa necessitas premebat, ut imperasti, feci. Te pro me quid hortor? vides tempus venisse quo necesse sit de nobis constitui. Nihil est, mi Cicero, quod filium meum expectes. Adulescens est: omnia excogitare vel studio vel aetate vel metu non potest. Totum negotium tu sustineas oportet: in te mihi omnis spes est. Tu pro tua prudentia, quibus rebus gaudeat, quibus capiatur Caesar, tenes: a te omnia proficiscantur et per te ad exitum perducantur necesse est: apud ipsum multum, ad eius omnes plurimum potes. 6. Unum tibi si persuaseris, non hoc esse tui muneris, si quid rogatus fueris, ut facias—quamquam id magnum et amplum est—sed totum tuum esse onus, perficies: nisi forte aut in miseria nimis stulte aut in amicitia nimis impudenter tibi onus impono. Sed utrique rei excusationem tuae vitae consuetudo dat: nam quod ita consuesti pro amicis laborare, non iam sic sperant abs te, sed etiam sic imperant tibi familiares. Quod ad librum attinet, quem tibi filius dabit, peto a te, ne exeat, aut ita corrigas, ne mihi noceat.

over-anxious fear and torturing blind suspicion, when most of what one writes is guided by guesses at the opinion of another, and not according to one's own judgment, I feel how difficult it is to come off successfully; and, if you have not experienced this, it is because your supreme and pre-eminent genius has armed you for all contingencies.' For *calumnia timoris*, cp. note on Fam. ix. 2, 3 (461), *sed calumniabar ipse*. For *evadere* used absolutely cp. Sall. Jug. 50 fin.; it is probably a military term, lit. 'to get clear out' (of a difficult position); cp. Liv. x. 1, 6. We should have expected *tu* with *expertus es* as an antithesis to *nos*.

5. *Asiatico*] cp. Fam. vi. 8, 2 (527).

vel studio] 'or owing to his excessive interest in my case.'

capiatur] 'won over.'

ad eius omnes] There is no necessity to read *apud* with the old editions. Mendelssohn compares Liv. vi. 34, 5, *potentis viri cum inter sui corporis homines tum etiam ad plebem*, cp. i. 26, 5; and *ad* for

apud (with persons) is a feature of colloquial style: cp. Brix on Plaut. Capt. Prol. 49.

6. *Unum tibi*] 'If you will convince yourself of this that your duty is not merely to do what you are asked (though even this is great and considerable), but that the business is a burden resting solely on you, you will I know carry it through: unless perchance misfortune makes me too inconsiderate or our friendship too presuming when I lay this burden upon you. But the practice of your life gives me an excuse for both; for, from your habit of exerting yourself so earnestly for your friends, those who are your intimates do not now merely hope for this assistance from you, but actually demand it from you as a right.'

exeat] 'get into circulation': cp. Att. xiii. 21, 5, *me eos exire nondum velle*. Another meaning of *exire* with regard to books is 'to turn out'; cp. Att. xiii. 13, 1, *Libri quidem ita exierunt ut in tali genere ne apud Graecos quidem simile quidquam*:

DXXXIII. CICERO TO AULUS CAECINA (FAM. VI. 5).

ROME; JANUARY; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

A. Caecinam, qui Cn. Pompeii partes in bello secutus etiam scripto libello Caesarem offenderat, patria carentem consolari studet et bene sperare de se ac fortunis suis iubet.

M. CICERO S. D. A. CAECINAE.

1. Quotiescumque filium tuum video—video autem fere cotidie —, polliceor ei studium quidem meum et operam sine ulla exceptione aut laboris aut occupationis aut temporis, gratiam autem atque auctoritatem cum hac exceptione, quantum valeam quantumque possim. Liber tuus et lectus est et legitur a me diligenter et custoditur diligentissime. Res et fortunae tuae mihi maximae curae sunt: quae quidem cotidie faciliores mihi et meliores videntur, multisque video magnae esse curae, quorum de studio et de sua spe filium ad te perscripsisse certo scio. 2. Iis autem de rebus, quas coniectura consequi possumus, non mihi sumo, ut plus ipse prospiciam quam te videre atque intellegere mihi persuaserim, sed tamen, quia fieri potest, ut tu ea perturbatiore animo cogites, puto esse meum quid sentiam exponere. Ea natura rerum est et is temporum cursus, ut non possit ista aut tibi aut ceteris fortuna esse diuturna neque haerere in tam bona causa et in tam bonis civibus tam acerba iniuria. 3. †Qua re ad eam spem, quam

cp. Pers. i. 45, *si forte quid aptius exit*. Hor. A. P. 21, *currente rota cur urceus exit*. Quintil. xii. 10, 26, *si quid exierit numeris aptius*. On the passage from Persius Conington says that there is a double reference to a vessel turned out by a potter and to a bird hatched from an egg.

1. *sine ulla exceptione*] ‘without any reserve on the score of work, or business, or occasion, I promise my personal interest and influence, with this qualification, “to the extent of my power and means.”’

Liber tuus] cp. Fam. vi. 7, fin. (532).

2. *non mihi sumo*] ‘I do not take on myself to say.’

perturbatiore] ‘less calm.’

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haerere in] ‘remain attached to.’

3. †*Qua re ad eam spem*] We have printed this corrupt passage as it stands in the mss. The proposed restorations are most violent. Boot (Obs. Crit. 11) reads (omitting *Quare*): *Adde eam spem quam extra ordinem de te ipso habemus non solum propter dignitatem et virtutem tuam—haec enim ornamenta sunt tibi cum aliis communia—sed etiam, quae sunt tua praecipua, propter eximium ingenium summamque eloquentiam quibus, &c.* Madvig (Opusc. Acad. 321, ed. 2) proposes: *Quare ad eam spem <quam de omnibus habemus, accedit ea> quam extra ordinem de te ipso habemus, non solum propter dignitatem et virtutem tuam—haec enim ornamenta sunt tibi etiam cum aliis communia—sed*

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extra ordinem de te ipso habemus, non solum propter dignitatem et virtutem tuam—haec enim ornamenta sunt tibi etiam cum aliis communia—, accedunt tua praecipua propter eximium ingenium summamque virtutem, cui mehercules hic, cuius in potestate sumus, multum tribuit. Itaque ne punctum quidem temporis in ista fortuna fuisses, nisi eo ipso bono tuo, quo delectatur, se violatum putasset: quod ipsum lenitur cotidie significaturque nobis ab iis, qui simul cum eo vivunt, tibi hanc ipsam opinionem ingenii apud illum plurimum profuturam.

4. Quapropter primum fac animo forti atque magno sis: ita enim natus, ita educatus, ita doctus es, ita etiam cognitus, ut tibi id faciendum sit: deinde spem quoque habeas firmissimam propter eas causas, quas scripsi. A me vero tibi omnia liberisque tuis paratissima esse confidas velim: id enim et vetustas nostri amoris et mea consuetudo in meos et tua multa erga me officia postulant.

(omitting *accedunt tua praecipua*) *propter eximium ingenium summamque virtutem, cui.* Madvig's restoration has been approved of by Wesenberg and Baiter. They hold that *accedunt tua praecipua*, if it means 'is added to,' is a blundering addition of a commentator to *ad eam spem quam extra ordinem de te ipso habemus*; also that *sed etiam* ought to be added corresponding to *non solum*. The mss reading *virtutem* is almost certainly wrong: various words have been proposed to take its place: *doctrinam* (old editions); *eruditionem* (Gron.); *venustatem* (Kl.); *eloquentiam* (Schütz, Wes.). The latter compares Fam. vi. 9, 1 (528), and says that the word required must, when coupled with *ingenium*, form one idea owing to the singular relative *cui*, 'your remarkably

able and highly eloquent style.' Boot defends *tua praecipua*, as the antithesis of *communis* and *praecipuus* is frequent in Cicero: cp. Att. xi. 14, 1 (429); Fam. iv. 15, 2 (484).

multum tribuit] For Caesar's favour shown towards men of intellect, cp. Fam. vi. 6, 8 (488), *mirifice ingeniis excellentibus, quale est tuum, delectatur*.

4. *ita enim natus*] 'your birth, education, learning, and reputation demand it of you.'

A me vero . . . postulant] 'Indeed I should wish you to believe that any assistance I can render you or your children is perfectly at your service; this is demanded by our long-standing friendship, my usual conduct towards my friends, and your many services towards myself.'

DXXXIV. CICERO TO Q. LEPTA (FAM. VI. 18).

ROME ; JANUARY ; A. U. C. 709 ; B. C. 45 ; AET. CIC. 61.

M. Cicero Q. Leptae scribit quid in lege Caesaris nondum promulgata de decurionibus scriptum sit : de rebus Hispanicis, de Leptae sponsione pro Pompeio, de Oratore suo Leptae probato, de Tulliae partu, de Leptae pueri studiis.

CICERO LEPTAE.

1. Simul atque accepi a Seleuco tuo litteras, statim quaesivi e Balbo per codicillos quid esset in lege. Rescripsit eos, qui facerent praeconium, vetari esse in decurionibus : qui fecissent, non vetari. Quare bono animo sint et tui et mei familiares neque enim erat ferendum, cum, qui hodie haruspicinam facerent, in senatum Romae legerentur, eos, qui aliquando praeconium fecissent, in municipiis decuriones esse non licere. 2. De Hispaniis novi nihil. Magnum tamen exercitum Pompeium habere constat : nam Caesar ipse ad nos misit exemplum Paciaeci litterarum, in quo erat illas undecim esse legiones. Scripserat etiam Messalla Q. Salasso P. Curtium fratrem eius iussu Pompeii

Lepta had been Cicero's *praefectus fabrum* in Cilicia : cp. Fam. iii. 7, 4 (244), and Addenda to vol. iii., p. 304.

1. *codicillos*] cp. note to Fam. ix. 26, 1 (479).

lege] the Lex Iulia Municipalis, C. I. L. i. 206, § 23, l. 94, Wordsworth, Frag. and Specimens, p. 215. The reason for excluding auctioneers from the municipal senate would appear to be that they were regarded with detestation, like pawn-brokers and usurers with us, as trading on the misfortunes of others. The business they are coupled with in the law is that of undertaker, *qui dissignationem libitinamque faciet*.

haruspicinam facerent] 'practised as *haruspices*.' These had originally been excluded from the senate as being foreigners : cp. Gracchus ap. N. D. ii. 11 : for the art of divination by inspection of entrails, was chiefly derived from Etruria. They were paid officials, and in that differed from the other priests. When they were consulted by the senate during the Re-

public they were always specially introduced : cp. Willems, *Le Sénat*. ii. 303, who quotes Liv. xxxii. 1, 14, *ob hoc unum prodigium haruspices in senatum vocati* (199, B.C.). Further cp. Marquardt, iii. 393 ff.

2. *Paciaeci*] cp. Bell. Hisp. 3-4, who tells that Caesar sent six cohorts and some cavalry against Cn. Pompey, who lay at the town of Ula, *quibus praefecit hominem eius provinciae notum et non parum scientem L. Iunium Paciaecum*. According to the same author (7, § 4) the force of Cn. Pompey was thirteen not very strong legions. For *nos* Bücheler has suggested *suos*, perhaps rightly.

erat] = *scriptum erat* : cp. Att. x. 16, 1 (402), *erat enim sic in litteris*, and often in such phrases as *ut est apud Platonem*, Off. i. 64, 87 : cp. Stinner, p. 65.

Messalla] was consul in 701 (53), and a partisan of Caesar's : cp. Att. xi. 22, 2 (446). He was with Caesar in Africa as well as in Spain (Bell. Afr. 86, 3). Of Salassus and his cousin Curtius we know nothing more than what is related here.

inspectante exercitu interfectum, quod consensisset cum Hispanis quibusdam, si in oppidum nescio quod Pompeius rei frumentariae causa venisset, eum comprehendere ad Caesaremque deducere. 3. De tuo negotio, quod sponsor es pro Pompeio, si Galba consponsor tuus redierit, homo in re familiari non parum diligens, non desinam cum illo communicare, si quid expediri possit: quod videbatur mihi ille confidere. 4. *Oratorem* meum tanto opere a te probari vehementer gaudeo. Mihi quidem sic persuadeo, me, quidquid habuerim iudicii de dicendo, in illum librum contulisse. Qui si est talis, qualem tibi videri scribis, ego quoque aliquid sum: sin aliter, non recuso quin, quantum de illo libro, tantumdem de mei iudicii fama detrahatur. *Leptam* nostrum cupio delectari iam talibus scriptis: etsi abest maturitas aetatis, tamen personare aures eius huius modi vocibus non est inutile. 5. Me Romae tenuit omnino Tulliae meae partus. Sed cum ea, quem ad modum spero, satis firma sit, teneor tamen, dum a Dolabellae procuratoribus exigam primam pensionem, et mehercule non tam sum peregrinator iam quam solebam. Aedificia mea me delectant et otium. Domus est quae nulli mearum villarum cedat, otium omni desertissima regione maius. Itaque ne litterae quidem meae impediuntur, in quibus sine ulla interpellatione versor. Quare,

consensisset] 'because, as he alleged, he had made a compact,' virtual oblique subjunctive.

3. *Si Galba*] As explanation of this passage, Hofmann quotes Val. Max. vi. 2, 11, *Iam Ser. Galbae temeritatis plena postulatio, qui divum Iulium consummatis victoriis in foro ius dicentem in hunc modum interpellare sustinuit: 'C. Iuli Caesar, pro Cn. Pompeio Magno, quondam genero tuo, in tertio eius consulatu pecuniam spopondi, quo nomine nunc appellor. Quid agam? defendam?' Palam atque aperte ei bonorum Pompeii venditionem exprobrando ut a tribunali summo veretur meruerat. Sed illud ipsa mansuetudine mitius pectus aes alienum Pompeii ex suo fisco solvi iussit.* Galba had been Caesar's lieutenant in Gaul; but afterwards became estranged from him, and ultimately joined with the conspirators against Caesar. He was great-grandfather of the Emperor (Suet. Galb. 3). We have a letter of his to Cicero (Fam. x. 30) describing the battle of Forum Gallorum.

4. *Oratorem*] Cicero wrote his *Orator*

in the previous year 708 (46); cp. note to Fam. vi. 7, 4 (532).

Leptam nostrum] i.e. Lepta's son.

personare aures] 'that his ears should ring with language of this sort': cp. Cael. 47, for this intransitive use of *personare*. Cicero means that this sort of language should (as we say) run in his head, so that his ears should become attuned to the proper rhythm of good Latin sentences; cp. Off. iii. 5, *tamen conducere arbitror talibus aures tuas vocibus undique circumsonare nec eas, si fieri possit, quicquam aliud audire.* Both there and here the passives *circumsonari personari* are found in some mss; but, even if *personare* were not used intransitively, it would be quite possible to take it transitively, governing *aures*, 'that you should din into his ears': cp. Hor. Epp. i. 1, 7.

5. *pensionem*] 'instalment' of Tullia's dowry.

omni . . . regione] *comparatio compendiarum* for *otio omnis desertissimae regionis*; cp. Wilkins on De Orat. i. 15.

ut arbitror, prius hic te nos quam istic tu nos videbis. 6. Lepta suavissimus ediscat Hesiodum et habeat in ore Τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἰδρῶτα et cetera.

DXXXV. CICERO TO GNAEUS PLANCIUS
(FAM. IV. 14).

ROME ; JANUARY (?) ; A. U. C. 709 ; B. C. 45 ; AET. CIC. 61.

M. Cicero Cn. Plancio ad binas litteras respondet, quarum alteris de pristina dignitate a Caesare Ciceroni restituta gratulatus erat, alteris de novis nuptiis dimissa Terentia factis. Ac primum quidem significat sibi pristinam dignitatem nequaquam redditam esse, novas autem nuptias se scribit fecisse propter res domesticas suas. Denique Cn. Plancium Coreyrae tum exsulantem consolari studet.

M. CICERO S. D. CN. PLANCIO.

1. Binas a te accepi litteras, Coreyra datas : quarum alteris mihi gratulabare, quod audisses me meam pristinam dignitatem obtinere, alteris dicebas te velle quae egissem bene et feliciter evenire. Ego autem, si dignitas est bene de re publica sentire et bonis viris probare quod sentias, obtineo dignitatem meam : sin autem in eo dignitas est, si quod sentias aut re efficere possis aut

6. *ediscat*] 'learn off.'

Hesiodum] Op. et Dies, 289, τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἰδρῶτα θεοὶ προπαύροιθεν ἔθηκαν Ἀθάνατοι. After ἰδρῶτα the mss add *et cetera* ; possibly Cicero wrote the whole line, but the scribe became wearied with copying the Greek characters which were unintelligible to him, and added *et cetera*.

Hofmann argues that this letter must have been written in the early part of the year 708 (46) ; for (1) the congratulations of Plancius would otherwise be very late, (2) Cicero would not have taken such a lugubrious view of his influence after he had defended Marcellus and Ligarius, and (3) he would after these events probably have held out more definite hopes to Plancius. But the fact seems to have been that Cicero, seeing that there was little hope, at least for the present, of the restoration of Plancius, naturally adopted a mournful tone and depreciated his own position, and

indeed the whole state of affairs at Rome ; for it would have been most unkind to lay stress on his own good fortune when he could hold out no hope to his friend. It took nearly a fortnight for a letter to reach Coreyra from Rome, so that this letter was written probably about a month or so later than the time when Cicero's marriage with Publilia was arranged. This would fix its date somewhere about the beginning of 709 (45), as in Att. xii. 11 (502), which was written in the autumn. Cicero appears to be only thinking in an indefinite manner about the marriage.

1. *Coreyra*] Both the genitive and ablative can be used of the place from which a letter is sent, the latter is the more common : cp. note to Att. iii. 5 (60).

quae egissem] sc. his marriage with Publilia, cp. § 3.

et bonis viris probare quod sentias] 'and to make one's sentiments commend themselves to good men.'

denique libera oratione defendere, ne vestigium quidem ullum est reliquum nobis dignitatis, agiturque praeclare, si nosmet ipsos regere possumus, ut ea, quae partim iam adsunt, partim impendent, moderate feramus: quod est difficile in eius modi bello, cuius exitus ex altera parte caedem ostentat, ex altera servitutem. 2. Quo in periculo non nihil me consolatur, cum recordor haec me tum vidisse, cum secundas etiam res nostras, non modo adversas, pertimescebam videbamque quanto periculo de iure publico disceptaretur armis. Quibus si ii vicissent, ad quos ego pacis spe, non belli cupiditate adductus accesseram, tamen intellegebam et iratorum hominum et cupidorum et insolentium quam crudelis esset futura victoria: sin autem victi essent, quantus interitus esset futurus civium partim amplissimorum, partim etiam optimorum, qui me haec praedicentem atque optime consulentem saluti suae malebant nimium timidum quam satis prudentem existimari. 3. Quod autem mihi de eo, quod egerim, gratularis, te ita velle certo scio, sed ego tam misero tempore nihil novi consilii cepissem, nisi in reditu meo nihilo meliores res domesticas quam rem publicam offendissem. Quibus enim pro meis immortalibus beneficiis carissima mea salus et meae fortunae esse debebant, cum propter eorum scelus nihil mihi intra meos parietes tutum, nihil insidiis vacuum viderem, novarum me necessitudinum

agiturque praeclare si] ‘and we get off very well if,’ ‘we are very fortunate if.’

in eius modi bello . . . ostentat] ‘in a war like the present (viz. the Spanish war against the sons of Pompey) the issue of which threatens carnage on one side and slavery on the other.’

2. *non nihil me consolatur, cum]* ‘I feel somewhat consoled when.’ After verbs of consolation as well as after verbs of congratulation (cp. Fam. ix. 14, 3, *gratulor tibi cum tantum vales*) *cum* sometimes takes the place of *quod*: cp. Prof. Palmer’s note on Plaut. Amph. ii. 2, 10. He there quotes Capt. 1, 2, 48, Men. 5, 9, 87, and refers to a similar use of ὅτε, which he has restored in Aristoph. Ran. 20, ὦ τρισκακαδαίμων ἄρ’ ὁ τράχηλος οὐτοσί ‘Ὅτε θλίβεται μὲν, τὸ δὲ γέλοιον οὐκ ἐρεῖ: cp. Ach. 400.

quanto . . . armis] ‘with what danger would constitutional rights be decided by an appeal to war.’ The rights referred to are Caesar’s claims, which were based on

the grants made to him by the people. See vol. iii., Introd., § 3.

vicissent . . . intellegebam] The true apodosis is *crudelis fuisset victoria*, ‘if they had conquered, their victory would have been ruthless, and I saw that.’

et iratorum . . . insolentium] ‘of men passionate, rapacious, outrageous.’

satis prudentem] ‘tolerably long-sighted.’

3. *Quod egerim]* On his return in 707 (47) Cicero found (or at any rate thought that he had found) that Terentia had fraudulently mismanaged his affairs, cp. Att. xi. 16, 5 (431): and in order to escape from his pecuniary difficulties he married, solely for her money, his young and wealthy ward Publilia. The marriage was unfortunate, and Cicero soon divorced Publilia. In the covert accusations against his family, which are contained in this section, Cicero is thinking not only of Terentia’s undutifulness, but also of the treachery of his brother Quintus and of young Quintus: cp. Att. xi. 8, 2 (422).

fidelitate contra veterum perfidiam muniendum putavi. Sed de nostris rebus satis vel etiam nimium multa. 4. De tuis velim ut eo sis animo, quo debes esse, id est, ut ne quid tibi praecipue timendum putes. Si enim status erit aliquis civitatis, quicumque erit, te omnium periculorum video expertem fore: nam alteros tibi iam placatos esse intellego, alteros numquam iratos fuisse. De mea autem in te voluntate sic velim iudices, me, quibuscumque rebus opus esse intellegam, quamquam videam qui sim hoc tempore et quid possim, opera tamen et consilio, studio quidem certe rei, famae, saluti tuae praesto futurum. Tu velim et quid agas et quid acturum te putes facias me quam diligentissime certiore. Vale.

DXXXVI. CICERO TO M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS
(FAM. IV. 10).

ROME; JANUARY; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

Hortatur M. Marcellum, ut redditum a Caesare iam impetratum maturet: id ad rem eius familiarem pertinere.

CICERO MARCELLO S.

1. Etsi nihil erat novi quod ad te scriberem magisque litteras tuas iam expectare incipiebam vel te potius ipsum, tamen, cum Theophilus proficisceretur, non potui nihil ei litterarum dare. Cura igitur, ut quam primum venias: venies enim, mihi crede, expectatus, neque solum nobis, id est, tuis, sed prorsus omnibus. Venit enim mihi in mentem subvereri interdum, ne te delectet tarda decessio. 2. Quod si nullum haberes sensum nisi oculorum, prorsus tibi ignoscerem, si quosdam nolles videre, sed cum leviora

4. *status*] 'fixity.' Watson compares ad Brut. i. 15, 12, *tua nobis auctoritate opus est ad collocandum aliquem civitatis statum*.

alteros . . . placatos] sc. the Caesarians.
me . . . futurum] 'that in whatever way I think necessary, though I see the position I hold and the power I have (i. e. the insignificant position and the little power), yet with all my efforts, advice, and devotion, at any rate I shall be ready

to aid your interests, reputation, and safety': *videam* is the subjunctive, as being in orat. obliqua, governed by *iudices*, so there is no need to alter it to *video*, as Wesenberg suggests.

1. *Theophilus*] a freedman of M. Marcellus.

2. *oculorum*] see note to Fam. iv. 9, 1 (487).

non multo essent quae audirentur quam quae viderentur, suspicarer autem multum interesse rei familiaris tuae te quam primum venire, idque in omnes partes valeret, putavi ea de re te esse admonendum. Sed quoniam quid mihi placeret ostendi, reliqua tu pro tua prudentia considerabis. Me tamen velim, quod ad tempus te exspectemus, certiore facias.

DXXXVII. CICERO TO P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA
(FAM. IX. 10).

ROME; JANUARY; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

M. Cicero inter Niciam et Vidium iudex in causa, ut videtur, pecuniaria constitutus iocose de grammaticis scribit. Locatur etiam de P. Sullae morte.

M. CICERO S. D. P. DOLABELLAE.

1. Non sum ausus Salvio nostro nihil ad te litterarum dare, nec mehercule habebam quid scriberem, nisi te a me mirabiliter amari: de quo etiam nihil scribente me te non dubitare certo scio. Omnino mihi magis litterae sunt exspectandae a te quam a me tibi. Nihil enim Romae geritur quod te putem scire curare: nisi forte scire vis me inter Niciam nostrum et Vidium iudicem esse. Profert alter, opinor, duobus versiculis expensum Niciae: alter Aristarchus hos ὀβελίζει. Ego tamquam criticus antiquus iudicaturus sum utrum sint τοῦ ποιητοῦ an παρεμβεβλημένοι. 2. Puto te nunc dicere: 'Oblitusne es igitur fungorum illorum, quos apud Niciam? et ingentium †cularum cum sophia Septimae?' Quid ergo? tu

idque in omnes partes valeret] still governed by *cum*, 'and since that is of importance in every respect': e. g. it will conciliate Caesar by your appearing to appreciate his clemency in allowing you to return.

1. *Salvio*] a freedman.

Niciam] For this grammarian, who was a close friend of Dolabella, cp. Att. vii. 3, 10 (294), and Boot's note.

duobus versiculis expensum Niciae] 'in two lines an entry of debit to Nicias; the other, an Aristarchus, obelizes them' (i.e. marks them as spurious with the obelus

(†), as Aristarchus did the spurious lines in Homer).

παρεμβεβλημένοι] 'interpolated.' The passage from *Nihil enim Romae* down to this word is quoted by Suetonius, De Grammaticis, 14, in his account of Nicias.

2. *Niciam*] sc. *edisti*, a word which Wesenberg wishes to supply in the text.

†cularum] As to this hopeless passage, all we can say is that *fercularum* was perhaps the word Cicero used, and that the 'philosophy' (σοφία) which was discussed at that dinner may have been similar to that on which Nasidienus lectured his guests: cp. Hor. Sat. ii. 8, 92, *suavis res*

adeo mihi excussam severitatem veterem putas, ut ne in foro *quidem* reliquiae pristinae frontis appareant? Sed tamen suavissimum *συμβιωτήν* nostrum praestabo integellum, nec committam ut, si ego eum condemnaro, tu restituas, ne habeat Bursa Plancus apud quem litteras discat. 3. Sed quid ago? cum mihi sit incertum tranquillone sis animo an ut in bello in aliqua maiuscula cura negotiove versere, labor longius. Cum igitur mihi erit exploratum te libenter esse risurum, scribam ad te pluribus. Te tamen hoc scire volo, vehementer populum sollicitum fuisse de P. Sullae morte, ante quam certum scierit. Nunc quaerere desierunt, quo modo perierit: satis putant se scire, quod sciunt. Ego ceteroqui animo aequo fero: unum vereor, ne hasta Caesaris refrikerit.

si non causas narraret earum et naturas dominus. *Septimae* seems to represent some name. The older editions read *cochlearum* or *gallinarum*. Gronovius proposes *squillarum* (for *cularum*), and *sepia Septimiae*, 'the cuttle-fish of Septimia': see Adn. Crit.

excussam severitatem] 'the rigour is knocked out of me': cp. Tusc. i. 111, *hanc excutere opinionem volui radicitus*.

pristinae frontis] 'of the old stern brow.' Wilkins on Hor. Ep. i. 9, 11, notes that *frons* never (like *os*, e.g. Cic. De Orat. i. 175) carries in itself the meaning of boldness or impudence, but derives this force from the adjective: cp. Hor. Carm. ii. 5, 15, *proterva fronte*. It is used without an adjective in the sense of 'shame,' 'modesty,' in Pers. 5, 104, *exclamet Melicerta perisse Frontem de rebus*, where there is an echo of Horace, Epp. ii. 1, 80, *clament periisse pudorem*.

integellum] 'tolerably secure': cp. Catull. 15, 4.

restituas] 'restore him' to the condition he held prior to conviction (*restituere in integrum*).

ne habeat Bursa Plancus] After the death of Clodius, Bursa had set the Senate House on fire (Ascon. p. 43), and on account of this he was accused by Cicero *de vi*, under Pompey's law of 702 (52), and condemned with the applause of everyone: cp. Fam. vii. 2, 2 (182). He was restored along with others by Caesar: cp. Fam. xii. 18, 2; Phil. vi. 10; xiii. 27. Cicero represented him as illiterate, and requiring a teacher. Wesenberg (E. A. 27), who holds that Plancus had been already restored, reads *ut* for *ne*. 'I will not give you an opportunity of reversing

a sentence I might pass, which you would do in order to let Bursa have a teacher.' Cicero would thus appear to rally Dolabella on the partiality he showed for the low creature Bursa, and the readiness of the Caesarians to favour those condemned by the laws. But there does not appear to be any definite evidence that Plancus had returned to Rome at this time, unless we hold that Plancus appeared at Caesar's games in 46: cp. Fam. xii. 18, 2. So that perhaps *ne* may be retained and taken closely with *restituas*. 'I will not let you restore Nicias (as you would wish to do), for fear of his betaking himself to Plancus and instructing him in rhetoric,' so that Plancus would prove superior to you.

3. *labor longius*] 'I drift on further and further.'

P. Sullae] This was the Sulla whom Cicero defended. They seem to have become quite estranged: see notes to Fam. xv. 17, 2 (541).

certum scierit] 'they had authentic information': cp. Sull. 38, *se nescire certum*. The people were very much excited about the news of Sulla's death before they had certain information of the fact; they were afraid that it might not be true. Now that they are quite assured on the main point that he is dead, they do not take any interest in the details.

ne hasta Caesaris refrikerit] 'lest Caesar's auctions flag.' Sulla evidently did a large business in buying the confiscated goods of Caesar's enemies: cp. Fam. xv. 19, 3 (542), *Sulla non quaesivit quid bonum esset sed omnia bona coemit*. In *unum vereor* Cicero is speaking ironically.

DXXXVIII. CICERO TO AULUS TORQUATUS
(FAM. VI. 1).

ROME; JANUARY; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

M. Cicero A. Manlium Torquatum, Athenis iam ipsum exsulantem Cn. Pompeio, cuius castra secutus erat, victo consolari studet, non nullam reditus spem ostendens.

M. CICERO S. D. A. TORQUATO.

1. Etsi ea perturbatio est omnium rerum, ut suae quemque fortunae maxime paeniteat nemoque sit quin ubivis quam ibi, ubi sit, esse malit, tamen mihi dubium non est quin hoc tempore bono viro Romae esse miserrimum sit. Nam etsi quocumque in loco quisquis est, idem est ei sensus et eadem acerbitas ex interitu rerum et publicarum et suarum, tamen oculi augent dolorem, qui ea, quae ceteri audiunt, intueri cogunt nec avertere a miseriis cogitationem sinunt. Quare etsi multarum rerum desiderio te angere necesse est, tamen illo dolore, quo maxime te confici audio, quod Romae non sis, animum tuum libera. Etsi enim cum magna molestia tuos tuaque desideras, tamen illa quidem, quae requiris, suum statum tenent nec melius, si tu adesses, tenerent nec sunt ullo in proprio periculo. Nec debes tu, cum de tuis cogitas, aut praecipuam aliquam fortunam postulare aut communem recusare.

2. De te autem ipso, Torquate, est tuum sic agitare animo, ut non adhibeas in consilium cogitationum tuarum desperationem aut

For Torquatus, see Introduction.

1. *ubi sit*] mss *ubi est*, altered by Wesenberg, who (E. A. 13) compares Fam. vi. 4, 3 (540), *ut . . . ubi quisque sit ibi esse minime velit*: Fam. iv. 4, 2 (494), *ut is cuique locus ubi ipse sit et sibi quisque miserrimus esse videatur*.

quisquis] = quocumque in loco aliquis est quisquis est: cp. Kühner on Tusc. v. 98. The use of *quidquid* (or *quicquid*, according to Lachmann and Munro) for the more usual *quidque* occurs in Ter. Ad. iv. 2, 51, and is quite a feature of Lucretian language; cp. Munro on i. 289. Madvig (on Fin. v. 24) allows it occasionally in Cicero (e.g. Tusc. v. 68, iv. 44), but does not think that we can extend the

use to other genders than the neuter; yet he admits that the masculine occurs in the Lex Julia Municipalis (C. I. L. i. 206, 13), and summarily dismisses our present passage with 'nam de ad Fam. vi. 1, 1, Mediceo non credo'; in N. D. ii. 58 the feminine occurs in good mss. See also a careful note by Peterson on Quintil. x. 1, 3.

oculi augent dolorem] cp. note on Fam. iv. 9, 1 (487).

cogunt] so H P rightly: *coguntur*, M. *Nec debes tu*] cp. Fam. iv. 15, 2 (484), *Quare non debes aut propriam fortunam et praecipuam postulare aut communem recusare*.

2. *ut non adhibeas*] 'as regards yourself,

timorem. Nec enim is, qui in te adhuc iniustior quam tua dignitas postulabat fuit, non magna signa dedit animi erga te mitigati. Nec tamen is ipse, a quo salus petitur, habet explicatam aut exploratam rationem salutis suae. Cumque omnium bellorum exitus incerti sint, ab altera victoria tibi periculum nullum esse perspicio, quod quidem seiunctum sit ab omnium interitu, ab altera te ipsum numquam timuisse certo scio. 3. Reliquum est ut te id ipsum, quod ego quasi consolationis loco pono, maxime excruciet, commune periculum rei publicae: cuius tanti mali, quamvis docti viri multa dicant, tamen vereor ne consolatio nulla possit vera reperiri praeter illam, quae tanta est, quantum in cuiusque animo roboris est atque nervorum. Si enim bene sentire recteque facere satis est ad bene beateque vivendum, vereor ne eum, qui se optimorum consiliorum conscientia sustentare possit, miserum esse nefas sit dicere. Nec enim nos arbitror victoriae praemiis ductos patriam olim et liberos et fortunas reliquisse, sed quoddam nobis officium iustum et pium et debitum rei publicae nostraeque dignitati videbamus sequi, nec, cum id faciebamus, tam eramus amentes, ut explorata nobis esset victoria. 4. Quare, si id evenit, quod ingredientibus nobis in causam propositum fuit accidere posse, non debemus ita cadere animis, quasi aliquid evenerit, quod fieri posse numquam putarimus. Simus igitur ea mente, quam ratio et veritas praescribit, ut nihil in vita nobis praestandum praeter culpam putemus, eaque cum careamus, omnia humana placate et moderate feramus. Atque haec eo pertinet oratio, ut perditis rebus omnibus tamen ipsa virtus se sustentare posse videatur. Sed si est spes aliqua de rebus communibus, ea tu, quicumque status est futurus, carere non debes. 5. Atque haec mihi scribenti veniebat in mentem me esse eum, cuius tu desperationem accusare solitus esses quemque auctoritate tua cunctantem et diffidentem

Torquatus, you should take active thought, without ever summoning as counsellors in your plans, despair or fear.' For *adhibere in consilium*, cp. Plin. Ep. vi. 11, 1.

habet . . . suae] 'he has the whole question of his own safety plain and clear.'

ab altera . . . timuisse] 'You never felt any apprehension at the victory of the others' (i.e. the Pompeians in Spain).

3. *consolationis loco*] cp. Fam. vi. 2, 2, *miseram est illa quidem consolatio . . . sed*

tamen necessaria, nihil esse praecipue dolendum in eo quod accidat universis.

quae tanta est . . . nervorum] 'which is exactly equal to the amount of strength and vigour in the mind of each.'

4. *cadere animis*] 'lose heart.'

praeter culpam] cp. Fam. ix. 16, 5 (472), *nihil esse sapientis praestare nisi culpam.*

aliqua de rebus] so Wesenberg, for *aliquae rebus* of the mss.

excitare. Quo quidem tempore non ego causam nostram, sed consilium improbavam. Sero enim nos iis armis adversari videbam, quae multo ante confirmata per nosmet ipsos erant, dolebamque pilis et gladiis non consiliis neque auctoritatibus de iure publico disceptari. Neque ego ea, quae facta sunt, fore cum dicebam, divinabam futura, sed, quod et fieri posse et exitiosum fore, si evenisset, videbam, id ne accideret timebam, praesertim cum, si mihi alterum utrum de eventu atque exitu rerum promittendum esset, id futurum, quod evenit, exploratius possem promittere. Iis enim rebus praestabamus, quae non prodeunt in aciem, usu autem armorum et militum robore inferiores eramus. Sed tu illum animum nunc adhibe, quaeso, quo me tum esse oportere censebas.

6. Haec eo scripsi, quod mihi Philargyrus tuus omnia de te requirenti fidelissimo animo, ut mihi quidem visus est, narravit te interdum sollicitum solere esse vehementius: quod facere non debes nec dubitare quin aut reparata aliqua re publica sis is futurus qui esse debes aut perdita non afflictiore condicione quam ceteri. Hoc vero tempus, quo exanimati omnes et suspensi sumus, hoc moderatiore animo ferre debes, quod et in urbe ea es, ubi nata et alta est ratio ac moderatio vitae, et habes Ser. Sulpicium, quem

5. *auctoritatibus de*] so H P. After *auctoritatibus* M adds *nostris*. But as *nostris* could only refer to the same party as *nos*, *nosmetipsos*, i. e. the Pompeians, and as Cicero could hardly demand that the influence of the Pompeians alone should have weight, we have omitted the word with H P.

Neque . . . futura] A more accurate statement of his own powers than Cicero usually makes.

exploratius] Hofmann notices that this comparative is found only in Cicero's letters: cp. Att. xiv. 14, 6. Another such comparative is *temperius*: Fam. ix. 16, 8 (472). Stinner (p. 15) adds many more, e.g. *temperantius*, Att. ix. 2a, 2 (356); *officiosius*, Att. vi. 1, 22 (252); *mediocrius*, Att. i. 20, 5 (26); *placatius*, Fam. vi. 13, 3 (489).

6. *reparata aliqua re publica*] With some hesitation we have adopted this composite reading. M has *aliqua republica*; H P *reparata republica*. Probably, as Streicher (pp. 175-6) suggests, one of the words, having been at first omitted, was afterwards written over the other in the archetype, and by subsequent copyists

was mistaken for a variant. For *aliqua republica*, the reading of M, cp. Fam. vi. 2, 3, *nihil quod aut hoc aut aliquo reip. statu timeas*. Streicher objects to the reading of M, because there is no satisfactory opposition to *aliqua* such as is usually found, e.g. Fam. iv. 8, 2 (485), *nulla*; v. 6, 13 (529), *bona*: but surely *perdita* is sufficient. For *reparare*, cp. Liv. iii. 37, 5, *quonam modo tribuniciam potestatem, rem intermissam, repararent*; Cic. Verr. iii. 199, *id perdere videbatur quod alio praetore eodem ex agro reparare posset*. Either reading would be quite satisfactory; the difficulty is to account for the variants. Streicher's suggested explanation is, we think, most probable. Mendelssohn considers *reparata* a mere gloss; but we cannot approve of his own reading *recreata aliquando*, though, as he points out, *recreare* is found elsewhere in this connexion, cp. Fam. vi. 10, 5 (491), and *recreari aliquando* is a common collocation in Cicero (Planc. 33; 1 Verr. 12; Mil. 4; Fam. vi. 2, 2). It is too far from the mss; and the meaning of *reparata* is quite satisfactory.

ubi nata . . . vitae] 'where originated

semper unice dilexisti, qui te profecto et benevolentia et sapientia consolatur, cuius si essemus et auctoritatem et consilium secuti, togati potius potentiam quam armati victoriam subissemus. 7. Sed haec longiora fortasse fuerunt quam necesse fuit: illa, quae maiora sunt, brevius exponam. Ego habeo, cui plus quam tibi debeam, neminem: quibus tantum debebam, quantum tu intellegis, eos huius mihi belli casus eripuit. Qui sim autem hoc tempore intellego. Sed quia nemo est tam afflictus, quin, si nihil aliud studeat nisi id, quod agit, possit navare aliquid et efficere, omne meum consilium, operam, studium certe velim existimes tibi tuisque liberis esse debitum.

DXXXIX. CICERO TO AULUS TORQUATUS

(FAM. VI. 3).

ROME; JANUARY; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

M. Cicero A. Torquatum eo consolatur, ut cum iis bene actum esse dicat, qui ante exitum civilis belli vita cesserint; morte enim ipsa miserius esse post alterius utrius partis victoriam vivere; denique in virtute graviolem etiam esse consolationem positam admonet.

M. CICERO S. D. A. TORQUATO.

1. Superioribus litteris benevolentia magis adductus, quam quo res ita postularet, fui longior. Neque enim confirmatione nostra

and grew the theory of the governance of life': *alta*, participle from *alo*; cp. Flacc. 62, *adsunt Athenienses unde humanitas, doctrina, religio, fruges, iura, leges ortae atque in omnes terras distributae putantur*.

togati . . . subissemus] 'in peace we should have surrendered to his civil power rather than in war to the force of his arms.'

7. *quantum tu intellegis*] Streicher (p. 203) wishes to omit these words owing to the close proximity of *intellego*, and the obscure sense which he thinks they give, 'quae Torquatus ipse sine Paulli Manutii opera vix intellecturus fuisset.' To make up for the omission he proposes to read *tantumdem*, comparing Att. xii. 35, 2.

Yet he quotes passages, such as Fam. ix. 14, 4 = Att. xiv. 17 A, 4, *te tantum dilexerim quantum tu intellegere potuisti*, which show that a phrase like that given in the text is allowable in Cicero. And the sense besides is quite plain—not necessarily as Manutius says, 'plus scilicet quam tibi,' but rather 'as those to whom I was under the large obligations you know of have been snatched away, so you are the chief claimant now on my services.' Cicero is referring to Lentulus Spinther and Pompey, who had helped to effect his restoration from exile.

aliud] neuter pronouns or adjectives like *omnia* can be used after *studere*: compare Plaut. Mil. v. 44, and Roby, § 1094.

egebat virtus tua neque erat ea mea causa atque fortuna, ut, cui ipsi omnia deessent, alterum confirmarem. 2. Hoc item tempore brevior esse debeo. Sive enim nihil tum opus fuit tam multis verbis, nihilo magis nunc opus est, sive tum opus fuit, illud satis est, praesertim cum accesserit nihil novi. Nam etsi cotidie aliquid audimus earum rerum, quas ad te perferri existimo, summa tamen eadem est et idem exitus: quem ego tam video animo quam ea, quae oculis cernimus, nec vero quidquam video, quod non idem te videre certo sciam. Nam etsi quem exitum acies habitura sit divinare nemo potest, tamen et belli exitum video et, si id minus, hoc quidem certe, cum sit necesse alterum utrum vincere, qualis futura sit vel haec vel illa victoria. 3. Idque cum optime perspexi, tale video, nihil ut mali videatur futurum, si id vel ante acciderit, quod vel maximum ad timorem proponitur. Ita enim vivere, ut tum sit vivendum, miserrimum est, mori autem nemo sapiens miserum dixit ne beato quidem. Sed in ea es urbe, in qua haec vel plura et ornatiora parietes ipsi loqui posse videantur. 4. Ego tibi hoc confirmo, etsi levis est consolatio ex miseriis aliorum, nihilo te nunc maiore in discrimine esse quam quemvis aut eorum, qui discesserunt, *aut eorum, qui remanserunt*: alteri dimicant, alteri

2. *sciam*] So we read with Lambinus. The subjunctive is required in such a final clause when the existence of the main predicate is denied. If *scio* is retained, the only defence which can be urged for it is that *certo scio* is a fixed phrase, and that possibly the two negatives virtually give the effect of an affirmative sentence: see Reisig, iii. 505 (ed. Schmalz); Dräger, ii. 533.

3. *si id vel ante acciderit*] The mss add *vel* before *ante*, which may have been introduced owing to the succeeding *vel*. The editors generally omit it; but it is better to retain it and to understand it to mean 'even before the victory is consummated.' We thus get an excellent sense for the next sentence without altering the *tum* of MH. Hofmann wishes to read *vel ante vel simul*.

quod vel maximum . . . proponitur] 'which is quite the greatest object of fear,' i.e. death. For this use of *ad* cp. Fam. iii. 1, 1 (181), *id enim mihi et ad brevitatem est aptius*.

ut tum sit vivendum] 'For to live with the prospect of having to live *then*,' i.e. when the victory is consummated.

in ea urbe . . . videantur] cp. Fam. vi. 1, 6 (538), *in urbe ea es ubi nata et alta est ratio et moderatio vitae*, also Fin. v. 2. The present passage shows with deep feeling the influence which the mere city of Athens had in inspiring noble thoughts and high resolutions: cp. Matthew Arnold, *Essays in Criticism*, First Series, p. xiv., on the equally grand way in which Oxford has ruled the spirits of her sons.

4. *discesserunt . . . remanserunt*] We have omitted the brackets which most editors place round *aut eorum qui remanserunt*: for though the words are not found in most mss, we have discovered them (except that *eorum* is omitted) in one of Mr. Allen's mss, which he has most kindly lent us. Most mss read *discesserint*, but the indicative is better as referring to definite individuals, 'the actual men who,' and not meaning, as the subjunctive would, 'the sort of men who.' The two contrasted parties are the ultras who went to Spain with Cn. and Sextus Pompey in order to continue the contest to the bitter end (*alteri dimicant*), and those who, like Torquatus, re-

victorem timent. Sed haec consolatio levis est: illa gravior, qua te uti spero, ego certe utor: nec enim, dum ero, angar ulla re, cum omni vacem culpa, et, si non ero, sensu omnino carebo. Sed rursus γλαῦκ' εἰς Ἀθήνας, qui ad te haec. Mihi tu, tui, tua omnia maximae curae sunt et dum vivam erunt. Vale.

DXL. CICERO TO AULUS TORQUATUS (FAM. VI. 4).

ROME; JANUARY (?); A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

M. Cicero A. Torquatum quacumque ratione in re incerta potest consolari pergit eique sua officia studium diligentiamque pollicetur.

M. CICERO S. D. A. TORQUATO.

1. Novi quod ad te scriberem nihil erat, et tamen, si quid esset, sciebam te a tuis certior fieri solere. De futuris autem rebus etsi semper difficile est dicere, tamen interdum coniectura possis propius accedere, cum est res eius modi, cuius exitus provideri possit. Nunc tantum videmur intellegere, non diuturnum bellum, etsi id ipsum non nullis videtur secus. Equidem cum haec scribebam, aliquid iam actum putabam, non quo *ego certo sciam* sed quod *haud* difficilis erat coniectura. Nam cum omnis

tired from the civil war before the final effort in Spain.

Mendelssohn, however, objects to the added words. He suggests *quam quemvis eorum qui dissenserint* (or *dissenserunt*), supposing that *aut* was somehow introduced from the succeeding sentence, which refers to two different classes of people, and that, once introduced, it led to the old addition. This is an unsatisfactory reason for the addition of *aut*, and not at all in the manner of copyists. For the sense he cleverly refers to Fam. iv. 7, 3 (486), *qui non idem quod tu consilium secuti sunt* (= qui dissenserunt) *eos video in duo genera esse distractos: aut enim renovare bellum conati sunt* (= alteri dimicant), *aut quemadmodum nos victori sese crediderunt* (= alteri victorem timent). But surely, in order to get this sense, we should require *a te*, or *a tuo consilio*, or something like that, with *dissenserunt*. Boeckel interprets

discesserint, 'left the city with Pompey' at the beginning of the Civil War, and brackets *aut*.

haec] sc. *mitto*. For γλαῦκ' εἰς Ἀθήνας, cp. note to Fam. ix. 3, 2 (460).

1. *bellum*] Lambinus supplies *fore*; but the future infinitive of the copula is sometimes omitted: cp Tac. Ann. ii. 15, 3, *ubi miscuerint manus, inane victis ventorum remorumve subsidium*, cp. Schmalz, Syntax, § 10.

non quo ego certo sciam sed quod haud] The words in italics are not in MH, but they were in the codex of Ursinus (see Graev.), and we have found them in one of Mr. Allen's *codices*; so that they are probably the words which Cicero wrote, with possibly *scirem* in place of *sciam*. Mendelssohn (N. Jahrb., 1891, p. 75), however, rejects the added words and proposes *putabam*—*non quo secundum* (*scd*)

belli Mars communis et cum semper incerti exitus proeliorum sunt, tum hoc tempore ita magnae utrimque copiae, ita paratae ad depugnandum esse dicuntur, ut, utercumque vicerit, non sit mirum futurum. Illa in dies singulos magis magisque opinio hominum confirmatur, etiam si inter causas armorum aliquantum intersit, tamen inter victorias non multum interfuturum. Alteros prope modum iam sumus experti: de altero nemo est quin cogitet quam sit metuendus iratus victor armatus. 2. Hoc loco si videor augere dolorem tuum, quem consolando levare debebam, fateor me communium malorum consolationem nullam invenire praeter illam— quae tamen, si possis eam suscipere, maxima est quaque ego cotidie magis utor: conscientiam rectae voluntatis maximam consolationem esse rerum incommodarum nec esse ullum magnum malum praeter culpam: a qua quoniam tantum absumus, ut etiam optime senserimus, eventusque magis nostri consilii quam consilium reprehendatur, et quoniam praestitimus quod debuimus, moderate quod evenit feramus. Sed hoc mihi tamen non sumo, ut te consoler de communibus miseriis, quae ad consolandum maioris ingenii et ad ferendum singularis virtutis indigent. Illud cuivis facile est docere, cur praecipue tu dolere nihil debeas. Eius enim, qui tardior in te levando fuit quam fore putaramus, non est mihi dubia de tua salute sententia: de illis autem non arbitror te exspectare quid sentiam. 3. Reliquum est ut te angat, quod absis a tuis tam diu. Res molesta, praesertim ab iis pueris, quibus nihil potest esse festivius. Sed, ut ad te scripsi antea, tempus est huius modi, ut suam quisque condicionem miserrimam putet et, ubi quisque sit, ibi esse minime velit. Equidem nos, qui Romae

quos: *difficilis erat coniectura*: nam, 'I thought some decision had been arrived at, not that I knew in whose favour; the estimate was difficult, for, &c.' For the ellipse with *non quo* he compares Att. v. 4, 1 (187), *illuc quidem labor non quo . . . sed inopia cogimur eo contenti esse*. Schmalz, who approves of the conjecture, notices that the word *actum* supports it, as *secundum* is a legal term, cp. Att. iv. 2, 3 (91): for *secundum* applied to the result of war Mendels. compares Tac. H. iii. 7, 1, *post principia belli secundum Flavianos data*. But it must be confessed that *difficilis erat coniectura*, according to this interpretation, might well have been omitted.

etiam si . . . interfuturum] For the sentiment Boeckel compares Fam. v. 21, 3 (458).

Alteros] the Caesarians: *altero*, Cn. Pompey; cp. Fam. xv. 19, 4 (542).

2. *praeter culpam*] cp. Fam. vi. 3, 4 (539); vii. 3, 4 (464).

de illis] sc. the Pompeians: cp. Fam. vi. 1, 2 (538), *ab altera te ipsum numquam timuisse certo scio*, and Fam. vi. 2, 2. As Torquatus had not compromised himself by submission to Caesar, he would of course be safe from any violence on the part of the Pompeians if the latter were victorious.

3. *praesertim*] sc. *cum abesis*.

sumus, miserrimos esse duco, non solum quod in malis omnibus acerbius est videre quam audire, sed etiam quod ad omnes casus subitorum periculorum magis obiecti sumus, quam si abessemus, etsi me ipsum, consolatorem tuum, non tantum litterae, quibus semper studui, quantum longinquitas temporis mitigavit. 4. Quanto fuerim dolore meministi. In quo prima illa consolatio est, vidisse me plus quam ceteros, cum cupiebam quamvis iniqua condicione pacem. Quod etsi casu, non divinatione mea factum est, tamen in hac inani prudentiae laude delector. Deinde, quod mihi ad consolationem commune tecum est, si iam vocer ad exitum vitae, non ab ea re publica avellar, qua carendum esse doleam, praesertim cum id sine ullo sensu futurum sit. Adiuvat etiam aetas et acta iam vita, quae cum cursu suo bene confecto delectat, tum vetat in eo vim timere, quo nos iam natura ipsa paene perduxerit. Postremo is vir vel etiam ii viri hoc bello occiderunt, ut impudentia videatur eandem fortunam, si res cogat, recusare. Equidem mihi omnia propono nec ullum est tantum malum quod non putem impendere. Sed cum plus in metuendo mali sit quam in ipso illo, quod timetur, desino, praesertim cum id impendeat, in quo non modo dolor nullus, verum finis etiam doloris futurus sit. Sed haec satis multa vel plura potius quam necesse fuit: facit autem non loquacitas mea, sed benevolentia longiores epistolas. 5. Servium discessisse Athenis moleste tuli: non enim

4. *Quanto fuerim dolore*] For a similar ablative of quality cp. Fam. xii. 16, 3, *etiamsi odio pari fuerit in eos*; Att. vi. 6, 2 (110), *quo dolore esse debeo*.

cum cupiebam] There is a somewhat loose use of the indicative in temporal and conditional clauses of the *orat. obliqua* in the letters. Boeckel compares Fam. iv. 14, 2 (535), *cum pertimescebam*, and many other instances in his note on that passage.

in . . . laude delector] For this use of *in* cp. Att. xvi. 5, 2, *incredibile est quam me in omni genere delectarit* (Quintus). Boeckel compares N. D. iii. 87, *in virtute recte gloriamur*.

id] even though *exitus vitae* preceded, the neuter is used euphemistically of death: cp. below, *id impendeat*.

delectat] used absolutely; cp. Fam. iv. 4, 5 (495), *nihil praeter tuos delectare possit*; Att. i. 11, 3 (7), quoted by Lehmann, pp. 16, 17.

tum vetat in eo vim timere] 'forbids me to fear violence in that closing scene to which Nature herself has already well-nigh led me.' Cicero's life was on the whole upright—none can say otherwise—and during the next two years his patriotism, his energy, and his genius shone out brighter than ever. But it was just that uprightness, that patriotism, that energy, that genius, which in those bad times brought him to the death of violence from which he here expresses his belief that he is quite secure.

desino] This verb is sometimes used without any infinitive when that infinitive can be easily supplied from the context, as here *timere*: cp. Ter. Ad. v. 3, 67, *Mr. Ah! pergisne?* De. *Iamiam desino*: accordingly there is no need to add *timere* with Lehmann, or *metuere* with Wesenberg.

5. *discessisse Athenis*] Sulpicius had left Athens merely for a journey through

dubito quin magnae tibi levationi solitus sit esse cotidianus congressus et sermo cum familiarissimi hominis tum optimi et prudentissimi viri. Tu velim te, ut debes et soles, tua virtute sustentas. Ego, quae te velle quaeque ad te et ad tuos pertinere arbitrabor, omnia studiose diligenterque curabo: quae cum faciam, benevolentiam tuam erga me imitabor, merita non adsequar. Vale.

DXLI. CICERO TO C. CASSIUS LONGINUS
(FAM. XV. 17).

ROME; JANUARY; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

M. Cicero queritur de tabellariis: narrat de P. Sullae morte, de bello Hispaniensi, de Pansae profectione in provinciam: Cassii consilium probat Brundisinae mansionis: litteras mutuas poscit.

M. CICERO C. CASSIO S.

1. Praeposteros habes tabellarios, etsi me quidem non offendunt. Sed tamen, cum a me discedunt, flagitant litteras: cum ad me veniunt, nullas adferunt. Atque id ipsum facerent commodius, si mihi aliquid spatii ad scribendum darent, sed petasati veniunt, comites ad portam expectare dicunt. Ergo ignosces: alteras habebis has breves, sed exspecta πάντα περὶ πάντων. Etsi quid ego me tibi purgo, cum tui ad me inanes veniant, ad te cum epistolis revertantur? 2. Nos hic—tamen ad te scribam aliquid—P. Sullam patrem mortuum habebamus: alii a latronibus, alii

his province, not to return to Rome; for the latter would be expressed by *decessisse*. We hear of his returning to Athens later: cp. Fam. iv. 12.

hominis . . . viri] If there is any distinction here, it is that *homo* refers to the fellow-feeling which Sulpicius had in the every-day intercourse of friendship: *vir* to the strength and power he displayed in the life of business and action.

merita non adsequar] 'I shall never reach the level of your services,' rendered during Cicero's quarrel with Clodius.

1. *Praeposteros*] 'unnatural,' doing just what they ought not to do.

Sed tamen] 'But be that as it may (referring to *etsi . . . offendunt*).' Some editors mark an aposiopesis after *tamen*, 'but yet —[they do annoy me a little].' However it is the ordinary *sed tamen* used in resumptio: cp. note to Fam. ix. 16, 2 (472).

id ipsum] i. e. *flagitare litteras*.

petasati] 'with their travelling caps on,' as we should say, 'booted and spurred.' For *petasus*, cp. Plaut. Amph. Prol. 143, and Palmer's note.

ignosces] polite imperative, 'you will kindly pardon me.'

2. *P. Sullam*] cp. Fam. ix. 10, 3 (537).

cruditate dicebant: populus non curabat, combustum enim esse constabat. Hoc tu pro tua sapientia feres aequo animo: quamquam πρόσωπον πόλεως amisimus. Caesarem putabant moleste laturum, verentem ne hasta refrixisset; Mindius macellarius et Attius pigmentarius valde gaudebant se adversarium perdidisse. 3. De Hispania novi nihil, sed expectatio valde magna: rumores tristiores, sed ἀδέσποτοι. Pansa noster paludatus a. d. iiii. Kalend. Ian. profectus est, ut quivis intellegere posset id, quod tu nuper dubitare coepisti, τὸ καλὸν δι' αὐτὸ αἰρετὸν esse. Nam quod multos miseriis levavit et quod se in his malis hominem praebuit, mirabilis eum virorum bonorum benevolentia prosecuta est. 4. Tu quod adhuc Brundisii moratus es, valde probo et gaudeo, et mehercule puto te sapienter facturum, si ἀκενόσπουδος fueris. Nobis quidem, qui te amamus, erit gratum. Et, amabo te, cum dabis posthac aliquid domum litterarum, mei memineris. Ego numquam quemquam ad te, cum sciam, sine meis litteris ire patiar. Vale.

combustum] 'that he has passed through the fire.' There may be, as Dr. Reid says (Sull. pp. 27, 28; cp. p. 10), an allusion to Sulla's appearance in the criminal courts.

πρόσωπον πόλεως] 'a prominent figure in the city.' In a like spirit a modern letter-writer would probably say 'the cynosure of every eye,' or 'the observed of all observers.'

Mindius macellarius] Mindius, the victualler, and Attius the *parfumeur* were probably rival bidders at the auctions of proscribed goods, where Sulla also used to distinguish himself. We have read *macellarius*, the ingenious conjecture of Weiske and Madvig, for *Marcellus* of the mss; the name of a trade is required to balance *pigmentarius*. It must be remembered, however, that there is a friend of Caesar's named Mindius Marcellus mentioned in Appian, Bell. Civ. v. 102.

3. *Pansa paludatus*] 'in military uni-

form.' This must have been a preliminary journey: for Pansa did not leave Rome to take up the province of Cisalpine Gaul from Brutus till March (Att. xii. 17; 19, 3).

nuper] For Cassius had lately become an Epicurean, and so a disbeliever in the Stoic doctrine, τὸ καλὸν δι' αὐτὸ αἰρετὸν, that right was right in scorn of consequence.

4. ἀκενόσπουδος] 'keep clear of idle pursuits.' Cicero uses this word in addressing Cassius, who had lately become an Epicurean to indicate that he should not trouble himself about such vain things as trying to restore the free state. Cicero knew that such men as Cassius 'be never at heart's ease While they behold a greater than themselves.' For ἀκενόσπουδος cp. M. Aurel. i. 6, where the Emperor says he learned from Diogenetus τὸ ἀκενόσπουδον.

DXLII. C. CASSIUS LONGINUS TO CICERO
(FAM. XV. 19).

BRUNDISIUM ; JANUARY (?) ; A. U. C. 709 ; B. C. 45 ; AET. CIC. 61.

C. Cassius respondet duabus Ciceronis epistolis : Epicureos laudat a virtutis studio :
C. Caesarem cupit vincere cognita eius clementia.

C. CASSIUS S. D. M. CICERONI.

1. S. V. B. Non mehercule in hac mea peregrinatione quidquam libentius facio quam scribo ad te : videor enim cum praesente loqui et iocari. Nec tamen hoc usu venit propter spectra Catiana : pro quo tibi proxima epistola tot rusticos Stoicos regeram, ut Catium Athenis natum esse dicas. 2. Pansam nostrum secunda voluntate hominum paludatum ex urbe exisse cum ipsius causa gaudeo tum mehercule etiam omnium nostrorum. Spero enim homines intellecturos quanto sit omnibus odio crudelitas et quanto amoris probitas et clementia, atque ea, quae maxime mali petant et concupiscant, ad bonos pervenire. Difficile est enim persuadere hominibus τὸ καλὸν δι' αὐτὸ αἰρετὸν esse : ἡδονὴν vero et ἀταραξίαν virtute, iustitia, τῷ καλῷ parari et verum et probabile est ; ipse enim Epicurus, a quo omnes Catii et Amafinii, mali verborum interpretes, proficiscuntur, dicit : οὐκ ἐστὶν ἡδέως ἄνευ τοῦ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως ζῆν. 3. Itaque et Pansa, qui ἡδονὴν sequitur, virtutem retinet et ii, qui a vobis φιλήδονοι vocantur, sunt φιλόκαλοι et

1. S. V. B.] = *si vales bene*. We generally find *s. v. b. e. e. v.* = *si vales bene est, ego valeo*.

spectra Catiana] cp. note on Fam. xv. 16, 1 (531) ; *spectra* was plainly a ridiculous translation of εἶδωλα, cp. § 2, *Catii et Amafinii, mali verborum interpretes*.

pro quo] The antecedent must be gathered from the sense 'and as a counter to this bad translation.'

regeram] 'I shall retort on you both.'

Athenis natum] i.e. a most cultivated writer. *Athenae* became almost a name for 'culture' (cp. Juv. xv. 110, *Nunc totus Graias nostrasque habet orbis Athenas*), owing to its famous University.

2. *Pansam . . . paludatum*] See note on Fam. xv. 17, 3 (541).

Amafinii] C. Amafinius was the first Latin author who wrote in detail on Epicureanism. His books were immensely successful, 'they took possession of all Italy' (Tusc. iv. 7), but were barbarously written (Tusc. ii. 7, Fin. iii. 40), cp. Reid, Acad. p. 21.

οὐκ ἐστὶν ἡδέως] cp. Epicurus in Diog. Laert. x. 132, on the connexion of pleasure and virtue οὐκ ἐστὶν ἡδέως ζῆν ἄνευ τοῦ φρονίμως καὶ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως, οὐδὲ φρονίμως καὶ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως ἄνευ τοῦ ἡδέως. συμπεφύκασι γὰρ αἱ ἀρεταὶ τῷ ζῆν ἡδέως καὶ τὸ ζῆν ἡδέως τούτων ἐστὶν ἀχώριστον.

φιλοδίκαιοι omnesque virtutes et colunt et retinent. Itaque Sulla, cuius iudicium probare debemus, cum dissentire philosophos videret, non quaesiit quid bonum esset, sed omnia bona coëmit: cuius ego mortem forti mehercules animo tuli. Nec tamen Caesar diutius nos eum desiderare patietur: nam habet damnatos, quos pro illo nobis restituat, nec ipse sectorem desiderabit, cum filium viderit. 4. Nunc, ut ad rem publicam redeam, quid in Hispaniis geratur rescribe. Peream, nisi sollicitus sum ac malo veterem et clementem dominum habere quam novum et crudelem experiri. Scis Gnaeus quam sit fatuus: scis quo modo crudelitatem virtutem putet: scis quam se semper a nobis derisum putet. Vereor ne nos rustice gladio velit ἀντιμυκτηρίσαι. Quid fiat, si me diligis, rescribe. Hui, quam velim scire utrum ista sollicito animo an soluto legas! sciam enim eodem tempore quid me facere oporteat. Ne longior sim, vale. Me, ut facis, ama. Si Caesar vicit, celeriter me expecta.

sed omnia bona coëmit] 'did not seek for what was the highest good, but bought up all goods,' a sharp hit at Sulla's disgracefully extensive purchase of the goods of proscribed Pompeians: see note to Fam. ix. 10, 3 (537). On the ill-fame which attached to the purchasers of confiscated goods (*sectores*) during the Sullan proscriptions, see Rosc. Am. 80, where Cicero plays on the other sense of *sectores*, viz. *sectores collorum* 'cut-throats.'

damnatos . . . restituat] cp. Caes. Bell. Civ. iii. 1, 4, *Itemque praetoribus tribunisque plebis rogationes ad populum ferentibus, nonnullos ambitus Pompeia lege damnatos illis temporibus, quibus in urbe praesidia legionum Pompeius habuerat, quae iudicia aliis audientibus iudicibus, aliis sententiam ferentibus, singulis diebus erant perfecta, in integrum restituit.*

sectorem] M: *sectatorem* H E. As Cassius makes many verbal jokes in this letter (e.g. the two senses of *bona* and *restituat*) we might perhaps read *sectatorem nec sectorem desiderabit*. This will account for the variants, and will save the clause from being somewhat bald.

filium] sc. Sulla's son.

4. *veterem et clementem dominum]* Caesar; for whose indulgent nature, see Val. Max. quoted on Fam. vi. 18, 3 (534), *illud ipsa mansuetudine mitius pectus.*

Gnaeus] sc. Pompey.

fatuus] 'silly creature.'

ne . . . ἀντιμυκτηρίσαι] 'answer our chaff, as boors do, by drawing the sword.' Mendelssohn compares Seneca, Suasor. i. 5, p. 5, 10 (Kiessling), *Deinde ait 'nos quidem illum deridemus, sed timeo, ne ille nos gladio ἀντιμυκτηρίση.'*

longior] sc. *iusto*, 'too long-winded.'

DXLIII. CICERO TO P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA
(FAM. IX. 13).

ROME (?); FEBRUARY; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

M. Cicero P. Dolabellam rogat, ut C. Subernio Caleno et M. Planio Heredi, item Caleno, equitibus Romanis, reditum a C. Caesare impetret, quos scribit casu potius et necessitate quadam coactos quam voluntate sua Pompeianis in Hispania se adiunxisse.

CICERO DOLABELLAE S.

1. C. Subernius Calenus et meus est familiaris et Leptae nostri familiarissimi pernecessarius. Is cum vitandi belli causa profectus esset in Hispaniam cum M. Varrone ante bellum, ut in ea provincia esset, in qua nemo nostrum post Afranium superatum bellum ullum fore putarat, incidit in ea ipsa mala, quae summo studio vitaverat. Oppressus est enim bello repentino, quod bellum commotum a Scapula ita postea confirmatum est a Pompeio, ut nulla ratione ab illa miseria se eripere posset. 2. Eadem causa fere est M. Planii Heredis, qui est item Calenus, Leptae nostri familiarissimus. Hosce igitur ambos tibi sic commendo, ut maiore cura, studio, sollicitudine animi commendare non possim. Volo ipsorum causa, meque in eo vehementer et amicitia movet et humanitas. Lepta vero cum ita laboret, ut eius fortunae videantur in discrimen venire, non possum ego non aut proxime atque ille aut etiam aeque laborare. Quapropter etsi saepe expertus sum quantum me amares, tamen sic velim tibi persuadeas, id me in hac re maxime iudicaturum. 3. Peto igitur a te vel, si pateris, oro, ut homines miseros et fortuna, quam vitare

As Cicero makes no reference whatever to Tullia's death in this letter, it was probably written before that event happened.

1. *Calenus*] 'of Cales.' For Lepta see Fam. vi. 18 (534).

M. Varrone] Varro commanded the forces of the Republic in Further Spain at the outbreak of the Civil War; he surrendered to Caesar, Aug. 22, 705 (49).

Scapula] cp. Dio. Cass. xliii. 29. After the battle of Thapsus Caesar's own soldiers in Baetica invited the remnants of the Pompeian faction to renew the

struggle in Spain. They were led by officers of their own, Scapula and Afranius, 'nor would they suffer themselves to be transferred from them to any other, except to the son of the great Pompey.' (Merivale, ii. 369).

2. *meque . . . humanitas*] 'and I am strongly moved in his case by my feelings as a friend and a man.'

proxime atque ille] Just as *alius ac*, *contra ac* mean 'different from,' on the analogy of *idem ac*, 'same as,' so *proxime ac* (*atque*) is used to express 'next to'; but we can find no exact parallel.

nemo potest, magis quam culpa calamitosos conserves incolumes, velisque per te me hoc muneris cum ipsis amicis hominibus, cum municipio Caleno, quocum mihi magna necessitudo est, tum Leptae, quem omnibus antepono, dare. 4. Quod dicturus sum, puto equidem non valde ad rem pertinere, sed tamen nihil obest dicere. Res familiaris alteri eorum valde exigua est, alteri vix equestris. Quapropter quoniam his Caesar vitam sua liberalitate concessit nec est quod iis praeterea magno opere possit adimi, reditum, si me tantum amas, quantum certe amas, hominibus confice. In quo nihil est praeter viam longam: quam idcirco non fugiunt, ut et vivant cum suis et moriantur domi. Quod ut enitare contendasque vel potius ut perficias—posse enim te mihi persuasi—vehementer te etiam atque etiam rogo.

DXLIV. CICERO TO CAESAR (FAM. XIII. 16).

ROME (?); FEBRUARY; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

M. Cicero Apollonium, P. Crassi libertum, C. Caesari in Hispania Pompeii filios bello persequenti, commendat.

CICERO CAESARI S.

1. P. Crassum ex omni nobilitate adolescentem dilexi plurimum, et ex eo cum ab ineunte eius aetate perbene speravissem,

3. *calamitosos . . . incolumes*] These are the ordinary euphemistic words to express the deprivation and possession of full civil rights: cp. Reid on Sull. 64.

4. *In quo nihil est . . . viam*] 'And in this there is nothing that stands in their way except the long journey.' Cicero tacitly assumes that, as their fortune was not worth confiscating, Caesar can have no possible reason why they should remain in exile, and that the sole question is whether they themselves will think it worth while to make the long journey from Spain.

As Caesar is not styled Imperator, this letter was doubtless written early in the year. News that he had been saluted with that title probably reached Rome about March 20th.

1. *P. Crassum*] son of the triumvir. He served with distinction as one of Caesar's legati in the Gallic war (Caes. B. G. iii. *passim*). He was killed at Carrhae with his father. Cicero has a glowing description of him in Brut. 282, *erat enim cum institutus optime tum etiam perfecte planeque eruditus, ineratque et ingenium satis acre et orationis non inelegans copia: praeterea sine adrogantia gravis esse videbatur et sine segnitia verecundus. Sed hunc quoque absorbit aestus quidam insolitae adolescentibus gloriae.*

ex eo] So the mss: but generally *sperare* is followed by *ab* when used with persons (Att. i. 13, 2 (19): Caes. Bell. Civ. iii. 96, 4), by *ex* when used with things (ib. iii. 60, 1: 6, 1).

perbene] So Schütz: *per me* MH: *optime* Lamb.

tum praeclare existimare coepi, eximiis iudiciis, quae de eo feceras, cognitis. Eius libertum Apollonium iam tum equidem, cum ille viveret, et magni faciebam et probabam. Erat enim et studiosus Crassi et ad eius optima studia vehementer aptus: itaque ab eo admodum diligebatur. 2. Post mortem autem Crassi eo mihi etiam dignior visus est quem in fidem atque amicitiam meam reciperem, quod eos a se observandos et colendos putabat, quos ille dilexisset et quibus carus fuisset. Itaque et ad me in Ciliciam venit multisque in rebus mihi magno usui fuit et fides eius et prudentia, et, ut opinor, tibi in Alexandrino bello, quantum studio et fidelitate consequi potuit, non defuit. 3. Quod cum speraret te quoque ita existimare, in Hispaniam ad te, maxime ille quidem suo consilio, sed etiam me auctore est profectus. Cui ego commendationem non sum pollicitus, non quin eam valituram apud te arbitrarer, sed neque egere mihi commendatione videbatur, qui et in bello tecum fuisset et propter memoriam Crassi de tuis unus esset, et, si uti commendationibus vellet, etiam per alios eum videbam id consequi posse. Testimonium mei de eo iudicii, quod et ipse magni aestimabat et ego apud te valere eram expertus, ei libenter dedi. 4. Doctum igitur hominem cognovi et studiis optimis deditum, idque a puero. Nam domi meae cum Diodoto Stoico, homine meo iudicio eruditissimo, multum a puero fuit. Nunc autem, incensus studio rerum tuarum, eas litteris Graecis mandare

eximiis] So Klotz and Wesenberg for *ex his* of the mss.

feceras] So Madvig for *feceram* of the mss.

3. *Quod cum speraret*] Not exactly the connecting *quod*, so common in connection with *si* and *nisi*; rather 'when *quod* stands before *cum* and *ubi*, it has its original signification as a relative pronoun (in the place of the demonstrative) in such a way that that which is briefly indicated by the pronoun is afterwards expressed more definitely by an accusative with infinitive (here *te quoque ita existimare*), by which means the pronoun becomes superfluous': Madv. § 449, who compares Off. iii. 112, *Quod cum audivisset adulescens filius negotium exhiberi patri*.

Testimonium] 'authorized expression.'

4. *Doctum igitur*] *igitur* is resumptive, 'Well, then, I knew the man to be gifted.' *Doctus* is specially applied to

poets: cp. Hor. Carm. i. 1, 29; Tib. i. 4, 68, *Pieridas, pueri, doctos et amate poetas*.

Diodoto] He was a friend of Cicero's from the time the latter first heard his lectures in 666 (88). 'According to a fashion set by the Roman Stoic circle of the time of Scipio and Laelius, when he died in 59, he left his pupil heir to a not inconsiderable property': cp. Att. ii. 20, 6; Reid Acad. p. 2.

eas litteris Graecis mandare] 'to write a narrative of them in Greek.' Just as the Greek Archias was the panegyrist of his patrons the Luculli, so the Greek Apollonius, who had previously been the panegyrist of Crassus, wished now to occupy the same position in relation to Caesar.

Professor Mahaffy (*Greek World*, p. 125), in referring to this passage, says: 'For even yet, as Cicero declares in another passage, Greek was the world

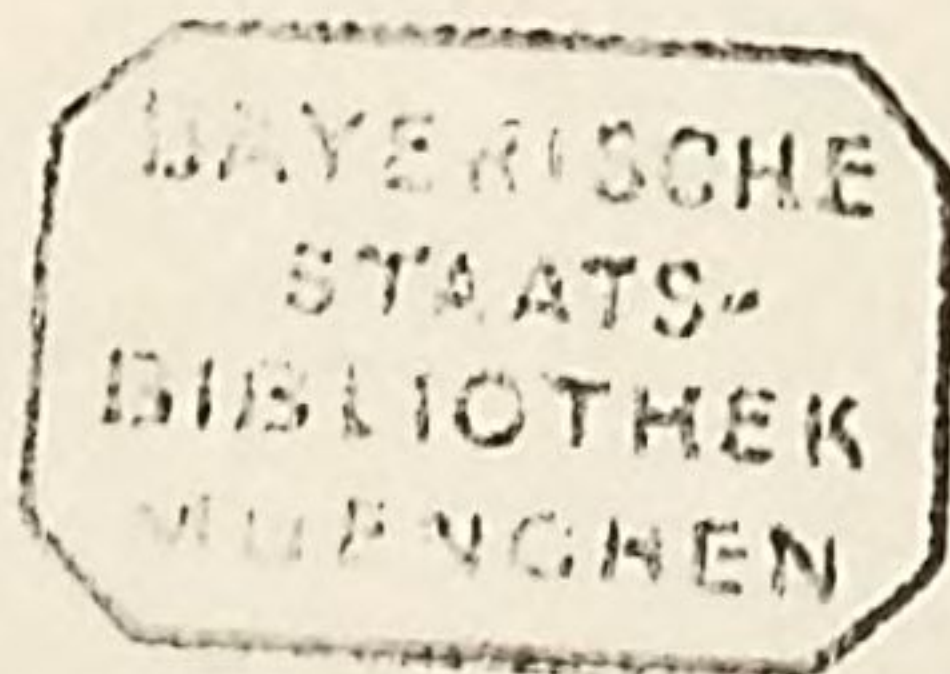
cupiebat. Posse arbitror: valet ingenio: habet usum: iam pridem in eo genere studii litterarumque versatur: satis facere immortalitati laudum tuarum mirabiliter cupit. Habes opinionis meae testimonium, sed tu hoc facilius multo pro tua singulari prudentia iudicabis. Et tamen, quod negaveram, commendo tibi eum. Quidquid ei commodaveris, erit id mihi maiorem in modum gratum.

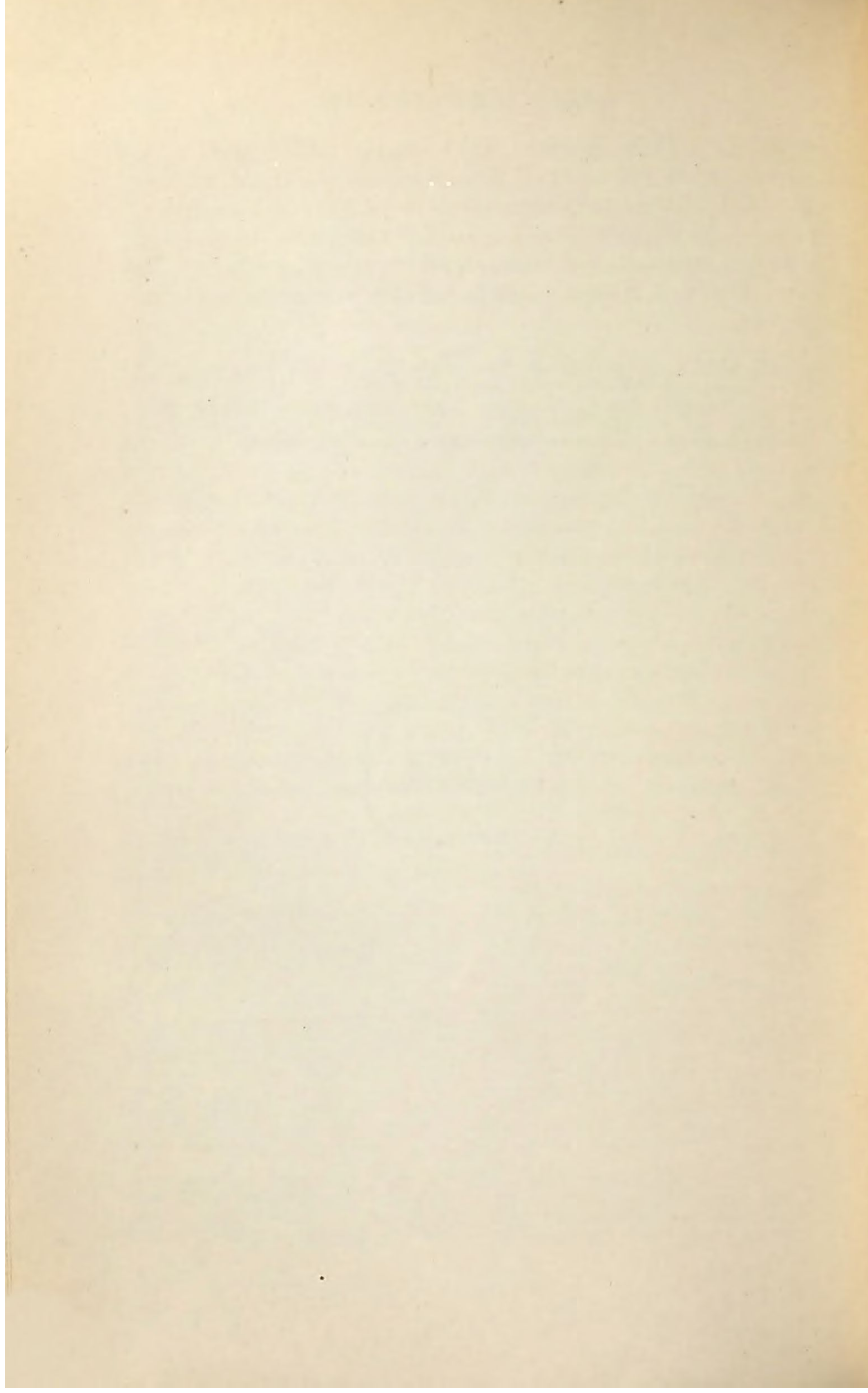
language, while Latin was only used by the conquering race. "He that thinks he will attain less glory from Greek verses than from Latin is totally wrong; because Greek is read by almost the whole

world, Latin is confined to narrow limits" (Arch. 23).'

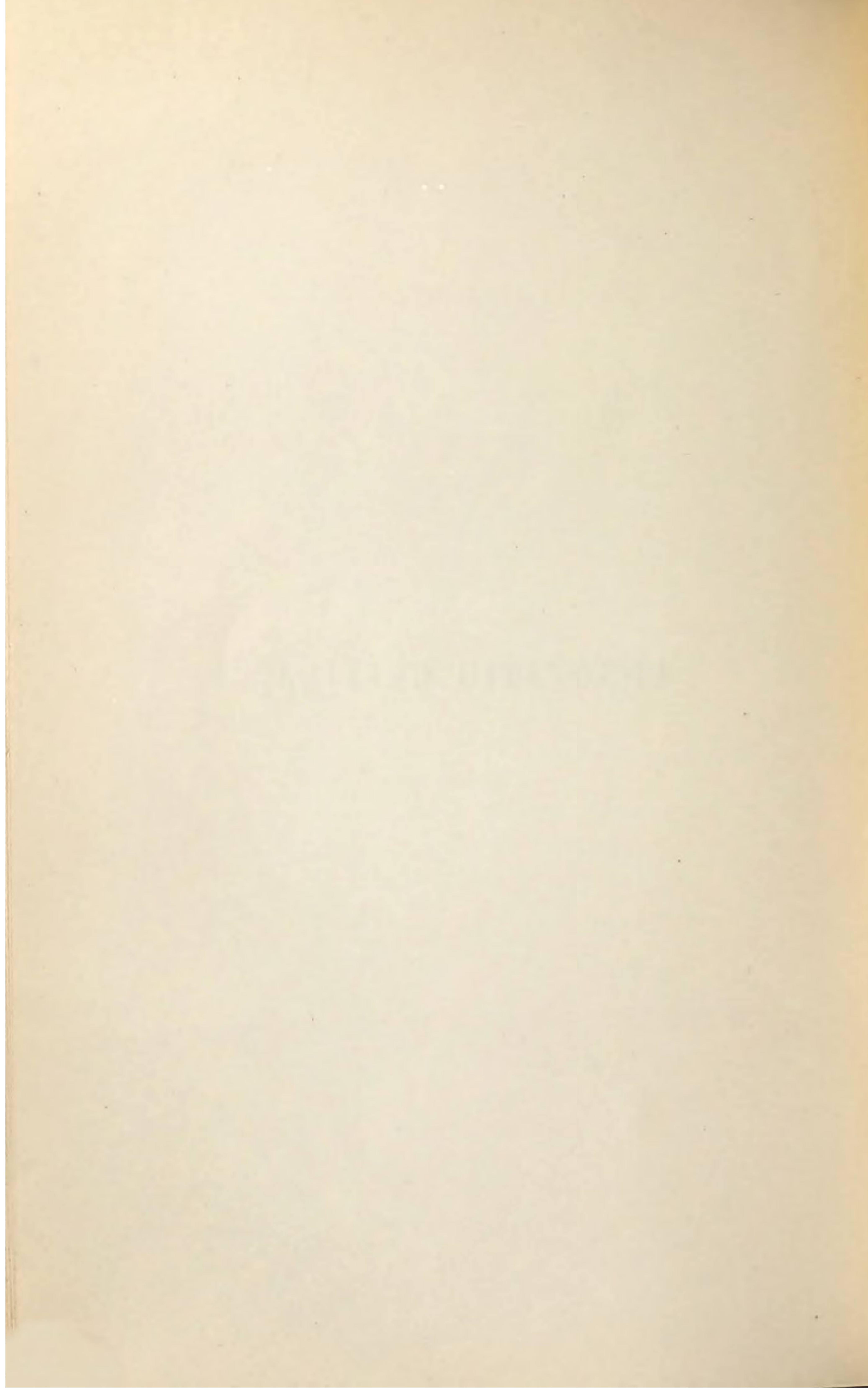
studii litterarumque] 'literary studies.'

satis facere] 'to do justice to the undying fame of your exploits.'





ADNOTATIO CRITICA.



ADNOTATIO CRITICA.

A Mendelssohnio (p. xxx.) benigne admoniti in hoc volumine fere ubique Turo-
nensi (T) codici substituimus Parisinum (P), et adsumpsimus Palatinum (Pal), ambos
ex Mendelssohnii ipsius thesauro depromptos. De his et multis aliis quae viro illo
doctissimo debemus plenius in Introductione scripsimus.

EP. CCCI. (FAM. XVI. 11).

1. scribit] M; *scripsit*, H Pal E.
iam firmiorem] C. F. Müller, Btr.,
Wes., Mendelss.; *etiam firmiorem* MH
Pal E.
2. ornatus] M; *ordinatus* H.
civilis] om. HE.
certorum] M; *ceterorum* HE.
fuerunt. Omnino et] Vict.; *fuerunt*
omnino. Et MH Ern.; *fuerunt mihi*
omnino Pal.
provinciam] libri; *provincias* Boot,
nam Caesar tum Galliam et citeriorem et
ulteriorem tenebat.
3. Capuam] H Pal; *capiam* M.
est nostra pluris] M Pal; *est pluris*
nostra HE.
discriptae] M¹; *descriptae* M² H Pal
E: cp. Bücheler (Rhein. Mus. xiii.
600 sqq.).

EP. CCCII. (FAM. V. 20).

Quoquo] Lamb.; *quo* libri.
si ad me misisses] H; *si admeminisses*
MP.
dein] MH; *dein scito* Martyni-Lag.,
Wes.
referendarum] *miseracionu* (sed linea
perducta et superscripto *referendarum*) H.
2. Quod] *quid* MP; *qui* H.
easdemque] M; *easdem* HP.
adducerem] M; *abducerem* H.
servo] Ita exhibent libri omnes: sed M.
Tullium libertum esse, non servum, nomen
ipsum declarare videbatur, itaque delevi-
mus; sed iniuria, ut nunc videmus, post

egregiam Mommseni disputationem (St. R.
iii. 428, 1). Vid. Corrigenda.

acceperim a fratre tuo] *a fratre tuo*
acceperim H.

quam cui dedi] Graev.; *quam dedi*
HP; *quam darem* M; *quam quoi* (cui)
dederam Wes.; *quam cui mandaram* Or.

certe] *certum* libri.

collatasque] P; *consolatas* M; *consoli-*
datas Pal. Quint., edd.; *consolatasque* H.

referre] *deferre* libri; sed vide Comm.
deferre beneficiorum, *referre* rationum.
Mommsenus tamen (St. R. i². 678), qui et
nostrum locum et Pis. 61 laudat, ita
distinguit, *deferre* magistratus *rationes*
ad quaestores urbanos, qui aerario prae-
erant, quaestoresque deinceps *rationes*
referre in tabulas publicas; sed interdum
magistratus quoque *referre*.

tamen] M; *ita me* H; *ita* P.

relatis] Lamb.; *latis* libri.

quam ob rem] excidit fortasse tota
clausula; Orell. vocem unam *detuli* ex-
cidisse ante *de volu* ingeniose suspicatur.

3. HS] SS libri.

xix] ixx H.

curata] M; ⁱ*curara* H.

4. minime] ^{minime}*maxime* H.

Q. Leptam] MT, sed abest ab H;
cumque Cicero bene cognovit eorum
nomina qui in hac re interfuerant, ideo
delendum censuimus. Wes. tamen aliud
nomen ultro addit et legit *legatum meum*
M. Anneium praefectumque Q. Leptam.

quod] Lamb.; *cum* libri, sed in alteris
sententiae membris apparet *quod*, et *cum*
coniunctivum postularet.

ne cogitatam] additamentum vetus,
idque praeclarum.

quidem putas] libri; *refutas* Streicher;
eidem imputas Hirschfeld.

multa] M; *multi* HP.

gravis] M; *gravibus* HP.

esse] om. H.

suum] MP²; *suus* H.

5. auctore] H; *actore* MP.

illa quam] Kl.; *tua quam* MH; *quam*
P; *ea quam* Or.

tu] *tua* P.

animadvertisse] H; *animadvertissem*
M.

errari] H; *errare* M.

ascripsi] *adscripsi* M; *ascribis* H.

quoniam] MP; *quod* H.

6. item] Lamb., Wes.; *idem* libri.

qui non] libri; *quidem non* edd.

est] om. H.

si causa] *si non causa* H.

nongentis] HP; *nunc gentis* M.

si] M; om. HP.

Luceio] *logaeo* MP; *legato* H; et hic
et supra, § 5, Boot conicit ἐκλογεῖν =
pecunia exacta.

parum provisum] Egnatius; *parum*
gravisum M; *parum gravissime* H; *parum*
gavisum P; *gratiosum* codd. dett.; *gratum*
visum Corrad.

ego] om. P.

mihi] om. H.

in pecuniam exactam ista referre] Wes.,
Kl.; *in pecuniae exactae ita efferre* M;
(*ista referre* habet margo Crat.); *in*
pecuniae exactu ita efferre HP.

quid] *quod* H.

Sed illud] nos; om. *sed* libri.

modo facere] *facere modo* H.

7. deferendos] M; *defendendos* H.

rationes] MH; *rationem* P.

8. HS] *sestercii* libri.

de quibus] om. P.

i

Myrina] P; *m̄yrina* M; *marina* H.

iam] om. H.

decesseramus] Ern.; *decessimus* libri;
decessissemus vulg.

quam tum] P; *quantum* MH.

habebamus] *habeamus* HP.

tum] M; om. HP.

humanitate] H; *humanitatem* M.

de HS centum] *de cc c̄* M; om. P; *de*
sestercii H.

9. illud] om. P.

omnem pecuniam] *omnes pecunias* H.

deposuisse] MH; *potuisse* T.

centum] M; *centum cum* T; om. H.

vel de tuis] MP; om. *vel* H.

ista HS centum] M; *ista SS c̄*. HP.

haec] MP; *hoc* H.

iocatum] H; *locatum* MP.

te] om. H.

cum Tullius] MT; *si ullus* H.

non scindi] libri; *conscindi* Hirschfeld,
optime (Hermes v. 297).

EP. CCCIII. (ATT. VII. 10).

agam nec quid] *agam ne quid* M.

cuius] *quouis* M, quam formam crebro
exhibet.

coartatus et stupens] M, Wes.;
coartatus est. Stupent vulg.

consistet] Wes.; *consistat* M, vulg.

certe] *certa* M¹; *incerti* M².

EP. CCCIV. (ATT. VII. 11).

1. Cingulum] *singulum* M¹.

amentem, et miserum qui] nos; *amen-*
tem et miserum, qui vulg.

num honestum] *nisi honestum* M¹;
honestum vulg.

occupare] *occuparet* M¹.

apricationem] M¹; *applicationem* M².

lucrativo] M; *Lucretilino* Faërnus;
Lucretino R. vulg.; *Lucretiano* Palmerius
noster.

miliens] *moliens* M¹.

istius modo] Crat.; *illius modi* CM.

2. τόσον] nos; COCON M; σοι vulg.;
'fort. σῶς ἔν' Btr.

3. redeamus] *debeamus* M.

tum nihil absurdus] Wes.; *tum* :
'nihil absurdus' vulg.; *tamen nihil ab-*
surdus Ern.; Fort. *ego enim ἀπορῶ*
totum. Nihil absurdus.

πov] NOY M.

4. nescio isticine] Wes.; *nescis istic*
M; *nescio an istic* Ern.; *nescio istic* vulg.;
sed dubitandi particula non potest super-
sederi.

5. Campana] M; *Campania* vulg.

habeat] *habent* M.

negotii] marg.; *ne* M.

deferatur] Wes.; *referatur* vulg.

ὥρῃ] Vict.; *hora me* M¹; *hora viae*
M²; *ora viae* RI.

EP. CCCV. (ATT. VII. 12).

Kal. In qua] Corrad.; *Kal. Iu. In*
qua M, quae lect. ex dittographia littera-
rum *In* orta esse videtur.

putes] Lamb.; *putas* M.

2. erroris] *terroris* Man.

agendum sit nescio] I; *ag. est nescio*
M; *agendum est?* Nescio Or.

prolatio] M; probatio marg.
 3. demittamne] Man.; *dimittam ne*
 M.
 tam nullo] *tamne nullo* M¹ Zl Wes.
 5. magistratus] Wes.; *magistratum* M.
 6. ecquod . . . ecquae] Man.; *et quod*
 . . . *et quae* M.
 invidia] Vict.; *invia* M¹; *via et*
iniuria M².
 tuto] *tuo* M.

EP. CCCVI. (FAM. XIV. 18).

1. an mecum] Pal; *at mecum* M;
aut mecum HE.
 an aliquo] Wes.; *in aliquo* MH.
 tuto] om. E.
 tuto posse] M; *tuto non posse* HE.
 per . . . posse] om. HE.
 per Dolabellam] M; *pro Dolabella*
 Pal.
 posse] om. Pal.
 aut si] om. HE.
 abieritis] M; *abieris* HE; *abientis*
 Pal.
 in] Wes.; *et in* MH (man. sec.); *ut*
in H (man. prim.), *saepe et a librariis est*
inculcatum.
 nostris praediis] Wes. cum cod. Basil.
 Vid. Comm.; om. *praediis* libri plurimi;
vestris E.
 2. utrum] H Pal E; *verum* M.
 atque etiam] om. H Pal E.
 praesidium] *praedium* HE; *predium*
 M Pal.
 VIII.] libri; III. Schütz; vid. Comm.
 Formis] *Formis* MH Pal.

EP. CCCVII. (ATT. VII. 13 a).

1. De] E M.
 ἡρῶα] ΠΡΩΑ M.
 valet exercitu, tenet multos] Bos.;
valet exercitum tenet multa M.
 magistralibus] Wes.; *magistratu* M.
 cui ne Picena] *quo in epicena* M¹.
 res testis] Zl: *res stet* M.
 2. insidiose] Pius; *invidiose* M.
 invitorum] *invidorum* M¹.
 3. amandandi] *emendandi* M¹.
 scripsit] Vict.; *scripsi* M.
 de me . . . meis te] Z; *de ipso ac de*
me ista M.

EP. CCCVIII. (ATT. VII. 13 b).

1. Oppiorum ex Velia] secl. Sch.
 primo] ins. nos.

tamen] Sch.; *tuum* M; *totum* Or.
 dicis] Zb; *dices* CM.
 aestuavi] Zl; *estu aut* M.
 3. Venafri. Aliquantum] M²; *Vena-*
friam al. M¹; *Venafri. Iam al.* Buech.
 habeo quod] Ern.; *habeo quid* M.
 illim] Bos.; *illinc* M.
 in Marsis] *in maresis* M², Zl; om.
 M¹.
 Iguvii] *igui* M¹ Zl; *ingui* M².

EP. CCCIX. (FAM. XIV. 14).

ANIMIS] ANIMABVS E, ut saepe
 in Biblia Vulgatae ed.
 1. venturus est] H Pal E; om. *est* M.
 ipsae] Pal; *ipse* MH (man. sec.);
ipsi EH (man. pr.).
 Si enim] H Pal E; *sit enim* M.
 vos esse possitis] M Pal; *vos possitis*
esse H; *vos ipse possitis* E.
 2. velim cum] M Pal E; *velim ut*
cum H.
 forti] H; *fortis* M.
 discedit] M Pal; *discessit* HE.
 Quintus] Pal; *quinctus* M; *quintius*
 HE.
 VIII Kal] *VIII Kal Quintil*, MH.
 Sed in mense Januario haec epistola
 scripta est (Fam. xvi. 12, 6, Ep. 312;
 Att. vii. 13 b, 2, Ep. 308). Sed deceptus
 vulgari epistolarum ordine, cum Epp. xiii.
 et xv. in Quintili mense datae essent,
 hanc quoque epistolam scriptor eidem
 mensi attribuit. De mense omisso, cp.
 Wes. Em. 72 not.
 Minturnis] *menturnis*, MH Pal E.

EP. CCCX. (ATT. VII. 14).

1. spero . . . nos habere] nos cum
 Sch.; *spero posse . . . nos habere* Boot;
spero esse . . . nos habere M; *spero ita*
esse et . . . nos habere Kays.
 2. qui] del. M.
 scutorum] M; *secutorum* male Vict.
 provisum] RI; *profixum* M; *profec-*
tum Or.
 3. videas ut satis] CM; *utrum satis*
alii; fort. *videas tu satin*; sed satis recte
 se habet codicum lectio.
 ceterae] *ceteri* M, fort. recte.
 praedia] Corrad. et Man.; *presidia* M.
 sed id fit] *eo id fit* Boot; *sed eo id fit*
 Kays.; at recte se habet *sed*; vid.
 Comm.
 equidem pacem] Kl.; *quidem pacem*
 M; *equidem ad pacem* C. Post bellum
 ins. in civibus margo.

EP. CCCXI. (ATT. VII. 15).

1. quod scriberem] Ern.; *quid scriberem* M.licet] FA; *liceret* M.1. sed is *haud* auditus in consilio] Bos.; *sed is auditus in cons.* M²; *sed is auditus auditus in cons.* M¹; *sed is auditus in consilio non est* Kl Wes.metuo] C; *metu* M.obsit] CM¹; *absit* M².Postumius] R; *Postumus* M.quam magni] *quam* del. Man., *perperam*; vid. Comm.3. varietas] R; *veritas* MI.Appianas] Lipsius; *acianas* M¹; *actianas* M²; *Atianas* Kays.; *Attianas* Or., Wes.; † *Attianas* Boot.

EP. CCCXII. (FAM. XVI. 12).

1. salus] H Pal E; *saluus* M.universi et senatus et rei publicae] *universe i. senatus et rei p.* H; *universae senatus et r. p.* E; *universae reipublicae* M; *unius ex eo* Pal.domos] M Pal H; *domus* E.est, ut] *est utrique ut* Lehmann; vid. Comm.qui] M Pal H; *quis* E.subvenerit] M Pal; *subveniret* HE.2. Equidem] M Pal; *et quidem* HE.destiti] H Pal E; *destituti* M.habentur] M Pal E; *habebantur* H.Pisaurum] *piscaurum* H.Arretium] *arritium* H; *aretium* Pal; *artium* E.3. eat] M Pal H²; *erat* H¹.dilectus] M Pal; *delectus* HE: vide infr. § 4.se] M Pal; *sed* HE.obtigerunt] M; corr. ex *obtinerunt* H.se praesentem trinum nundinum] *se praesentem trium nundinum* M; *sed praesente trinundinum* HE; *se praesentem trinundinum* Pal.Accipimus] HE; *accepimus* M Pal.4. stare] *istare* M; *ista re* Pal; *instare* HE, sed saepe tale *i* inculcatum, vid. Btr. ad Fam. vii. 1, 4.Dilectus] M Pal; *delectus* HE.Hispaniaque] M Pal; *Hispania* HE.sex] M Pal; *tres* HE.Petreio] corr. ex *preio* M.habet a tergo: videtur, si] M Pal; *hab & At g (= ergo) videtur si* H; *habet at ergo si videtur* E.opprimi] *obrimi* H.modo ut urbe] M Pal; *modo urbe* H, fort. recte.et est nobiscum] Kl; om. *est*, MH Pal E.5. orae] M Pal; *horae* HE.cohortationesque] M Pal; *cohortationisque* HE.quod] H Pal E; *quem* M.nota esse] M Pal E; *esse nota* H.6. Ego] M; *ergo* H Pal E.cum] H Pal E; *quam* M.mei] M; *ei* HE; om. Pal.valde tui] M; *tui valde* H Pal E.poterit] M Pal; *non poterit* HE.

EP. CCCXIII. (ATT. VII. 16).

1. ac Pompei] Man.; *ad Pompeium* M.2. eo die] *eodem* C.

EP. CCCXIV. (FAM. XVI. 8).

1. nobis] H (supra lineam) M Pal E; cp. *bonis* MH (Index).diutius nobis afuturus est] edd. vett.; *diutius a nobis futurus es* H Pal E; *diutius nobis futurus es* M. Sed necesse est *afuturus* scribere, nisi mavis, ut Wes. et Bücheler, *defuturus*.At tamen] libri; *ac tamen* Wes., Mendelss.

2. ψῦχος . . . πολεμιώτατον] ΨΥΧΟΣ ΔΕ ΛΕΠΧΡΩΤΙ ΠΟΛΕΜΙΩΙΚΤΟΝ H.

singula testimonia] H Pal E Crat., Mendelss.; *singula eius testimonia* M; vid. Comm.Q. F.] libri, sed Q. . . . *dicit* om. E.

EP. CCCXV. (ATT. VII. 17).

1. sunt] *fuere* mallent Ern. et Boot. quaeri] *queri* M.praediis] *vetus codex Lambini*; *praesidiis* M.2. ei cumulate] Koch. coll. Fam. xi. 13 a, 3; *et cumulate* M, vulg.tamen] *a me non* M¹.re publica] M¹; *res publica* M².acerrimus] *acerrimis* M.3. non aspernor] marg.; *nonas pernos* M.

4. ὑπεκθέμενος] ἐπεχθεμενος M.

excitatum est] Z; *excitatum* M.sin otium aut etiam] nos; *sin autem etiam* M; *sin pax aut etiam* Sch.

EP. CCCXVI. (ATT. VII. 18).

1. pertulerunt] C; attulerunt M.
 quoad] quod M, ut saepe.
 turpi . . . misero] Corrad.; turpe . . .
 misere M.
 si] om. M.
 iacebit] Vict.; tacebit M.
 2. vincere] Crat.; vinciri M; munire
 Gron., Kl.
 o vix] ins. o Mal.
 optima] Lipsius; opto M; optio Grut.;
 fort. optima ut in malis.
 3. nos] non M.
 esset] M²; essem CM¹.
 scio] CZ; om. M.
 nimis] minus M¹.
 invito. Quintus frater] Vict.; in-
 vitoque fratre M, qui saepe que pro Quinti
 casibus exhibet.
 4. exigere] exire M.
 te non] et non M.
 in illius] Kays.; nullius M; illius
 vulg.

EP. CCCXVII. (ATT. VII. 19).

- quod] quid M.
 qui . . . dederim] marg. ed. Lamb.
 1584; quin . . . dederim M¹; quin . . .
 dedi M².
 putabam, praesertim] putabant impre-
 sertim M¹.

EP. CCCXVIII. (ATT. VII. 20).

- quorum ergo spe] Bos.; quorum ego
 spe M; vid. Comm.; post quorum interci-
 disse vocatu vel simile quid putat Reid.
 illi autem nondum venerant] M; post
 autem verba adhuc id est Nonis ins. C;
 fort. recte.
 ad Nonas inanes] Boot sub verbo
 inanes latere Nonis suspicatus est; nobis
 potius est visum ad Nonas ante inanes
 inserere; Bootio adsentimur temporis sig-
 nificationem desideranti.
 Appianarum] Lipsius; itinerum M¹;
 itinerum M²; vicinarum R; Attianarum
 Vict.
 2. καὶ ἀποθανεῖν] nos; καὶ συναποθα-
 νεῖν M vulg. Versus ex Diphili fabula
 sumptus est.
 manendum] me nondum M¹.
 duces] ducis M.
 calere] CM; carere R, quam lect.
 recepit Boot.

EP. CCCXIX. (ATT. VII. 21).

1. istim] Lamb.; istum M¹; istine
 M².
 emanant] emanant M¹.
 adsit contraque noster] Boot; ad se
 contra quem noster M; adsit contra, noster
 vulg.
 2. auferrent] afferrent M.
 consul ei rescripsit] consulere scripsit M.
 3. satisfacere. Mira] satisfacerem ira
 M.

EP. CCCXX. (ATT. VII. 22).

1. huius autem nostri] aposiopesis
 signum apposuius.
 ut recte sit censeo cedendum] ut ins.
 nos, quod facile post acturus intercidere
 potuit; recte sic censes mulieribus ceden-
 dum Kays.
 2. De Oppiis istis egeo consilii] nos
 (praeunte in coni. de Oppiis Bootio); de
 oppidis iis. Egeo consilii M; censeo ceden-
 dum de oppidis his. Egeo consilio vulg.
 etiam honeste] et tam honeste M.
 nullo modo, . . . soleo?] nos; Nullo
 modo. Equidem a te petam consilium ut
 soleo Wes. Btr. Kl; Nullo modo. Quid?
 A te petam consilium ut soleo? Or.

EP. CCCXXI. (ATT. VII. 23).

1. vesperi a] Crat.; vesperis M¹; ves-
 peri e M².
 omnes plane iam captos] Wes.; paene
 M.
 2. me autem ipso] Man.; ipse M.
 3. modi] Ascensio auctore ins. Kl;
 nisi quid eius fuerit M, quae lectio
 minime defendi nequit; nisi qui deus
 fecerit Boot; fort. nisi qui deus iuverit.
 Caesaris] L. Caesaris M.

EP. CCCXXII. (ATT. VIII. 11 a).

- cum suis cohortibus XII.] nos auctore
 Bootio; XI. M: cp. Att. viii. 12 a, 1
 (331).
 Hirrum cum] C; Hirruncum M.
 tutissime] M; tutissimo Lamb. coll.
 Att. viii. 1, 2; sed Procrustae alicuius
 est, non editoris sagacis, ita constituere
 orationem Ciceronis familiarium ut omni-
 bus numeris succinat Tullianae. Quam-
 obrem improbamus Pii praeposteram
 elegantiam qui pro missum facias legit
 missas facias in ep. Pompeii ad Domitium,
 Att. viii. 12 b fin. (325).

EP. CCCXXIII. (ATT. VII. 24).

III. milia] Bos.; *vim* (= III. m.) M.
a cons.] M²; *e cons.* M¹; prep. om. C.

EP. CCCXXIV. (ATT. VII. 25).

Capua] *Capuam* (per dittogr. litterae
m) M.

O rem] A; O om. M.

EP. CCCXXV. (ATT. VIII. 12 b).

1. Valde miror] *valde*, quod (in *vale*
corruptum) epistolae quam haec sequitur
(Att. viii. 12 a) adhaeserat, huc transtulit
Kl. Vix potuit Pompeius ad consules
scribens *vale* ponere cum *valet* debuisset.
Confer tamen Att. viii. 6, 3 (337).

adversario] Vict.; *adversarios* M¹;
adversariis M².

Firmo progressum] Z; *firmiter progressu*
M.

2. atque etiam] ins. Ursin.

advenires] CM; *advenias* Mur. Sch.;
sed lect. cod. recte se habet; vid. Comm.
copiae] *copias* M.

coactae] *coacte* M²; *quot acte* M¹;
queat ac marg.

distrabant] corr. in *distrabat* M.

vos a nobis] Wes.; *nos a nobis* M, fort.
recte; nam talem locutionem audacius
est Pompeio abiudicare, minime illam
quidem apud Ciceronem tolerandam.

villas] Graev.; *illas* M.

servent aequum . . . impetrare] *ser-*
vente cum imperare M¹; *servent equum*,
. . . *imperare* M².

EP. CCCXXVI. (ATT. VII. 26).

2. videri] *videre* M.

negavi] Vict.; *navi* M; *nolui* R.

deferret] *de ea referret* M.

ad quibus] *a quibus* M.

cui noster] C; *quin noster* M.

pro tuis rebus gestis] Lamb. coll. Att.
viii. 9, 2; *ut prorsus gestis* M; *pro suis*
rebus gestis Bos.

3. scribenti] *scienti* M.

certe] M, sed corr. in *certo*.

et ego? Nescio] Or.; *et ego nescio* M.

quod habebo] *quid habebo* M.

faciam ut scias] *sciam ut sciebam* M.

scribis] Or.; *scis* M.

EP. CCCXXVII. (ATT. VIII. 11 b).

1. ubi] sic recte codd.; *cui* Lamb.
Btr.

praecepisses] Kl; *percepisses* M; *cepisses*
Btr.

2. praetore] P. R. M.

vidi T. Ampium] Vict.; *vidit amplum*
M¹; *vidi amplum* M².

diligentia] *diligentia* M¹; *intelligentia*
M².

edictum] Lamb.; *dictum* M.

3. sin omnia in unum] Kl; *in omnia*
unum M²; *omnia in unum* M².

ut video] *ut videor* M.

EP. CCCXXVIII. (ATT. VIII. 1).

1. nec tamen tam] Bos; *nec tamen*
M¹; *nec tam* M².

quam ad me] sic recte codd.; *quam*
quae ad me Or. Btr.

nisi tam . . . proficisceretur] Kays.;
nisi tam . . . proficisceretur M² vulg.;

miseriam proficisceretur M¹; *sed . . . pro-*
ficisceretur Man.

2. tutissimo] C (quam formam veram
esse testis est Charisius); *tu pessimo* M
(sed marg. *tutissime*); *tupissimo* Zl.

et ne is quidem locus stabilis sed] nos
codd. secuti; *ut ne . . . stabilis sit* Wes.
et edd. plurimi.

a bonis] *ab omnibus* M.

4. habeat] *habet* Kays.

Luceriam] *Nuceriam* M.

quae adhuc] *que* (ut saepe) M²; *ea*
M¹.

sint] *sunt* Or. et Boot.

EP. CCCXXIX. (ATT. VIII. 12 c).

Caesarem] *Caesarem mare* (sed *mare*
deletum est) M, quae lectio orta est e
dittographia syllabarum—*arem*, litteris
inverso ordine scriptis; haud dissimili
ratione in Ep. cccxxxi. 4, *altia* pro *talia*
exhibent codd.; et in Ep. ccclii. 1,
tamen lari pro *lamentari*.

istaec loca] *istic loca* M.

providentia] C; *prudencia* M.

ab aliis] Man.; *ab illis* M.

sed locis] M²; *ut locis* M¹; *at locis* K.

ut frumentatum] *et fr.* M.

2. omni copia huc] Vict.; *omni copias*
hoc M¹; *omnibus copiis hoc* M².

M. Tuscilio] Corrad.; *Metuscilio* C;
metu stileo M¹; *metu sileo* M².

3. ad me] *ad me vel eo vel huc* inseri
iussit Wes.

4 Sicca abs te] Boot; *Sicca a te* vulg.; *sic adpoete* M.

EP. CCCXXX. (ATT. VIII. 12 d).

1. praemonui fit] *praem. fore fit* M (in margine).

conductis te] *cond. per te* M.

2. qui] Man. et Mal.; *quod* M.

EP. CCCXXXI. (ATT. VIII. 12 a).

C. Marcello] Man.; *M. Marcello* M. neque se si] Lamb.; *neque si* M.

2. duas] inseruimus nos auctore Bootio.

3. D. Laelio] Corrad.; *dellio* M¹; *D. Elio* M².

ire possim] lacunam his modis explent edd.:—*ipse autem fortasse possit* Wes.; *videat ille ut possit* Buech.; *neque ipse possit* nos.

se per] vc Lamb.; *semper* M.

4. talia . . . Marcello] nos; *altia video censori Marcello* M¹; *altia video C. Marcello* M²; *altia video censori Marcello* FA; *ac ita video censori Marcello* Man.; *atque adeo M. Marcello* Kl; *atque ita vel ut etiam video censori a M. Marcello* Boot. Vid. Adn. Crit. ad Ep. cccxxix.; *placitum est mihi, adhibito C. Marcello* Madv.

deportaritis] *deportaretis* M.

velim] *vellem* M.

praetores] *P. R. M.*

quod] *quot* M.

deducerent] *deducerent. Valde* M¹; *deducerent. Vale* M². Vid. Adn. Crit. cccxxv. 1.

EP. CCCXXXII. (ATT. VIII. 2).

1. non . . . diligentia] *non credis te que digna a diligentia* M.

cum maxima laude Pompeii] Man.; *huius maxima laude Pompeii* M; *huius maxima laude* F.

id enim illa] Man.; *idem in illa* M¹; *idem enim illa* M².

non dare] M; *mandare* marg.

2. si qua erunt] marg.; *si queunt* M.

μέμψιν] Gron.: cp. μέμπτειν (sic) *ef-fugere*, Att. xiii. 13, 2; *esse* M; *enim* M²; *ēe* vel *ēt* FA; *ea* Kl; *e nassa* Brandt.; fort. αἰτίαν.

possim] *possum* M.

qui magis] C; *quo magis* M.

ac duce turpius] corr. ex *adducetur pius* M.

3. et si nunc sunt] Pius; *et si non sunt* M; totum locum partim Gron. secutus sic emendat Boot; *ita multi nobiscum sunt ut nunc in suburbanis, nunc in hortis, nunc in ipsa urbe sint, et qui nunc sunt (nobiscum) non erunt.*

tu in me . . . illud] Intercidit sine dubio Graecum aliquod voc., fort. ἀξίωμα vel (ut videtur spatium esse sedecim fere litterarum) πρόσχημα καὶ ἀξίωμα vel πρόσχημα σεμνόν. Simili modo post quae est intercidit ἀξίωσις vel σχηματίσις vel aliud huius generis voc. novem fere litterarum spatium explens. Lamb. tamen in neutro loco inane spatium esse in Z adfirmat; cuius auctoritate permotus hic tu me illum (me qui antea fui) coni. Gron.

desideras] Bos. in codd. commenticiis se vidisse *des id feras* falso testatus, in hoc loco ut in multis aliis tenebras veteribus editoribus offudit.

quis tunc] Wes.; *quis tu* M; *quis tum* R; *quis istic* vc; *qui istim* K.

4. διπλῇ] *diple* M.

non sitam in eo iudico] Man.; *non ita non meo iudicio* M; *non ita: 'uno in eo iudico'* Bos.; *non ut tu (vel ita ut tu) uno in eo iudico* Wes.

sed cur 'Poterisne . . . tyrannum?'] nos; *sed cur? Poterisne* vulg.; *sed quaeris: Poterisne* Boot; *sed, heus tu, poterisne* Sch. Obelum loco praefigit Wes.

agetur] Vict.; *ageretur* M.

profecturus] Asc.; *profectis* M¹; *profectus* M²; verbum est *proficere* non *proficisci*.

quid ero] *videro* cum Pio Kl.

EP. CCCXXXIII. (ATT. VIII. 3).

1. perturbatus cum . . . esset] Vict.; *perturbatus sum . . . esset* M¹; *perturbatus sum . . . est. Sed* M².

Italia cedat] Vict.; *Italiam accedat* M¹; *Italia excedat* M².

2. mea . . . fortuna] ins. Kl; *fortuna cum fortuna* Mal.

non futurus] Hic certe hiat oratio. Sed quo modo explenda sit dubitatur. Potuit scribere *sit sui iuris* (quam lect. I exhibet); potuit *sit idem* vel *sit idem, idemque* (Hofm.); vel *sit qui fuerit* Lehm. coll. Fam. vii. 3, 4; Sed minime acquiescendum est in coniectura Iac. Gronovii *nomen futurus*. O lectionem ab oratione epistolari abhorrentem et Gronovio illo plane indignam!

forte] I; *fore* M.

dedecore] *docere* M.

3. sapienter] M²; saltenter M¹; attenter Zl.

auctoritatemque] *que auctoritatem* M¹.
per vim et] M²; *servi mei* M¹; *Servii mei* C.

adoptando] Crat.; *optando* M.

propagator] *prorogator* M.

idem etiam] marg.; *fidem etiam* M.

provincias Gallias . . . die] *provinciis Galliis . . . diem* Ursin.

turpissima nequissima fuga] Hofm.; *turpissimamque sum fuga* M¹; *turpissima fuga* M².

4. visa quaeri desperatione] *vis aquari desperationem* M¹.

invite cepi] M²; *in te cepit* M¹; *non recepi* Hofm.; *nolui accipere* Koch; *non accepi* Boot; *reieci* Kl; *nos cum* Wes. codd. lect. accepimus.

sed ut in ea causa] *nos; sed in ea causa* Lamb.; *sed sine causa* M.

sensi, esset] Or. Kl; *sensisse* M.

5. habui] C; *habuit* M.

an sine eo cum] Hofm.; *an si nec cum* M¹; *an sine et cum* M²; *an sine? cum* K.

an quo modo] *an quo amando* Lehmann, coll. Att. vii. 13, 3.

putabit] *putavit* M.

ecferre] *hec ferre* M.

sciemus] *scimus* M.

6. certa] *certe* MC.

non . . . ad bonos] Kl; *non accipere ne periculosum sit invidiosum ad bonos* M; *non accipere me periculosum est; accipere invidiosum* Or.; *non accipere periculosum est ab hoc, accipere, ne periculosum sit, invidiosum ad bonos* (ubi ne usurpatur eodem sensu quo etsi non) coll. Tusc. ii. 14 Lehmann.

quid enim] Kl; *qui enim* M; *qui autem* Or.

in eam partem] Mal.; *mea in parte* M¹; *in ea parte* M².

in Caieta] *Caietae vel in portu Caietae* malit C. F. W. Müller.

7. a consule] Man. coll. Att. viii. 12 a, 3; *ac consulibus* M.

deseri] Or.; *deserit* M¹; *deserere erit* M².

Trebonio] *Petronio* M.

Fadium] Or.; *Fabium* M.

summa autem] marg.; *suam autem* M.

interponens sed] *interponens et* M¹.

EP. CCCXXXIV. (ATT. VIII. 11 c).

Inscr. Cicero Attico Sal. habet M sed deletum.

S. V. B. E.] Lamb., *sub* M¹; om. M².

EP. CCCXXXV. (ATT. VIII. 4).

1. veritus] ante *veritus* intercidisse *verba* opinatur Reid.

contempti cuiusdam] *cont. quondam* Or.; *cont. quibusdam* Kays.; del. Ern.

a Quinto] *atque* M¹ (ut saepe).

efferre] Man.; *efferrem* M.

2. mihi plane] Boot; *mihi. Plane* K.

sine ulla] marg.; *ulla* M; *nulla* I.

3. navem] Asc.; *autem* M.

tuas] Pius; *duas* M.

inde effugisse] M²; *inde fugisse* C; *in die fugisse* M¹.

ire . . . desertum] *nos; in Brundisium desertum* M; *ire Br. desertum* C; fort. *Br. ire, Dom. iri desertum*.

EP. CCCXXXVI. (ATT. VIII. 5).

1. cerritior] Bos.; *certior* M; *acerbior* Kl.

timuisse] *nos; tum cum isse* M vulg.;

'fort. misisse' Btr.

κεράεσσιν] KAEPECCIN.

θυμήναντα] ΘΥΜΕΙΝΑΗΤΑ.

cum dixisset] *cum codd. nos; eum dixisse* Bos. et vulg.

capiti] *capite* M.

sed en meam] *nos; sed in eam* M; *sed meam* Kl.

vehementem] Ern.; *venientem* (pro *vementem*) M.

meis] M; *meum* Vict. *perperam; servum a pedibus meis* del. Ursin. fort. recte.

2. de re] *ins. nos; exspectatione Corfiniensi* M vulg.

decernetur] *decernitur* M²; *decerneret* M¹.

tu] *ut* M.

M¹. Curio inscriptus] C; *de Marco curioni scriptus* M¹; *de Marco curio inscriptus* M²; 'des M¹. Curio' inscriptus Bos. qui ut solet falso citat Z.

et . . . roges] Kl Boot; *ut ut peti . . . roges* M: *ut ei, ut petii . . . eroget* Lamb. Man.

EP. CCCXXXVII. (ATT. VIII. 6).

1. obs. . . . epistola] Kays.; *obsignata iam* M²; *obsignatam ista* M¹.

praetor] P. P. non ut solet P. R. M.

2. XIII.] Corrad.; VIII. M.

scribam] Corrad.; *sciebam* M.

tua sponte te] C; *sua corr. ex suas* M.

intersit] Vict.; *in* M; *interest* marg.

constitueris] *ve; constitueritis* M.

3. Magnum] *magnum* vulg.; *nomen imper.* ut gloss. seclusimus.

nihil nobis obfuit . . . mehercule] M; *imitasset pro mutasset* Z; duas tantum coni. in hoc loco typis mandare operae est:—*spero etiam, quoniam adhuc nihil nobis obfuit nisi levitas et neglegentia, hoc quod nunc fit fortiter et diligenter gestum iri. Etiam mehercule gaudeo: modo enim audiui* Boot; *spero etiam quoniam adhuc nihil nobis obfuit timiditas et neglegentia, hoc quod cum fortiter et diligenter tum etiam mehercule <bonis copiis suscipiatur bene eventurum. De te quoque mehercule:> modo enim audiui* Madv.

5. verecundiam in culpa] *verecundia in culpam* M.

illiberalitatem] *in liberalitatem.*

EP. CCCXXXVIII. (ATT. VIII. 7).

1. et eos . . . habeat] Vict.; *et eos una scisse secum habeat* M; *scis secum habere* C.

et ipse] *ex ipse* M; *secum ipse* C. F. W. Müller.

fallunt] *fallant* M.

deseret] M² sed deletum; *deser* M¹; *de se* marg.

2. memet] corr. ex *meomet* M.

EP. CCCXXXIX. (ATT. VIII. 8).

1. aut] corr. ex *uti* M.

pararat] *parat* M.

ἀπροσφωνήτους] *ἀπροσφωνητος* M.

2. ταῦθ'] Vict.; ΑΙΤΘ M.

καὶ πάντ'] ΚΑΠΑΗΤΗ M.

tradidisse] *tradisse* M.

EP. CCCXL. (ATT. VIII. 9).

1. quoniam eum] Btr.; *quem* M¹; *quo eum* M²; *quum eum* K.

cui] *qui* M.

fuisse, etsi id] *fuiisset si id* (litt. t deleta) M.

2. ne ego] *nec ego* M.

pro tuis] *potius* M¹.

amplioribusne quam] *amplioribusve quam* M²; *amplioribus nequam* M¹.

quintum miliarium] *V miliarium* M.

quid nunc] Vict.; *quod nunc* C; *quod ad nunc* M.

ipsum de se] Boot; *ipsum unde se* M Kl. Wes.

laeto] *taeto* M¹; *tecto* M²; *leto* marg.

3. pridie Kal.] *p. P. M*; *Pr. R*; *praetor I.*

nostras errare] *nostra servire* M¹.

multo minus. Crebro] C; *multo minus movebant minus. Crebro* M.

me illorum] *meliorum* M.

4. occulta via currens] Man.; *occultavit occurrens* M.

cui] *qui* M.

malle] corr. ex *mali* M.

et metuo] corr. ex *id metuo* M.

clementia] corr. ex *dementia* M.

Cinnaeam] nos, coll. clii. 11; *unam* M; *Sullanam* Or.

crudelitatem] *credulitatem* M.

malle] corr. ex *male* M.

credis. Sed] M²; *credidisset* M¹; huius modi error in M¹ identidem reperitur, adeo ut facile colligas *sed* scriptum fuisse *set* in archetypo.

est. Plane] *est plena* M¹; *est plenum* M².

EP. CCCXLI. (ATT. VIII. 10).

quod in nummis] *quot in nummis* M.

solvere] *solveret* M.

volui te] *soluite* M¹; *voluite* M².

scire, et quid] M; *scire quid* vulg.

EP. CCCXLII. (ATT. VIII. 11).

1. lamentari] marg.; *tamen lari* M, praecclarum anagrammatismi exemplum.

tamen] codd. recte; ingeniose sed sine necessitate *lamentari autem licet illud quidem totos dies* coni. Boot.

dedecori sim studiis] R; *dedecoris in studiis* M¹; *dedecori sim in studiis* M²; *ded. sit studiis* Mal.

2. Sullani] *Sillani* M.

3. hariolans] *ariolans* M²; *ariolas* M¹.

ut illa] *utilia* M.

mari] *maria* M.

non multo] M; *tumultu* marg.

quidem alterum] Kl; *qui alterum* M.

†manuunt† nos utrumque] *manuunt nostrumque* M; *metuunt, nos utrumque* vulg.; sed unde irrepsit monstrum illud *manuunt* si Cic. *metuunt*, verbum librariis notissimum, posuit. Malimus verbum aliquod non plane hodierno usu tritum, qualia sunt *infamant* vel *amentant* vel *habent μηνλοντα* vel *inaniunt* audacter positum pro *debilitant* sc. se coniungendo cum altero.

4. aut . . . mancipiis] M (*aut* corr. ex *gaut*); adiungimus correctiones Bootianas atque Madvigianas: *aut* alterius

aut utriusque copiis . . . nec tam singulorum proscriptio pertimescenda . . . quam universorum interitus Boot; aut alterius aut utriusque immanibus copiis (vel vi, manu, copiis) . . . nec tam direptio pertimescenda . . . quam universae interitus Madv.

esse dicitur] Gron.; est igitur M.
universorum] universam M; universe R; universae Asc.; universae Italiae Wes.; universae rei p. Buech.; in universum Kays.

confligendo] Vict.; obligendo M.
habes] habe M.
5. scripserit, scripsit] nos; scripsit M; scripserit vulg.; scripserit, id quod Btr.

7. Magnete] magni te M.
velim] vellem M.

EP. CCCXLIII. (ATT. VIII. 11 d).

1. misissem] codd. recte; nisi eas sine causa Wes. et Boot.

D. Laelio] Corrad.; dialio M.
Quinto] Q. M²; que (ut saepe) M¹.
2. dixit] C; om. M.
3. praesidii] praesidio CM.
Corfinium] Corinthum M¹.
audiimus] Wes.; audimus M.
intenderet] intenderat M.
4. Interim] C; inde primo M.
videbamus neque] M²; videbatur in iis neque M¹.

esse captos] isse captos M.
C. fuissent] C; C. venissent M.
5. fuisset] M¹; fuisse M².
6. vel iniqua] velim qua.
si quae erit] si que erit M¹; si qua erit M².

7. prae me tuli] premet uti M¹.
civili leviora] civile mora M¹.
Deinde] C; inde M.
ad ea] M; ad eas Corrad.
proeliis] preliis M; procellis nescio quis apud Corrad. quem sequuntur Wes. et Boot.

8. vicit] marg.; misit M.

EP. CCCXLIV. (FAM. VIII. 15).

1. qui tantas] quid tantas M.
qui tam nugax esset] Wes.; qui tam nugax esset M; cum tam nugax esset Ern. Btr. Kl.

temperatiorem] temperatorem M.
num tibi] Lamb.; nunc tibi M; non edd.

'gloriose omnia.' Immo si] Wes.;

gloriose omnia. Si M vulg.; gloriose? Somnia! Si C. F. Hermann. Vide Comm.

sim] Lamb.; sum M.
derideas] M; non derideas Wes. (Gronov. non post tum addi voluit).
me cum] M; me Caesar cum Wes.; mecum Caesar cum deleta voc. vocare Pluygers, audacter.

Pompeium] Pompeius M.
nisi si maluit] M Kl Btr. Wes.; nisi maluit Crat.; nisi se maluit con. Wes.
circumsederi] circumsedere M.

2. properandi] properando M.
Sed tamen quod ob] Wes.; sed tum quam ob M; sed tantum quantum ob Benedictus; sed tamen quodnam ob edd. vett. Btr.

Ideo] Lamb.; adeo M; immo con. Lehmann, fort. recte.

Intimeli] intimidi M; Intimilii (Mommsen, C. I. L. V. p. 900, a Mendelss. laudatus).

Bellienus] libri: Billienus Mendelss. coll. Fam. xvi. 22, 2, C. I. L. xiv. 3328. verna Demetrii qui] verna Demetrii que M.

ad arma iit: eo nunc cum . . . cohortibus] Kl Wes.; ad arma iit: eo num cohortibus M; ad arma iit et eo qor cohortibus H (2591) fort. recte, ut pote cum uu (= IIII.) eum qui M scripsit in errorem duxisse possit.

male] mali M.
Venere prognatus] Vict.; venerem propugnatus M.

habuisset] habuisse M.
vestro] nostro H (2591), fort. recte cum Caelius L. Domitium odisset, ut Boot. demonstrat (Obs. Crit. 19).

Psecade natus] Pantagathus, correctione et certissima et luculentissima, nisi forte scribendum Psacade natus quod Mendelss. commendat: ipsa (corr. in ipse) cadenatus M.

EP. CCCXLV. (ATT. VIII. 12).

1. Fadio] Or.; Fabio M.
perexiguo opus] perexiguo tempore opus M.

2. imparatam] I; imperatam iam M¹CZ; imparatam iam M².
delictum] Corrad.; delectus M¹; delectum M²; in delectu Moser.

pacis per L.] M²; paci sperere (cum 'al. sperate al. sprete' superser. at rursus delectis) M¹.

Fabatum] M¹Z; Fabium marg.

3. erat deliberationis] *delib. res* Kahnt.; *delib. omnis* Or.; sine causa ambo.

5. ingemiscens sum] *ingemis censum* M¹.

salubrioribus] Asc.; *salubribus* MZ.

praescribo] *perscribo* M.

6. num cui] *num qui* M.

misi] *mitto* M¹.

EP. CCCXLVI. (ATT. VIII. 15 a).

2. consulem meum] *consulem* del. Weiske, quum sequuntur Wes. Btr.; sed vid. Comm.

ut non] Lamb.; *qui non* M.

etiam atque etiam] FA; *etiam et etiam* M²; *etiam et tam etiam* M¹; *etiam* malit Btr.

3. te prob. scio] Ursin.; *me probaturum sciet* M.

cadere non potuit] *quomodo . . . cadere potuit?* Kays.

confieret] C; *cum fieri eiet* corr. in *cum fieret* M; *transierit* marg.

mei tuique] marg.; *me illudque* M.

scio re tibi] Vict.; *scire tibi* M; *si re tibi* C.

verissimum] nos; *verissime* Man.; *velis summe* MC; *verissime se scripsisse* Wes.

EP. CCCXLVII. (ATT. IX. 7 c).

'Extat haec ep. in Petrarchae vita Caesaris p. 225 ed. Schneid' Btr.

si possumus] M; *si possumus* Petrarcha et Lamb.

Sullam] *Sillam*.

2. N. Magium] Perizonius; *N. Magnum* M.

meo] Man.; *et meo* M.

EP. CCCXLVIII. (ATT. VIII. 13).

1. Brundisinis. Si nactus] M²; *Brun-disii nisi nactus* M¹.

tramisisset] *ira misisset* M¹.

2. res est] M; *res sit* Lamb. vulg. *evenerit* *venerit* M.

EP. CCCXLIX. (ATT. VIII. 14).

1. formidines nostras] CZl; *nostras* om. M et vulg.

debuerit mutum] marg.; *defuerit mutum* M¹.

[quam tu]] secl. C. F. W. Müller. ante Non.] Boot; *ante nos* M.

[a] Corfinio] a secl. Btr. qui confert 'proximum versum et Att. ix. 1, 1' (353).

et iis congiariis] Kl.; *ecusdiariis* M¹; *et iis diariis* marg.; *dictis et dicteriis* quae Bosianis tantum codd. innituntur vix est cur referamus.

2. exstitit] *existit* M²; *existis* M¹.

elicere] *eligere* M¹.

3. Tiburti . . . accessisse] nos tantum non cum Bootio; *Tiburti aut lepidi quo cum lepidus accessisse* M; *modo esse in Tiburti Lepidi haud lepide, modo, cum lepidius, accessisse* auctoribus Graevio et Stuerenburgio Madv.

ait] Vict.; *in te* M¹; *sed* M².

occultis] ins. Lamb.; *itineribus* M; *itineris occultandi* Mur.; *nescio quo penetrasse itineris* coll. Enniano illo quo se flexere viai Peerlk. quem insolita temeritate secutus est Boot.

adipiscendi] M²; *apiscendi* M¹, fort. recte.

ne is quidem] Madv.; *ne id quidem* M.

etiam] Madv.; *enim* M.

EP. CCCL. (ATT. VIII. 15).

1. a. d. v.] *ad quintas* M.

expectas] *spectas* M.

et . . . tendis] M; *et habet* (sc. altera epistola) *Athenionis fugam quam intendis* Kays.; *et aut Haemonis fugam intendis* Ern.; *et ad Chaoniam fugam intendis* praeunte Graevio Sch.; *et Alcmaeonis fugam intendis* Fr. Schmidt; *et hinc Athenas fugam intendis* Gron.

commutationemque] *comm. qui* M.

2. scripsi] Kl.; *scripsi* C; *scribis* M.

ipsi iniquum] C; *ipsi nicum* pro *inicum* M.

folio] *folia* M.

Tullo] Man.; *Tullio* M.

3. nec illos] *nec ullos* M¹.

decerno] Pius; *desero* M.

possem] *possim* M.

me derideri] marg.; *mederi* M¹.

EP. CCCLI. (ATT. IX. 7 a).

1. Nedum] M²; *meum* M¹, qui cod. mox solent om. Madv., qui *nedum* pro *non modo* ferri posse negat, huius modi fuisse totius loci formam suspicatur: BALBUS ET OPPIUS S. D. M. CICERONI IMP. *Etsi, M. Cicero, videmus non modo hominum . . . a plerisque probari, tamen. Sed nedum pro non modo, minime illud quidem*

orationi Tullianae obtrudendum, aequo animo in Balbi epistola ferre possumus.

nos si id] Tunstallus; *nos id* (superscr. *vel nisi*) M.

Pompeii, id eum] *pompei deum*.

non des.] *non desineremus* ins. Kl. et Madv.; *hortaremur* Koch.; *nos nisi id* . . . *hortari desineremus* cum Asc. K.

2. quid hac re] M; *quid de hac re* Btr.

rationi] Boot.; *actioni* MC.

EP. CCCLII. (ATT. VIII. 16).

1. et tutum] Corrad.; *et tum* M¹Zl; *metum* M².

ἀστρατηγητότατον] nos; ΑΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΗΤΟΑΤΑΛΑΤΟΝ M; ἀστρατηγικώτατον vulg.

venditant] *vendicant* M, solito inter *e* et *t* errore.

ut deo] nos; *deum* M¹; *ad deum* M².

2. Quas fieri] *cum fieri* M.

illius iracundiam] *huius iracundiam* M.

Iudices de CCCLX] Iun.; *iudices de CCCL* M; *iudices CCCLX* 'ut sine dubio Iunius' Wes.

Lucerias] M; *minas* C, quae lectio, etsi manifesta hariolatio, placuisse videtur Kaysero et Baitero, qui coniciunt, ille *e Luceria minas*, hic *Lucerinas minas*.

cum ipsi] *cum hiis si* M¹; *Cumis si* M².

αἰδέομαι] ΑΙΔΕΟΛΙΕ M.

dominumque exspecto] Kl; *domum quem exspecto* M; *denique quem exspecto?* Lamb.; *demum* Man.; *domitum* Crat.; *dominum quidem exspecto* Madv.; fort. *deum num quem exspecto?* coll. *quid homo quisquam?* *vix iam deus*, Att. ix. 6, 5 (360).

IIII] *illi* M.

Nonas iam] *non Asiam* M¹.

quod ubi] *quomodo dubii* M¹.

EP. CCCLIII. (ATT. IX. 1).

3. qua maxima] *quam maxime* M.

ἀναπάντητον] ΑΝΑΠΑΝΤΗΚΟΝ M.

lictoribus] *littoribus* M.

et severe] Ald.; *esse vere* M.

simus] *sumus* M.

4. etiam] Madv.; *et tamen* M.

pro quaestore] Or.; *proque* M¹; *prope* M²; *proquaestor* Vict.

liceret] M; *licet* Kays.

accedit] C; *accedent* M; *accesserit* marg.; *accedet* Man.

irasceretur] M¹; *irascetur* M² vulg.

EP. CCCLIV. (ATT. IX. 7 b).

1. S. V. B. E.] *sub* (ut saepe) M. concordiam suam et Pompeii] Wes.; *conc. ut Pompei* M¹; *conc. et Pompeium* M².

2. certo] Man.; *certe* M.

voluntate] M² C; *bonitate* M¹.

iam ab.] Corrad.; *tam ab.* M.

desperatissimam] *desperantissimam* M.

3. Caesare] *Cesari* M.

EP. CCCLV. (ATT. IX. 2).

IIII] Corrad. coll. Att. ix. 10, 8; *III* M.

λῆψιν dedisti] Lamb.; ΔΙΑΛΗΨ *inde dedisti* M.

sententiam] *sententias* M¹; *sentias* M².

EP. CCCLVI. (ATT. IX. 2 a).

1. in xxviratu] *in xxv iratum* M.

2. iure] Boot; *tum* M.

ἀσμενιστον] nos; ἀσμένιστον vulg.

temperatius] Wes.; *temperantius* M vulg.; 'fort. *temperantius se gerat*' Btr.

Vetant mores] Boot; *vita mores* M; *vetant vita mores* vel *vita mores* . . . *constantia cogunt* Lehmann.

EP. CCCLVII. (ATT. IX. 6 a).

meo] Z; *me* M.

et feci] marg.; *effeci* C; *effecit* M¹; *officium* (sed deletum) M².

EP. CCCLVIII. (ATT. IX. 3).

1. cum de eo] M¹; *cum ex eo* M² Wes. servus] *servos* M.

2. Postumum] M¹; *Postumium* M² (ut saepe).

iam quomodo] Kl.; *nam quomodo* M¹; *quomodo* M².

EP. CCCLIX. (ATT. IX. 5).

[natali] seclusimus nos auctore Boot; vid. Comm.

Q.] *que* (ut saepe) M¹.

Fufius] Lamb.; *fusius* M.

Curtium] nescio quis ap. Corrad.; *curtum* M¹; *cur eum* M².

3. nihil aliud] *michi aliud* M.

initio nisi ut] Kl; *initio ut* M; *initio quum ut* vulg.

ego igitur] Kl; *eo igitur* M.

si quidem] Ursin.; *si quid* M; *sicut* Or. Kl; *si quis* alii.

ego vero] C; *et ego vero* M.

mercanda vita puto] *mercanda puto* C; *hec officiam ei candida vita puto* M.

νέα] nos; *ea* M¹ Z; *mea* M²; *alia* Lamb.; *nova* Kl; *meliora* Kays.

EP. CCCLX. (ATT. IX. 6).

1. putare] M; *putavi* Or.
transmisisse nec] *transmississe me nec* M.

Curium] *Curtum* M.

Minucia] M¹; *Minutia* C; *in via Minucia* M²; *via Minucia* Zl.

togam] marg.; *tangam* M¹.

apud] nos, coll. Att. xii. 14, 1; *ad* M.

ac tamen] Kl Wes.; *sectamen* M¹; *sed tamen* M².

2. est et quidem] marg. Lamb.; *est quidem* M¹; *est quidam* M².

Curtium] Vict.; *Curium* C; *certum* M.

3. transiit] *transit* M.

consules et duo] *quidam ap.* Man.; *consules duo et* M.

4. cum . . . possem] C; *cum consilio possem* M¹; *quo uti consilio possem* M².

ἀλλ' ἀλαλύκτῃμαι] ΑΛΛΑΛΛΑΥΚΤΜΑΙ M.

uso] Man.; *usus* M; *usus est* Wes.

illud] M¹; *illuc* M².

5. possis] *potis* Kays.

6. ut quidem] *et quidem* M.

7. initio spes] M²; *miti oспes* M¹.

vita] Bos.; *ut ea* M; fort. *via*.

EP. CCCLXI. (ATT. IX. 4).

1. egeo] *ego* M.

ea temporibus] Asc.; *temporibus* M¹; *e temporibus* M².

excluduntur] *excludentur* M.

θέσεις] *thesis* M.

πολιτικάι] *politice* M²; *pollicite* M¹.

2. τυραννουμένη] om. M.

πραγματευτέον] C; *πρατεον* M.

ἢ εὐλαβ.] Wes.; *εἰ εὐλαβ.* M.

αἴρηται] Bos.; ΕΡΡΘΗΤΑΙ M; ἄρθηται C.

ἢ διὰ] Wes.; *εἰ δια* M.

τυρ. . . . μάλλον] Z; *τυραννοὶ μάλλον* ceteris omissis M.

αὐτήν] Lamb.; *ταυτην* M.

ἢ ἐφετέον] Wes.; *εἰ ἐφετ.* M.

3. ambulavit] Wes. cum C *ut opina-*
tur; *ambulaverit* M.

tuum] *tum* M.

EP. CCCLXII. (ATT. IX. 7).

1. darem] *parem* M.

eo die is] *eos dies* M.

celeripes] M; *celeriter pes* Z; *Callipides* coni. Reid. coll. Att. xiii. 12, 2.

quiddam . . . stillarunt] Btr.; *quastant muta est illi arunt* M; *quiddam . . . instillarunt* Bos. vulg.

fecissem] Ern.; *effecissem* M.

2. fecisti] Post hoc verbum lacunae signa apposui, quam hoc modo explet Lehmann.: *fecisti* <quod me de eius iudicio certiore fecisti> a quo.

et diligi] AF; om. *et* M.

3. scriptas quomodo] M¹; *scriptas litteras quomodo* M².

depecisci] C; *depacisci* M.

λέγω] ΑΕΠΩ M.

hocine] Madv.; *hocne* M.

ut . . . hactenus] Glossatori tribuit Sch.

4. illim] Btr.; *illi* M¹; *illius* M².

explicata] *explicita* M.

5. vagamur] Mal.; *agamur* M.

ὁ πλόος] Btr.; ΟΠΑΟΟΣ M; ὁ πλοὺς vulg.; cp. Hes. Op. 630, 665.

ut illa] *utilia* M.

quam ut] *quamquam ut* M.

noli] *nolui* M.

7. quantum potes] M; *quantum potest* Z.

attulerunt] *attulerunt Cenantibus* M, qui hanc ep. cum octava una tenore coniungit. Epp. 7 ABC ep. octavam hoc ordine sequuntur CBA.

EP. CCCLXIII. (ATT. IX. 8).

1. II Idus] M² Zl AF Wes.; *H. d.* M¹; *pridie* vulg.

quod quaeris] C; *quod modo queris.*

Aulus] C; *Maulus* M¹; *Paulus* M²; *manlius* marg.

profectus est] lacunae signa apposui huius modi verbis explendae: *alter* duos aliquos dies abest *alter multos*. Bosius iuvenisse se ait in cod. suo *alter multos D* (= *dies*).

2. προοπτεύομαι] ΠΡΟΤΙΤΤΕΟΜΑΙ.

EP. CCCLXIV. (ATT. IX. 9).

1. IIII] Man; *ille* M.

adsentio] cum codd. Wes. *adsentior* vulg.

commorer] *commorem* M¹; *commoremur* M².

perlaboroque] *nos*; *plaboque* MA;
perlaborque I; *pertemptaboque* Kl; *palpa-*
boque Bos.; *tentaboque* vulg.

ecquonam] *Lamb.*; *et quonam* M.

possim] *F*; *possem* M.

voluntate] *voluntati* M.

a te comm.] *ante comm.* M.

colligamusque] *colligamus qui* M.

σοφιστεύω] *Bos*; *festivo* MZ.

simul ut rus] *simili urus* MZ.

atque in decursu] *Z*; *atque cursu* M.

2. consules] *consulem* CM¹.

discessu] *Man.*; *dispersu* M; *disper-*
sione *F*; *digressu* *Wes.*

ducetur] *duceretur* M.

Sidone Arado] *Mal.*; *Sidonea Rodo* M¹;
Sidone a Rodo M².

at quam] *Vict.*; *ad quam* M.

3. ais in] *Wes. aliis* M¹, *ais* M².

misi se velle] *misi et se velle.*

consulari] *Corrad.*; *consularis* M; *sen-*
tentiae consularis K.

illud] *illum* M.

coepi tum] *ceptum* M.

numquam] *Man.*; *nusquam* M.

quod maius] *quodam ius* M¹.

quin] *cum* M¹.

τότε] T E T O M.

4. circum illum] M¹; *circum eum illum* M².

Lanuvino] *Crat.*, *Ianuino* M.

optavi si modo] *optavisimo* M.

aliquis] *aliquid* M.

emeret] *CZ*; *om.* M.

sciebam] *Corrad.*; *scribam* M.

enim te quoto] *Crat.*; *eum de quoto* M.

Deli tuum] *C*; *delitium* M.

digamma] *fort. Δ i.e. λοιπόν*, *cp. Att.*
xv. 17, 1; *sed vide ne diagramma verum*
sit.

aestimo] *extimo* M.

Antii quam] *antiquam* M.

H. S. Q.] *Vict.*; *NSQ* M.

†predum] *predum* M; *praedem* vulg.

Sed praedium latere videtur, et nomen
alicuius intercidisse.

Antii cum] *antiquum* M.

venale] *venare* M.

EP. CCCLXV. (ATT. IX. 10).

2. aliud in alio] M²; *aliud a Malio* M¹;
aliud ex alio Ern.

scribere] *Man.*; *scire* M.

alienant . . . sic] *Vict.*; *nos sic dupli-*
cavimus; alienantur immunde insulis unde
decore fit sic M; *alienamur si quid im-*
munde insulse indecore fit *Madv.*; *aliena-*
mur immundae mulieris dedecore *Boot.*

nominatim] *Vict.*; *nomina etiam* M¹;
omina etiam M².

3. concitavit] *ins. Lehm.*

petiit] *petit* M.

crudeliora] *C*; *crudelia* M.

adducere? me] *adduceret me* M.

oblectabat] *Moser.*; *obtentabat* M; *spes*
se quaedam mi ostentabat *marg. Lamb.*

haec haec] *Z*; *haec* M.

fefellerunt] *fellerunt* M.

si vel periculose] *Lamb.*; *sive pericu-*
lose *Z*; *sive periculo* M.

scripsi] *Graev.*; *scripsisti* M.

4. venissem, evolvi] *venisse me volui* M.

ἀλογίστως] ΑΛΟΛΙΣΤΩΣ M.

5. est et cum] *Asc.*; *est cum* M.

facies] *facis* M.

cui quidem] *quod quidem* M.

6. fugamne . . . defendam] *Kl.*; *fidam*
pro suadeam M; *fugamne fidam an moram*
foedam def. Or.; *fugamne citam an moram*
desidem def. Kays.; *fugamne infidam an*
moram desidem def. Boot.

[utiliorem putem]] *secl. nos.*

dispertitos] *dispertim eos* M.

turpe nobis] *turpem nobis* M.

sullaturit] *Quintil. viii. 3, 32*; *si*
illaturi M.

proscripturit] *Asc.*; *proscripturi* M.

γενικώτερον] ΠΕΝΙΚΩΤΕΡΟΝ M; ἀρρε-
νικώτερον *marg.*

7. manendum puto] *dum puto* M.

νέκυιαν] ΗΕΚΤΕΙΝΑ M; ἡ ἐκείνα *marg.*

dubitaras] *Bos.*; *dubitares* M.

8. iam integra] *K*; *in integra* M.

III Non] M²; *illi Non.* M¹.

ὑπὸ τὴν λήψιν] *Vict.*; ΥΠΟΤΠΑΠΨΙΝ
M; ὑπογραφὴν C.

gaudeo te mansisse] *marg.*; *gaudeo*
tamen sis secum M.

ἀσμενιστόν] *nos*; ἀσμένιστον *vulg.*

10. opus . . . aliis] *Bos.*; *opus esse*
consciis ego aliis M.

tute] *Boot*; *tu te* *vulg.*

EP. CCCLXVI. (ATT. IX. 11 a).

2. duo delegi] CM¹; *duos legi* M².

3. omnibus te precibus] *marg. Lamb.*;
omnibus et precibus M.

me e paucis et ad utriusque] *Bos.*; *me*
et pacis et utriusque M.

amicum ad vestrum] *ins. Lehmannus.*

EP. CCCLXVII. (ATT. IX. 11).

1. in Appia] M¹; *Appia via* M².

in . . . occultans] *in ortis sues occul-*
tans M.

2. auctor otii] *auctor otii* M²; *authoritati* M¹.

νέκυιαν] NEKEIAN M.

3. illa] *illos* Sch.; *illic* Or.; *illinc* Kays.

qui . . . attendere] *Lehm.*; *qui pro prudentia potuit attendere* Madv.; *qui prudentiam potius ostenderet* Boot; *quae portenta putas afferre?* Wes.

Sullos] *si illas* M.

4. has pestes] *has petis* M.

nostri] *Man.*; *nostris* M.

illic] *Mal.*; *illuc* M.

quid autem Faustum] *quid Faustum* C; *quidem austum* M¹; *quid Emastium* M².

μικροψυχίαν] C; *μακροψυχίαν* M.

Gnaei] *Vict.*; *nec* M.

εύδαίμονα] EYAMMON M.

iam Hispaniam] *Wes.*; *in Hispaniam* M.

iam nostrum earum] *M.*; *iam tantum earum* Mur. Kl; *tam longum earum* Corrad.; *amplius trium dierum* Müller.

EP. CCCLXVIII. (ATT. IX. 12).

1. legeram] *Or.*; *legerem* M¹; *legebam* M².

possum] *Man.*; *possem* M.

executi sumus] *simus* M.

illum Mucianum] *ille micianum* M.

3. circumscedit] *Btr.*; *circumset et* M; *circumsidet* marg.

consequentur] C; *sequentur* M.

adferent] *adferrant* M.

4. Ecquidnam] *Bos.*; *et quidnam* (ut saepe) M.

ad finem] F; *ad finis* M¹; *ad fines* M²; *Ecquis—nam est tui consilii—finis* Boot.

cuidam] Kl; *quidam* M¹; *quidem* M².

mallem fuissem] *Btr.*; *mallem fuisse* M.

quod optem] *Ern.*; *quid optem* M.

liberemur] *Bos.*; *liberetur* M.

EP. CCCLXIX. (ATT. IX. 13, 1-7).

1. quid enim esset] *Wes.*; *quid enim est* M.

huius quidem rei] *Wes.*; *huius rei quidem* vulg.

2. ne cogitari] *nec cogitari* M.

me . . . iubeat] *Corrad.*; *mihi . . . iubeat* M.

3. illa extuli] *Man.*; *illam* M.

posset] *marg.*; *possem* M.

etiam] *Bos.*; *et iam* M.

ecquam] *Bos.*; *et quam* M.

plane nescio] *Bos.*; *plane scio* M.

illecti sumus] *illectissimus* M¹; *dilecti sumus* M²; *lecti sumus* Z.

possim] *possum* M.

4. ἐλάπιζεν] CAAPIZEN.

peditum] *excidit numerus aliquis sive decem millia* sive CCIDD.

sex] *Bos.*; *se* M.

Italiae] *Madv.*; *alie* M¹; *ille* M²; *ut ille* Bos.

ludum] MZFA; *dudum* Or. vulg.

ac . . . significasses] *Graevio auctore Sch.*; *ac vellem, scribis, quisnam hic significasset* M.

sedet iste] *Bos.*; *sed et iste* M; *sed et istum* Mal.

fecit] *Post fecit ins. amatur* Mal.

δέησεις] AIPECTC.

μεμ. ἀν.] MEMEIGMENPK M; *μεμιγμένοι ἀνάγκη* C.

5. occultationem] *Vict.*; *occulte fionem* M.

suppeterent] *Ern.*; *suppetant* M.

sciemus] *Corrad.*; *scimus* M.

6. moverent me] *moverent ne* M.

volui Q.] *Bos.*; *voluique* M.

cuperem emere si] *Ern.* *me cuperem me me est* M.

viderem] *Man.*; *ut de re in* M.

7. legamus intellegis] *Wes.*; *intelligamus* M.

ex illo libello] *Beroaldus*; *exilio libelli* M.

qui in] *quin* M.

prospecta re] *Boot.*; *prospectaret* M, *perspecta re* vulg.; *prospectu maritimo* Koch.; *prospera re* Gron.; *prosperitate* Peerlk.

EP. CCCLXX. (ATT. IX. 13 a).

1. N. Magium] *Cn. magnum* M¹; *Cn. magium* M².

2. proficere] *proficiscere* M¹.

EP. CCCLXXI. (ATT. IX. 13, § 8).

tene] *Bos.*; *nec* M.

N. Magium] *Petrarcha*; *nūm magnum* M¹; *magium* M²; *Cn. Magium* marg.; *Numatium Magium* C.

Balbi] *albi* M.

ubi] *Vict.*; *ube* M; *uberem* I.

merum] *mecum* M.

EP. CCCLXXII. (ATT. IX. 14).

1. ecce tibi] M²; *et a te ibi* M¹; *et ad Oppium* Or.

- conamur] *conamus* M¹, fort. recte.
 exitu] *exitum* M.
 2. se? ecquid] *sex ex quid* M¹; *se et quid* M².
αὐθεντικῶς] marg.; ΘΕΝΤΙΚΩΣ M.
 Curionem] M¹; *Curione* M².
 fecisset: se ambire reditionem] nos, praeunte cum con. *a se dari reditionem* Madvigio; *fecisset ad ambitionem* M; *fecisset ad ambitionem; a se, quibus fuisset* Ern.; *ab hoc* (i.e. Pompeio) *lege de ambitu nova, quibus . . . fuisset, eiectos, ab illo* (i.e. Sulla) Man.
 arma contra. Haec] Lamb.; *arma hec contra* M.
 qui de suo illa] nos; *quis ulli* M; *qui nulli* Herm. Wes.; *qui illa nulli* Boot.
 quid agam] *qui agam* M.
 illim equidem] Vict.; *illi me quidem* M.
 Anteros] Bos.; *ante pios* M.
 quidem litt.] Btr.; *quidem quinte litt.* M; *quidem quidquam litt.* Kl.; *quidem quid litt.* vulgo.
 3. at] *ad* M¹.

EP. CCCLXXIII. (ATT. IX. 15).

1. et hic . . . fore] Madv.; *et hoc mihi et* M.
 posuit] marg.; *possit* M.
 2. primas eius actiones] *prima eius actionis* M.
 etsi, si] Btr.; *et si* M; *at si* Lamb.
 3. τέτλαθι κύντερον] TETΛAKYNTEPON M.
 erat enim] *erit enim* M.
 in mentem venit] *in mentem ei venit* M.
 sed tu ubi omnia qui] nos; *sed tu omnia qui consilia* M; *omnia quidem cons.* Kl; *omnia quippe cons.* Kays.
 mihi hunc] marg.; *mihi nunc* M.
 4. T. Rebilum] Bos.; *Trabilius* M.
 ἄλλα μὲν] ΛΑΜΕΝ M.
 †et . . . illa est via†] M; *neque descripta attulit illa Lucius e via* Tunstall.; fort. *sed rescripta attulit L. illa Sestii vel* σησιώδη; vid. Comm.
 5. quam sim] Vict.; *quam sit* M.
 quodam modo] Pius; *quonam modo* M.
 aestimes] *extimes* (ut saepe) M.
 puto] *toto* M.
 Philargyro bene] *Philargyro bene curasti* Kl fictum Bosii cod. secutus; sed *curare* Cic. non iungit cum dativo.
 6. cum] secl. Mal.
 habuit] *habuerit* M.
 pauculos] M²; *paulos* M¹; *paucos* Man.: cp. Att. v. 21, 6.

habebamus] *habeamus* M.
 sedulo] Crat.; *scevola* M.

EP. CCCLXXIV. (ATT. IX. 16).

1. quod scriberem] Mal.; *quid scriberem* M.
 exspectat] M²: *expecto* CM¹.
 Corf. illam] secl. nos.
 triumpho gaudio] Lamb.; *triumpho gaudeo* ZM¹; *triumpho et gaudeo* M².
 hanc . . . poterit] M; *nec ideo habebam gratiam illi: neque enim aliter facere poterat* Madv.

EP. CCCLXXV. (ATT. IX. 17).

1. ad urbem veniam] *ut ad urbem veniam* Mal.; *ad urbem ut veniam* Wes.; nos adsentimur Bootio in brevi sententia non opus esse tali additamento censi.
 Kal.] *Kalendas* M.
 praecipio] F; *preripi* M¹; *precipit* M²; *praeripio* multi edd.
 Istic] *istum* M.
 2. Curio] *Curione* M.
 ecquid] *et quid* (ut saepe) M.
κινδυνώδη] Ern.; *ne id modo* M¹; *ne id modo* M²; *inni admodo* Zl; *κινδυνώδης* Bos.
 in magnis] *eo magnis* M.
 sollicitat] Lamb.; *sollicitant* M.

EP. CCCLXXVI. (ATT. IX. 18).

1. tardiores fore reliquos] Vict.; *tardioris fore belli quos* M.
 veniremus] Wes.; *venerimus* M; *veremus* cod. Helmstad.
 si nos non] F; *si in his non* M¹; *sinus non* M².
 de Gnaeo] *digne eo* M.
 vero ista dici] *vero est adici* M.
 summa fuit . . . deliberarem] Wes. secuti in interpungendo dedimus loco constructionem quae antehac nulla fuit.
 me amavi] *meam aut* M¹; *me amabo* M².
 2. νέκυια] NETEIA M.
 in qua erat] fort. *errat*.
 †tero sceleri] M¹; *aro vel aro sceleri* M²; *Eros Celer* Zl; *area scelerum* Hofm.; *ἐρεσχελία* Or.; *mera scelera* Koch.; *κέρας scelerum* Kays.; *in qua ego Τειρεσίας* Herm.; *in qua erat Eros Celeris* Lamb. Wes. Sed quorsum tendit horum mentio? Quid si errarunt edd. omnes sub verbis corruptis *scelera* quaerentes? Nos Grae-

cum aliquid odorati sensum saltem idoneum loco dedimus, *O feras* ὦ λῆροι scripsisse Tullium censes. Vid. Comm.

Quid . . . Tulli] Lamb.; *quid Servi filius quot ut* M; *quid quod Servii filius quod Titinii* Zl; sed Lamb. in adn. ad. ed. 1584, coll. Att. x. 3 a, 2, monet hic orat. esse de *Tullo* non de *Titinio* qui alibi apparet in Epp. Tullianis.

sex legiones] *sed legiones* M.

Hac . . . extremum] *seclusimus* nos ut gloss. in κατακλείς.

3. κατακλείς] Zl; KATAKIC M.

descensurum] *discensurum* M.

ΑΛΛΤΕΛΑΝ] M (corrigere sodes typographetae errorem ΑΛΛΤΕΛΣΑΝ in textu ponentis); λαλαγεῦσαν Bos. vulg.; πλαταγεῦσαν nullo sensu Hofm.; oratio videtur esse de epistola quae oraculi ritu dubitationem omnem tolleret; fort. igitur scripsit Cic. ἀνελοῦσαν in animo habens illud ἀνεῖλεν (ἡ Πυθία); fort. autem ἄλλην τελέαν; vel σκυτάλαν, quod verbum posuit in ep. ad Att. x. 10, 3.

malim] Boot.; *mallem* vel *male* M²; *malum* M¹ et vulg.

4. πολιτικήν] ΠΟΕΙΤΙΚΗΝ M.

EP. CCCLXXVII. (ATT. IX. 19).

1. turpem] *turbe* M¹.

universos] *universus* M.

umquam] *nunquam* M; *non quam* marg.

2. fuisset] M; *fugissemus* Gron.; *si statim una fuisset* Kays.; *ivissemus* Lamb. Wes.

Italia cessit] *Italiam gessit* M.

facio] *facto* M.

ea quae . . . certe] *eque fiunt. Itaque quae certe* M.

possum] Bos.; *possunt* M.

sed quid . . . enim] *sed qui referret enim* M.

erit imm.] Vict.; *eriti mitissimus* M¹; *erat immitissimus* M².

sentiamus . . . vellem] Gron.; *sententiam ut nichil novi nisi id quod minimum vellem* M.

3. petemus] *petimus* M, et mox *abdimus*.

4. Cephalioni] Man.; *Chepaloni* M.

EP. CCCLXXVIII. (ATT. X. 1).

1. Laterium] *laterum* M¹; *lacterium* M².

paullum resp.] M; *paullum lectis resp.* Crat.

iudicio comprobari] M¹; *iudicio me compr.* M².

inquit] *quid* M.

ἀσπουδεί γε καὶ ἀκλειῶς] ΑΣΠΟΤΑΕΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΕΙΟΣ M qui ἀπολοίμην omittit non temere ut verbum infaustum et occasione minime idoneum.

2. longinquum] Crat.; *longum cum* M.

me inde tenes] Bos.; *meum detines* M; *me valde tenes* Or.; *animum meum de eo tenes* Wes.; *metu me tenes* Boot.

qui enim] Wes.; *quid enim* M.

iamiam] Gron.; *etiam* M; *iam* Or.

neglegam] *nec legam* M.

nisi si tu] Vict.; *nisi situ* M¹; *nisi tu* M².

illim] Or.; *fili* M.

praecipiam] I; *preripiam* M.

3. alicunde] recte (= *ab aliquo*) M; *aliunde* I vulg.

exercitu et prov.] *exercitum et provinciam* M.

nummarius] Man.; *summarius* M, quae lect. placet Turnebo; vid. Comm.; *summanus* Gron.

ei potest] *et potest* M.

eant et redeant] Vict.; *cantent rideant* M; *eant redeant* K, fort. recte.

quod iam] Man.; *quid iam* M.

tamen] *tam* M.

ut non] ins. nos; *probi est magnum sit* M; *probi est. Magnum est* Or. vulg.

σκέμμα] nos; ΣΚΕΜΜΑΤΑ M: σκεμμάτων C et vulg.

tuaque] *tuque* M.

ὑπέρευ] Corrad.; ΙΠΕΡΕΙ M; *τέρπει* marg.

delectavit] *delectabit* M.

4. Maconi] M; μακρόν Πορμα; ἄκρον Tunstall.; ἐνδόμυχον Or.; φάρμακον Boot; *malum* Wes.; μακωνίον vel μακωνεῖον nos.

πολιτευτέον] ΠΟΛΕΙΘΕΥΤΕΟΝ M.

at hoc quod] *ad hoc quod* M²; *ad hoc quidem* M¹.

agimus et turpe] Man.; *agimus nec turpe* M; *agimus turpe* Btr.; *agimus nunc turpe* Kl.

me legatum] R; *elegatum* M.

leger] Corrad.; *legerer* MFA; *legarer* R.

EP. CCCLXXIX. (ATT. X. 2).

1. ut inde] Wes.; *et inde* M¹ vulg.; *del. et inde* M².

adferretur] *afferreretur* M.

agi possunt] *agi possint* M.

λαλαγεῦσα] Bos.; ΜΜΤΕΤΑ M.

2. peritorum] *temporum* Boot; *ventorum* Gron.; fort. *peritiorum* vel *piratarum* vel *prodromorum* vel *perditorum* (cp. Att. x. 12, 4) vel denique τῶν περιεστώτων.

inimicum esse nolo] M¹; volo M², quam lect. amplectitur Or., sed temere; vid. Comm.

EP. CCCLXXX. (ATT. X. 3).

quod scriberem] *quid scr.* (ut saepe) M.

eequi] *et qui* (ut semper) M.

ut igitur] *cum igitur* M¹.

EP. CCCLXXXI. (ATT. X. 3 a).

1. pridie] *P. R.* (ut saepe) M.

fugerim] *fugerem* M.

2. Tullum] *Tulium* non *Tullium* M.

dubitarint] *Wes.*; *dubitarent* M.

EP. CCCLXXXII. (ATT. X. 4).

1. ac depl.] *Ern.*; *at* M.

Enim iam quam] *Lamb.*; *enim tanquam* M¹; *enim quam* M².

vitae] *vite* marg.; *ultra* M.

amisimus] *marg.*; *amicissimos* M.

3. sublevabat] *marg.*; *suplebat* M.

quidem, qui se] *que se quidem* M¹; *qui se quidem* M².

4. quacum illi] *nos*; *qua illi* M vulg.

5. praeclara] *marg.*; *praelata* M.

consc.] *scientia* marg.; *sententia* M.

nisi pie] *Bos.*; *infidie* M¹; *infide* M².

quorum est iam] *Lamb.*; *quorum ut iam* M¹; *quorum iam* M².

quia non tamen] *nos*; *non tam quia* M; *non tam quia filius quam quia* Mal.; *etiam quia* Peerlk.

plura] *Or.*; *plurima* M.

6. ipsius] *ipsi ut* Or.

videremur] *Madv.*; *videmus* M.

cum eo de meo] *Lamb.*; *cum eodem* eo M.

in hac vita et fuga] *AF*; *in hac fuga* M.

indulgentiam] *Man.*; *diligentiam* M. haec] *Vict.*; *M nec* M¹; *nunc* M².

7. igitur eius modi] *Lamb.*; *eius igitur modi* M.

id his litteris] *Sch.*; *id in litt.* M.

8. apud me] *Lamb.*; *ad me* M K1 *Wes. vulg.*

occultavit] *occultabit* (errore crebro) M.

mali] *Or.*; *illi* M; *belli* Man.

fuisse] *C*; *esse* M.

plebem] *Vict.*; *legem* M.

9. quem exemplum] M¹AF; *quod exemplum* M²; *quem exitum* Mal. *Madv. Wes.*; *quem eventum* Boot.

exisset] *Koch. coll. Att. x. 7, 3*; *esset* M.

nam non] *fort. num.*

odit senatum] *I Wes. Boot*; *odit senatum ad senatum me* M¹; *odit senatum a senatu a me* M²; *odit senatum. 'A senatu? A me' vulg.*

cur autem sex] *C*; *autem sex* M¹; *aut sex* M².

10. causam si in] *Gron.*; *causas in* M¹; *causa si in* M².

ad quae] *Lamb.*; *atque* M.

recessum] *Vict.*; *recessurum* M.

est profectum] *Man.*; *est virum profecto* M.

11. dixerit . . . ad se deferri] *Ern.*; *dixerim . . . sed deferri* MC.

facere solet] *Or.*; *faceret* M.

debere] *Ursin.*; *debet* M. Totum locum sic emendat Koch: *amicissimum mihi Caesarem esse. 'Dubito equidem' inquam. 'Scripsit ad me Dol.' 'Dic quid.'*

inquit] *R*; *unquam* M.

scripsisse] *scripsisset* M.

quid quaeris . . . levata est] *Bos.*; *quid queris atque vilebat. Est* M; *quid quaeris atque vi lebata est* Z.

sermonis Hirtiani] *sermone Lurtiani* M.

esse nobis] *esset nobis* M.

ad id quod pro] *Kays*; *que pro* M.

sed velim] *C*; *se velim* M.

12. Oppios] *Vict.*; *optimos* M qui mox pro enim habet cum.

vanum] *Gron.*; *unum* M; *nullum* Pius.

et cetera, quoniam commoror] bene lect. defendit Lehmannus (Quaest. Tull. p. 108); vid Comm.; coniecturis variis locum sollicitant edd.; *in navem et recta. Quo iam commoror? Or.*; *in navem escendam? nam cur iam commoror?* Boot.

EP. CCCLXXXIII. (FAM. VIII. 16).

Alterum huius epistolae exemplum (A) invenitur inter Epp. ad Atticum x. 9 a, quod aliquando lectiones praebet praestantiores (A = Med. 49, 18).

1. Exanimatus] *A*; *exanimatus sum* M.

nihil nisi triste] *M*; *nonnichil triste* A²; *nihil triste* A¹.

id quid] M; *id quod* A; *id per quod* Crat.

perscripsisti . . . cogitares] A; *perscripsi non tamen qualis esset quod cognita res* M.

te oro et obsecro] A; *oro obsecro* M.
praedixisse] A; *praedixi* M; *praedixi* Mendelss.

parta victoria] A; *partha victa victoria* M.

fore] M; *forte* A.

Caesaris] A; *Caesar* M; *Caesari* Or. vulg.

exiit] *exilit* M; *exit* A.

mehercules] A; om. M.

deprecationi] A; *depraecatio* M.

2. carae] AM; *curae* Crat.

valet] M; *valemus* A. Vid. Comm.

quoniam] M, vide ad Fam. viii. 1, 1 (192); *cuius* A.

quod offensae fuerit] M; *quod defense fuerint* A; *quot offense fuerint* A marg.

subisse] M; *subesse* A.

victorem Caesarem] A; *victorem* (om. *Caesarem*) M.

quem] A; *quam* M.

quos] A²; *quod* MA¹.

optimatem] A; *ad optatim* M.

quid optimum] M; *quod optimum* A.

3. Quod porro] M; *quid porro* A.

4. mihi] MA²; *nisi* A¹.

Have] M; *habe* A.

exposuit] M; *ea posuit* A.

Negavi] A; *negavit* M.

scire sed tamen] M; *scire tamen* A.

esses] A; *esse* M.

percurrissem] A² Crat.; *percurrissem* M; *pervicurrissem* A¹.

omni vi te retinuissem] A²; *omni vitae retinuissem* M; *omni utteret. Inuissem* A¹.

5. ne te sciens] A¹M; *nec te sciens* A².

demittas unde exitum] *dimittas unde de exitu invides* A; *demittasum de exitum* M.

ves] AM; *videas* Harl. (2591) fort. recte.

iactationem] A; *iactatione* M.

potes] A; *potest* M.

quae iam erunt confecta. Id si feceris] A; *quae tam erunt confeceris* M.

EP. CCCLXXXIV. (ATT. X. 5).

1. certi] *certe* M.

2. Quinto] Vict.; *quodam* M, fort. recte.

Ἀρκαδιάν] APKAIAN M.

molestior] Vict.; *modestior* M.

ero] *pro* M.

detuli ac] Graev.; *deculia ac* M; *de Tullia ac* RI.

3. Vettienus] Ursin.; *Vectinus* M.

satis hominis] *satis est hominis* M.

dixisset se HS L.] Or.; *dixisset esse* l. M.

ei stomachosius] Man.; *et isto madio si vis* M.; *et istomacho si vis* C.

ioco] *loco* M.

EP. CCCLXXXV. (ATT. X. 8 b).

1. quo integra] M¹; *qua integra* M².

videbere] Vict.; *ut deberes* M.

peto] *puto* M.

EP. CCCLXXXVI. (ATT. X. 6).

1. tamen res stat: ἰτέον] nos; *et tamen recitet et* M; *tamen retice* Vict.; *tamen reticeto* K.; quae lect. olim placuit Wes., sed nunc acute videt in *recitet et latere ire certum est* simileve aliquid. “Quod astute Cicero nihil erat acturus eo explicatur quod constituerat, sive vinceret Caesar in Hispania sive non vinceret, ex Italia exire; cf. Att. viii. 1 et 2.” Wes. Em. alt. p. 120 Nos “simile aliquid” invenimus quod a litt. ductu longe propius abest. Et ante tamen oritur ex dittographia ultimae syllabae in *quidlibet*. Fort. malit quis tamen πᾶξ, ἰτητέον. Facile potuit talem depravationem subire codex qui pro κινδυνώδη exhibet *ni id modo* ccclxxv. 2; qui pro *συμάθειαν* dat. *sim.* ΠΑΕΙΑΝ ccxcii. 10; qui *εὐδαίμονα*, notum voc., in ETAMMON corrumpit ccclxvii. 4; qui denique pro *σοφιστεύω* nihil melius habet quam *festivo* ccclxiv. 1.

etiam] Mal.; *et tamen* M.

2. filio] Corrad.; *fratre* M.

fit a] Bos.; *ita* M; nos verba *fit sedulo* ex Terentio desumpta esse significavimus. prudenter me mones] C; *prudenter memores* M¹; *prudenter memoras* M².

EP. CCCLXXXVII. (FAM. IV. 1).

SER] *Servilio* MH.

SUPLICIO] H; *suspicio* M.

1. C. Trebatius] *contrebatius* MP; *cum trebatius* H.

quaesisse] H; *quaesese* M.

non vidisses . . . accessissem] M; om. HP.

propius] H; *proprius* M.

nos] H; *nostro* M.

absens te] M; *absente* P; *absens* H.

autem cum] M; *autem tum cum* HP.

tuum] om. P.

esse] H; *essi* M.
 videmur] Crat.; *videbimur* MH; *vide-*
bamur P.
 posse reip.] *reip. posse* P.
 praecepta te] H; *praecepte* M.
 cum me] H; *mecum me* M.
 2. mihi venire] *venire mihi* H.
 quod sperem... quod] P. Lamb. Wes.;
quid sperem... quid MH.
 Trebatioque] *trebatio* P.
 communi sententia] M²HP; *communis*
in sententias M¹; *de communi sententia* Or.
 omnes homines] libri; *omnes bonos* Or.
 coll. Fam. v. 2, § (15).
 Vale] om. H.

CCCLXXXVIII. (ATT. X. 7).

1. quin] *qui* M.
 Melitae] Vict.; *militia et militiae* M.
 2. praeclara *συνοδία*] *declara syno-*
dia M.
 3. vixit] *visit* M² I
 disciplina] *disciplinam* M.
 regemus] Ern.; *regimus* M.
 Opp. vel.] *Oppio villensibus* M.
 cum] *quem* M.
 videbamus] *videamur* M.

EP. CCCLXXXIX. (FAM. IV. 2).

SER. SVLPICIO] H; SERVILIO SVSPICIO
 M.

1. Kal] *idus* P.
 Maias] M; *Maii* H.
 tuas litteras] M; *litteras tuas* HP.
 cognovi] M; *agnovi* HP.
 venisset... misisset] M; *venit set...*
misit HP.
 2. meum] *mecum* libri.
 capere] *caperes* libri.
 ipse] M; *ipsi* HP.
 rectissimum sit] om. *sit* H.
 3. qua cum] *quanquam* M¹; *quam cum*
 M².
 esset] *esse* H.
 gratiam] *gratia* MH.
 inire] M; *in re* H.
 defendenda] *defensa* P.
 arbitrabamur] *arbitramur* H.
 deducta] *ducta* H.
 sit. Ergo] H; *siterogo* M; *sit ego* P.
 ea] om. P.
 quorum] MH; *quarum* Crat.
 4. discedendum] M; *discendum* H.
 esse] om. H.
 miserior res] M; *miseriores* H.
 quod non incurrat] M; *quod incurrat*
 (om. non) H.
 iam statutum] H; *iam statum* M.

EP. CCCXC. (FAM. V. 19).

1. quo liberius] MH; *quod liberius* P.
 esse posset tuum] *esset posset tuum* M;
esse posset (om. *tuum*) HP.
 et ex his] Martyni-Laguna, Btr. coll.
 Fam. v. 13, 1; *et his* M; *ex his* HP.
 quo] M; *quod* H.
 quidquam] om. H.
 potest] om. P.
 2. habebo] *habere* libri.
 arbitrabor] M; *arbitror* H.
 Quid rectum] edd.; *quod rectum* libri.
 si nos ii sumus] Crat. Wes.; *si nosti*
simus M; *si nos simus* (sumus H) HP.
 quae sint] Wes.; *quae sunt* MH.
 Quare tu] edd.; *quae tu* libri; *tu* (om.
quae)¹ Streicher, cuius disputationi impru-
 dentes iniuriam fecimus in Comm.; vid.
 Corrigenda.
 poterit] libri; *poteris* Crat. Wes. Sed
 vid. Comm.

EP. CCCXCI. (ATT. X. 8 a).

1. falsum esse] *falsa esse* M²; *falsā*
agnosce M¹.
 Te iturum] I; om. M.
 dignitas] marg.; *designatus* M.
 ζηλοπυρία] *zelotipia* M²; *zelotipea* M¹.
 meo... iudicare] C; om. M.

EP. CCCXCII. (ATT. X. 8).

2. nequit] Koch.; *non necesse est* Or.;
non potest vel non debet alii.
 sin trahitur] Lamb.; *si cum trahitur*
 M¹; *si trahitur* M².
 Persae] *per se* M.
 3. Tacita] *tanta* Boot, sed sine causa.
 poterit ind.] Vict.; *poterit id indignitas*
 M¹; *poterit in id dignitas* M²; qu. *tacuisse*
poterit id ind.?
 poterunt] *potuerint* M.
 Clodium] Man.; *cloelium* (frequenti
 errore) M.
 C. Ateii] Bos.; *Cateli* M.
 quidem] *quid* M.
 an ei] *an et* M.
 venditemus] C; *vendicemus* M.
 quicum coniuncti ne cum] *qui cum*
coniunctione cum M.
 voluimus] Man.; *volumus* M.
 4. itaque] Sch.; *ita quem* M.
 quod... tantum] Mal.; *quod malus*
 ('vel maius vel malum' in marg.) scilicet
 tantum MZ; *quod maius scelus aut tantum*
denique Mal. Wes.; *quod malum scilicet*
tantum? denique Kl Boot.

anuival . . . absentis] M¹; *an in valde hic in abentis* M²; *an, huius maledicta in absentes* Kl; *an invadentis in absentes* Hofm.; *an cuius adhuc in absentis solus tuli scelus* Madv.; *an cuius invalidi et hinc absentis* Gron.; *an invalidi huius et absentis* Wes.; *an qui iram huius amentis solus tuli, scelus eiusdem* Boot; totum locum sic emendat Kays.; *quod maius scelus et immanius ? denique quod turpius ? an qua valide huic obstans eius solus tuli scelus, eiusdem . . . non feram* Kays.; *eadem* (sc. opera) saltem pro eiusdem Kaysero commendare nobis liceat.

5. Non si simul . . . transieramus] nos; *non simul . . . transierimus* M; *non simul . . . transiimus* Nipperdeius; "*non simul . . . transierimus*" Wes.; *cur non simul . . . transierimus* Kl; <nam si quis reprehenderit quod> *non simul . . . transierimus* Koch.

condimus . . . possimus] codd.; *contendimus . . . possemus* cum Nipperdeio plerique edd. recentes.

ea me res] Bos.; *eam res* M¹; *ea res* M². si esset, iratum mihi] *si esset rata michi* M.

verens] M¹; *vereris* M².

adsequor] Bos.; *assequar* M.

6. nec haec] M¹; *non haec* M².

Atto] Or.; *Attico* M; *Attio* alii.

florētissimus . . . diebus] Man.; *florētis ac novos ut uti diebus* M.

perditae] *perditi* M.

venerit] *veniret* M.

aerario] Vict.; *afranio* M.

utetur] Kays.; *utatur* M.

7. vicem] codd.; *vice* edd. nonnulli, male.

in . . . mori] verba a multis seclusa in Comm. vindicavimus, neque etiam suo corrigendum esse docuimus.

in exsilio] *in* ins. Wes.; quod facile post quam excidere potuit.

censueris] Bos.; *censuerunt* M.

Thucydides] *chydides* M¹; *tuhydides* M².

παρόντων] ΠΑΡΟΝΤΑ M.

ἐλαχίστης] ΕΛΑΧΙΣΤΟΥ M.

κράτιστος . . . μελλόντων] ΠΑΤΕΙΣ-ΘΥΤΝΩΑΙΤΩΝΑΕΜΕΑΩΝ M.

πλεῖστον] ΠΛΕΙΣΤΟ M.

τοῦ . . . ἀριστος] ΤΟΥΤΕΝΙΟΝΕΝΘΥ-ΑΡΙΣΤΟ M.

καὶ] ΚΑΤ M.

ἐν . . . ἔτι] ΕΝΤΟΙΑΦΑΝΕΙCΤΙ M.

fuisse illa] Lamb.; *fuisse et illa* M²; *fuisse et illa* M¹.

tamen] *tam* M.

accidet] Man.; *accidit* M.

8. futurum] *futuram* M.

paream] M¹ C; *pareamus* M².

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9. sint] Boot; *sunt* M; *sunto* Koch. nec hercule] Hofm.; *ne hercule* M. est στοργή, est] Lamb.; *sit* ΣΤΟΡΓΗC sit M.

10. ne] ins. Lehmann; *re nimis* vulg.; *remis* M.

συμπάθειαν] sim. ΠΑΕΙΑΝ M.

Hispaniis] *hispanis* M.

Antonio] *anio* M.

velle] Or.; *vellet* M.

civili bello] Wes.; *libello* M; *bello* vulg.

uti] *ut* M.

possim] Wes.; *possem* M; *posse* Lahmeier.

Curione. Is.] *curionis* M¹; *curio is* M².

EP. CCCXCIII. (ATT. X. 9).

1. dubitabat] Vict.; *dubitabit* M¹; *dubitavit* M².

coniunxisset se] Bos.; *coniunxisse* M; *dicitur Petreius coniunxisse se* Boot.

quid] F; *quod* M.

2. unicum filium] Corrad. et Man.; *unicam filiam* M; sed vid. ep. Caelii § 2.

dignatione] codd.; *dignitate* Lamb. Wes. vulg.

3. quo] F; *quod* M.

adigit ita] Bos.; *adicit a* M.

et Servius filius] Bos.; *et servi fili* M.

[Adn. crit. in Att. x. 9a invenietur sub ep. cccclxxxiii.]

EP. CCCXCIV. (FAM. II. 16).

M. CAELIO] corr. ex *marcellio* M; nullam praescriptionem exhibent HP.

1. habent] Kl; *haberet* libri.

qui . . . iacentem] om. H in textu; add. in ima pagina.

desciscerem] *descisserem* M.

fugi] M; *fui* HP.

2. est] om. H.

meum . . . Nosti enim] om. H.

licitorum] *letorum* H.

iam] M; om. HP.

in vocolas] M; *involas* HP.

malevolorum] *malevorum* M.

facillime sum] M¹A; *sum facillime* M².

qui] MP; *quod* H.

eum] *euum* libri.

cui iam] Martyni-Laguna; *cui tam* M; *cui tamen* H; *vitam* P.

3. T. Ampii] edd.; *tam pii* HM; *appii* P.

quam abhorrerem] *quam aborrerem* M; *quam aberrem* P; *quod ab errarem* H.

2 H

civile] HP; *civilem* M; *civile me* Kl.
 consilium meum] HP; *consilium* M.
 me ex his] M; *ex illis* (om. *me*) H.
 nostra laus] M; *laus nostra* H.
 id existimari] H; *id existimare* M.
 4. fidissime] libri; *fidelissime* alii.
 atque amantissime] om. P.
 domesticis] P; *modesticis* MH.
 5. memoriam] Crat.; *in memoriam*
 H; *in memoria* MP.
 separatim] MP; *separatum* H.
 cum scias] edd.; *quin scias* libri; *qui*
scias Or.
 illum] M; *illo* H.
 ea me cura] M; *ea mea* H.
 oblectabar] MH; *delectabar* P.
 acerbos . . . honestos] M; *acerbus*
 . . . *honestus* H; *acerbet* . . . *honestus*
 P.
 mihimet ipsi] Or.; *mihi fuit ipsi* libri.
 6. tu scribis] *scribis* H.
 et haec] *ut haec* libri.
 adolescente me: eos] H (sed *hos*);
adulescentēa (corr. in *adulescentem*) eos M.
 ego] *ergo* H.
 Sed tamen . . . Togam] edd.; *sed*
tamen togam (nulla lacunae significatione)
 libri (at om. *sed* P).
 7. Curtius] M; *cur eius* H.
 adpersi] H; *asparsi* M.
 De re Dolabellae] Hirschfeld; *Dolo*
bellam H; *Dolabella* M¹; *Dolabellae* M²;
De Dolabella edd. Facillime *de re* excidit
 post *ridere*.
 agatur] M; ^a*agitur* (sic) H.
 nos nihil] M; *nos tamen nihil* HP.
 postulabit] *postulabat* HP.

EP. CCCXCV. (ATT. X. 10).

1. ei cum] Mal.; *et cum* M.
 saepissime] *aequissime* Madv., sed sine
 causa.
 παραινετικῶς] nos; ΠΑΡΗΝΙΚΩΣ M;
 παρηνικῶς Z; τυραννικῶς Vict.; παροινι-
 κῶς Lamb. vulg. Schelleius, ut nuper
 vidimus, in scito *De Antonii Epistulis*
 libro in nostram coniecturam incidit;
 verbo tamen Graeco subesse nescio quid
 adrogantiae opinatur, ut admonentis ali-
 cuius ex superiore loco inferiorem ali-
 quem. Nos Graeco verbo significationem
 solitam tribuimus, neque quidquam sub-
 contumeliosi vocabulo inesse posse
 credimus.
 2. quam verum] M²; *quia* M¹; 'quid
 lateat nescio, nam *Tuum consilium quie-*
scendi verum est nimis a litt. discedit'
 Madv. A. C. iii. 186.

me iam probare] Kl; *meam pr.* M;
me approbare Wes.

3. temptabo, audiam] Moser; *temptabo*
audeam M; *tentabo ut ei persuadeam* Wes.
 me clamabo] Kays.; *clamabam* M;
clam abibo Wes.

certe] RI; *carti* M; *caute* Olivet.

σύνης ὃ τοι λέγω] CINECΩΤΘΙΑΕΤΩ
 M, quae lect. verba in textu plane indi-
 cat: σὺν θεῷ τοι λέγω Vict., longius a
 litt. ductu aberrans.

magnus dolor accessit δυσουρία] Wes.
 secuti sumus in hoc loco constituendo.
 Vulgo legitur *magnus dolor accessit. Ef-*
ficietur aliquid dignum nobis. Δυσουρία.

ἐν ἀρχῇ] ins. ἐν nos.

4. Ocellam] C; *socellam* M.

quod a Curione] *quid acuone* M.

5. Cytherius] ins. nos.

Cytherida] *cytheridam* M¹; *cythari-*
dam M².

sunt an am.] Bos.; *ee sunt amicorum*
 M²; *sunt amicorum* M¹; *eae sunt amico-*
rum vulg.

vide] *de* M.

dubita si potes] CM¹; *dubitari potest*
 M².

vel . . . non erit] Man.; *vellunt ri-*
diculos maius noverat M¹; *velo ridiculo si*
navis non erit M²; fort. *vel in lintriculo.*

6. ἀνηθοποίητον] ANNOΘΟΠΟΙΗΤΟΝ
 M.

aversum] *adversum* M.

tam nescio] *tamen scio* M.

ut est] Wes.; *et est* M.

ἡθους ἐπ.] ΗΘΟΥΕΥΠΙΜΕΛΕΤΕΟΝ M.

EP. CCCXCVI. (ATT. X. 11).

1. Philotimus] *philomus* M.

ea quidem] *equidem* M.

habent] *habet* Wes.

ὑπουλον] ΠΟΥΛΟΝ M.

nihil non fl. ad] Man.; *nichil fl. non*
ad M.

aliter] *alter* M.

De itinere] Vict.; *de itine* M; δεῖ
 τιθήνης ἔτι Bos.; fort. *De Quinto.*

ea temp.] *ad temp.* M.

2. Q. Axius] C; *que anxius* M.

reddit] *redit* M.

si ceteri] *si ceteris* M.

nescio quibus HS] Wes.; *nescio quis*
 M vulg.

ex illo] Vict.; *exilio* M.

utique] Man.; *ubique* M.

existimas] *existimans* M.

nemo est] *nemo se* M.

3. satis. De eius filio] *satis levis in*
filio M.

nam suas] C; non suas M.
evellerem] evellere me M.
sed ea . . . patienda] C; sed ea omnia
mihi sunt patienda M.

4. aestate cum illo] aestate summa illo
vel aestate quum illo . . . navigarem coni.
Wes.; cum illis Boot; cum illis illo (sc.
ἀφράκτω) Lehm.

ἀφράκτω] ΑΦΡΑΓΓΩΙ M.
actuaria] Vict.; acturiora M; actu-
ariolo Man.

quae . . . immortales] qua ille mon-
strandum mortales M.

cogitet] M, recte; cogitat Boot.

5. Vettienum] Or.; vel Tinum M.

ἀποτόμως] ΑΠΟΤΟΜΩ M.

θυμ. eram iocatus] Corrad.; θυμ. erat
iocatus CFA; θυμ. erat id M; θυμ. erat.
Id Vict.

accepit] Wes.; acceperit M vulg.

EP. CCCXCVII. (ATT. X. 12, §§ 1-3),

1. imperatum] M²; imperaturum M¹Z.
tetrime] terrime M.

nactus] nactu M.

putavit. Is] putabis M.

cum hoc] C; eum hoc M¹; enim hoc
M².

2. πόρον κλεπτεόν] nos; ΠΑΡΑΟΤΛΕΥ-
TEON M; παραπλευ(σ)τέον Vict.; πάρω-
ρα πλευστέον Graev.; παρακλεπτεόν
Wölfflin.; παροπλιστέον Tunstall; παρα-
θύρω εξιτέον Cobet. Fort. sed satis
lacrimis operam perdo; πλευστέον: ut perdo
lateat in παρδο-. Vel sed satis lacrimis
ὦπα ἄρδω πλευστέον.

compacto] Man.; cum pacto M.

pollicitos] pollicitus M.

ut ut] Kays.; ut M.

teneri] vc; tenere M.

3. eadem vere] vel eadem re (i.e. re
vera) Madv.; eadem e re M; eadem fere
Lamb.; eadem de re vulg.

Quintum filium] Q. F. M¹; Q. fr.
M².

possim] Corrad.; possem M.

EP. CCCXCVIII. (ATT. X. 12, §§ 4-7).

4. quicquid] C; quid M.

quo . . . facta sunt] quod . . . facta
sint M.

ἀλλὰ . . . περ] ΑΑΜΕΝΙΤΡΟΤΕΤΥΧ-
ΘΛΕΑ ΟΜΕΝΑΧΡΥΜΕΝΟΙΠΕΡ M.

iubes . . . providere] Gron.; iubes de
prof. mea C; iubes enim prof. meam M.

peric. sit] Lamb.; est M.

5. optas et hort.] optas ut hortaris M.

forte . . . istis] M; etsi vis fortunae
est in potestate: clam autem istis? Madv.;
fortiter ac tempestive Or.; fortiter vel
cum tempestate Kays. Sed clam adverbium
est ap. Tullium; fort. etsi vi (sc. agere)
fortunae est cum potestate, clam autem
(agere) illius (sc. fortunae). Fort. tamen
legendum est clam autem! Di istos! (sc.
perdant): cp. cccci. 4, sed di istos!

turpe sit. Trahimur] Mal.; turpe est
trahimur M; turpe. Sed trahamur Gron.

6. vicini] Vict.; victi M; invicti I;
iuncti R.

7. suppeditabimus et Pel.] suppedita-
bimur. Pel. C; suppeditabimus ret Pel.
M.

indoles] indolens M; indoles excellens
Wes.

aliquid huic] aliquod hoc M; aliquod
in hoc Wes.

AKIMOAOON] M; ἀγκίμολον Mueck.;
ἀνακαμπτεόν Boot; fort. ἀκέσιμον vel
ἄκαμπτον; Bos, fict. codd. auctoritate
διδαχῇ ἁλωτόν.

διδακτόν] ΔΙΜΚΤΟΝ M.

EP. CCCXCIX. (ATT. X. 13).

1. speculam] Boot; secum M; secum
aliqua Or.; secum aliquid RI; edd. multi
intercidisse verbum opinati secum securi-
tatem vel iucunditatem vel adlevationem
vel simile quid legere malunt.

igitur ac si quid] Man.; igitur aliquid
M.

ne dimiseris] Vict.; ne de miseris M.
pertimescas cave] Asc.; pertimescas
ve M.

πρᾶξιν] Vict.; ΠΡΧΙΝ M; ἀρχήν
marg.

decem . . . Venerunt] Or.; denos et
III viri venerunt M.

ad villam] Vict.; duellam M.

velle et] C; vellet M.

γίνεσθαι] ΤΙΝΕΘΑΕ M.

2. A. Q. Axio] Buech.; a daxio M.

3. putent] putem M.

EKITAONON] M; ἐκπλοον vel ἐκ-
πλουον Btr.; fort. exitus ἐξουσίαν vel
exitum ἄοκνον, ut sit verbum partim ex
Latinis litteris confectum; cuius modi
errore in Ep. cccxcii. 10, pro συμπάθειαν
codex dat sim. ΠΑΕΙΑΝ. Fort. autem
sub litteris Gracis latet rarum aliquod
voc. quale exitionem; vid. Comm.

EP. CCCC. (ATT. X. 14).

1. postridie] C; pridie M.

quae erui] Gron.; *qua frui* M.
 sed . . . vigilias] M; *et per se odiosa*
est et propter vigilias Madv.
 2. consolandum] C; *consulendum* M.
 3. multo se in suo] *multos in suo* M.
 foret] *fore* M.
 filii militia] *filimilia* M.
 fierent] Wes.; *fiabant* M; *fiant* vulg.
 celandus] *celandum* M.
 ad idem] *Excidit vocandus vel addu-*
cendus vel cohortandus vel id adhibendus
vel simile aliquid.

EP. CCCCI. (ATT. X. 15).

1. cui . . . tabellariis] Man.; *cui ex.*
P. sustulerit moram tabellarius M.
 esset qua satisfacisset] *esse quas satis-*
fecisses M; *quo satisfacisset* Wes.; *quod*
satis esset Boot.
 2. ut palam] *ut clam* nonnulli; sed
 vid. Comm.
 Marcellum] Sch.; *Marcello* M.
 ἀγευνέλας] Vict.; ΑΓΕΝΕΑΙC M.
 quo] Man.; *quod* M.
 3. suscensere] *suscenseri* M.
 suscipiendae] Asc.; *suscipienda* M.
 aliquis] *aliquos* M.
 4. de Quinto] *deque* (ut fere semper)
 M.
 versura] Ursin.; *usura* M.
 sed di istos] Vict.; *sedustos* M; *sed*
dii istos Z.
 sit] cum codd. Wes.; *est* post Vict.
 plerique.

EP. CCCII. (ATT. X. 16).

1. fuit] del. Kays. et Wes., recte.
 remissem] marg.; *venissem* M.
 dissimulavimus] codd.; *dissimulabinus*
 Man. et Pius.
 non] ins. Madv.
 adservabimur] Or.; *adeservabimus* M.
 4. convenire] *seclusimus* nos; habet
 C; om. M; glossatorem redolet, qui
 verbum constructioni minime necessarium
 temere inseruit.
 ad villam] Man.; *a villa* M; *abii*
clam Boot.
 equidem] Boot.; *eadem* M.
 5. cum redeo] M; *dum redeo* marg.
 ed. Lamb.
 me. Tamen eum] *metam eum* M¹;
me tum eum M²; *me tum cum* marg.
 non:nodo novum] nos auctore Wes.;
 novum (superscr 'vel nedum') M; novum
 CZ; *nedum* Kl.

EP. CCCIII. (ATT. X. 17).

1. scripta . . . eius] *scripta epistola*
belle ut cetera eius Madv.
 aperuissem] cum codd. nos; *aperui*
 Wes.
 dixi ei] Man.; *dixi et* M.
 stricta] nos; *scripta* M; *lecta* Man.;
scissa Or.; *aperta* Kl.
 bonum] marg.; *probonam* M; *probo:*
nam Vict. Btr.
 3. Ocellam] *cellam* M.
 futura] ins. Lehm.
 Inde] Reid.; *id* M.
 ἀκραῖς] Bos.; *cras* M; totum locum
 sic emendat Boot: *id si ἀκραῖς erit*
utinam idem maneat! Hortensio quidem,
ut adhuc erat, liberalius esse nihil potest.
 4. insimularim] Corrad.; *insimularem*
 M.
 nemini aliter] *neminit aliter* (qu. *nemini*
taliter h. e. *sine diplomate*) M.
 quia pueris] M¹: *quia a pueris* M²;
quia prius Or.
 cogites] *cogitet* M.
 in primisque si quid] *in primis quasi*
quid M.

EP. CCCIV. (ATT. X. 18).

1. est quod gaudeam] *est quod* ins.
 nos; *gaudeam* M; *gaudebam* Man. Kl;
gaudeo Ursin. vulg.
 maiori] Or.; *maiore* M.
 Hortensiana] Man.; *Hortensina* M.
 fuere . . . homo] M; *omnia fore in-*
ania iam vidi, et homo Or.; *omnia fuere*
inania; fiet homo Kays.; *omnia inania*
fidei: homo Madv.; *omnia fuerunt fatua*
 Reidius.
 2. ex cursu] *excursus* M.
 eodem] Z et marg.; *eadem* M; *eo eadem*
 Kays.
 furiae] Z et marg.; *furia* M.
 ad me et de ben.] *ad me e ben.* M¹;
ad me de ben. M²; *ad me de eius ben.* k;
ad me de eius erga me ben. Wes.
 3. Ecquem] Asc.; *eo quem* M.
 ne te] M²; *nece* (frequenti inter t et
 c errore) M¹.

EP. CCCV. (FAM. XIV. 7).

1. molestias] M; *modestias* H.
 habui, id quod . . . est, et Tulliolam,
 quae] H Pal E Graev. Btr. Kl Men-
 delss.: *habui, id quod . . . est, tulliolam*
quae M; *habui et, id quod . . . est, Tullio-*
lam quae Victorius, Wes., quod, utpote ad

Terentiam ipsam scriptum, paene asperum et subrusticum videtur: *habui id quod . . . est tulliolamque quae* codd. dett.

autem fuerit] M Pal; *est autem* EH, sed linea sub *est* man. sec. subducta.

postridie] *post pridiae* M; *post tridie* E. id est . . . Aesculapio] del. Man. Or. Kl Btr.

2. Navem spero] M Pal E; *navem vero spero* H.

Cohortarer] M Pal; *cohortaret* HE.

quo] Pal Crat.; *quod* M; *quoniam* HE.

fortiores] MH; *fortiore* Kl Btr. Wes.; sed nulla causa est cur tradita mutemus; vide Comm.

cognossem] M²H (m. sec.); *cognoscem* M¹; *cognoss.* H (m. pr.)

istic] H Pal E; *stic* M.

defensuros] MH; parum recte Wes. et scribit †*defensuros* et *defensurum* conicit: cf. Phil. xii. 27 et vide Comm.

3. Tu] *ut* libri.

utere] libri meliores; scribendo *utare* cum codd. dett. nimis argute agit Wes.: vide Comm.

EP. CCCCVI. (ATT. XI. 1).

2. relinquere me] Lamb.; *relinquerem* M.

me credere] *credere me debere* Lehmann.

EP. CCCCVII. (ATT. XI. 2).

1. multis meis et miserrimis] Man.; *multis meis mis.* C; *multissimis miserimis* M.

levata] Z; *euata* vel *enata* M.

etiam] *te etiam* M.

2. per] *de* M.

culpa] *cui* M.

facultatibus] del. Ern.

3. exegi] *exegit* M.

ut ne qua] *ut neque* M.

dicas velim me] Kahnt.; *dicas ul me* M; *dicas vel me* R.

EP. CCCCVIII. (FAM. VIII. 17).

1. fuisse tum quam Formiis] *fuisset umquam formis quam tu* M.

cum] *quam* M.

hac parte fuisset aut in] Kl Btr.; om. M; *in ista parte probavisset aut* H (2591) mira interpolatione: sed tres Victorii codices ante aut Curio addunt *prohibuisset*.

perditam] *portam* M.

iracundia et amore] *iracundiae tam ore* M.

Tu porro] Man.; *tu tu porro* M; *Tum tu porro* Ern.; *Tute porro* Or.

Arpino noctu] Grotefrend; *arimini noctu* M; *Arimino noctu* Bened. edd.

venissem] H (2591); *venissent* M.

neque mihi] Man. Crat.; *neque me* M; cf. Wes. Em. 129 ff.

2. hic] *hinc* M.

nisi Pompeianus] *nisi est Pompeianus* M.

effeci] *effici* M.

plebs] *pies* M; *pertes* H (2591); *equites* C. F. Hermann.

reliqua] Lamb.; *reliquas* M; *reliquias* Ern.

exspectate] Or.; *exspectant* M; *exspecta* Ern.

†Arruntanum] M; *An miramini* C. F. Hermann, Kl; *polliceor urbanum* (vel simile quid) Mendelss.; *Geram alterum* Or.

nec haec adhuc] M; *nec hoc adhuc* Wes.; *neque adhuc* Btr.

qua . . . qua] M; *quam . . . quam* Crat. pateamus] libri; *valeamus* Kl; *polleamus* Pluygers.

†haec] libri; *habet* Or.; *est* Ern.; *quo firmissimus est* Gronov. Forte *huic* (sc. Caesari), vel *hac* (sc. nostris partibus): vid. Comm.

EP. CCCCIX. (FAM. IX. 9).

1. rectissime] *rectissimae* M; *rectissima* H Pal.

nunc iam inclinata victoria] M; *cum iam inclinata sit victoria* H Pal.

incidere opinionem] M; *opinionem incidere* H Pal.

qua] Wes.; *in qua* libri.

scilicet tibi] H; *scilicet te tibi* M *te* *si tibi*.

possim] MH; *possum* Pal.

autem] M; *vero* H.

2. Animadvertis Cn.] M; *animadvertes* GN H.

gloria—Italia] H; *gloriam—Italiam* M.

contigit] MH Pal; *contingit* cod. Stewech. (teste Graevio).

an nulli] M; *a nulli* H Pal.

tibi utilissimum erit] H; *tibi utilissim erit* M.

autem a te] Crat.; *autem te* MH.

et ei] om. H.

3. Reliquum est ut ubi] Dresd. 2, Lamb. Wes. coll. Fam. xv. 21, 5 (450); om. *ut* MH.

sequamur] MH Btr. Kl Wes.; *sequi-*
mur Lamb.

rursus] H; *rusus* M, ut saepe e.g. in
Fam. viii. 8, 3 (223); x. 5, 2; 15, 4; xi.
10, 4, locis a Baitero collatis.

cogatur] M²; *cogetur* M¹.

quietam] M; *qui etiam* H.

EP. CCCCX. (FAM. XIV. 8).

mihi et] *et mihi* E.

fecisti] M Pal; *fecisse* HE.

EP. CCCCXI. (ATT. XI. 3).

1. et tam] Man.; *etiam* M.

abruptio] Z; *abrupto* M.

curae] ins. Lehmann. coll. Att. ix.
15, 4; Fam. iii. 3, 1; *fidei* vulg.; sed
curae multo facilius post *tuae* intercidere
potuit.

2. praecipuum . . . incommodis] Leh-
mannus, qui monstrat (Quaest. Tull. p. 28)
voc. *praecipuus* et *communis* in multis locis
Tullianis sibi invicem opponi.

vides et gravissima] R; *ut desset gra-*
vissima M.

3. egeo] *ego* M.

sumus] *suismus* M; *fuimus* Z.

opinantes] *opinante* M.

ei] *et* M.

EP. CCCCXII. (FAM. XIV. 21).

postulat] libri; *postulabit* Wes.

administres] M; *administris* H.

EP. CCCCXIII. (ATT. XI. 4).

1. per te] Man.; *partim* M.

fruituri] Lehmannus; *future* M; *fu-*
turi vulg.

hic tua ut] Vict.; *luctua ut* M; *hic tu*
aut W. (De fragm. Wurzburgensi quod
ab his verbis incipit, et desinit in verbo
adimi Att. xi. 6, 2, vid. *Corr. of Cic.* I²,
p. 83).

2. velim] W; *velis* M.

levata] M; *levatus* W.

amicus: in causa] nos; *amicus in causa*
vulg.

a me] *ad me* MW.

sit] *si* MW.

EP. CCCCXIV. (FAM. XIV. 6).

TVLLIVS SVIS] *SVIS* MHE; M.
T. CI suis Pal.

nullum] M Pal; om. HE.

gratias agit] M Pal H; *agit gratias* E.

extrudas] M Pal; *extra idas* HE.

EP. CCCCXV. (FAM. XIV. 12).

gaudeas] *gaudes* H.

nihil est] M Pal; *nihili est* HE.

video quid] H Pal; *videbo quid* E;
videbo quod H.

EP. CCCCXVI. (ATT. XI. 5).

1. coëgerintque] *coëgerint quae* W.

impetu magis] *impetum agis* M¹W.

quodam] *coram* MW.

tantae ut] *tanta*. Fuit M; *tanta fuit*
W.

effecerint] W; *effecerunt* M.

te debilitatum] CW; *te subdebilitatum*
M²; *subidebilitatum* M¹.

quaerere] *quaere* W.

dev. ut tota] *deversori aut tota* W.

3. incredibilem] om. W.

Basilo] *basilo* W; *basilio* M.

videbitur . . . ut] om. W.

intervallo] *in vallo* M¹W.

ad vos . . . intelleges] Wes.; *ad vos*
scriptis litteris profecto intelligis MW.

deesse de qua] M²; *de sede quam* M¹;
des. sed equa W.

4. deesset] Bos.; *deest* MW.

qua in re] *quam in re* M¹W.

Quintus] Vict.; *que* MW.

aversissimo] M; *acerbissimo* W.

EP. CCCCXVII. (FAM. XIV. 19).

qua] *qua* H.

EP. CCCCXVIII. (ATT. XI. 6).

Dicit quod inscriptioni contra morem
adicitur turbas hic dedit librariis codd.
M¹ et W qui *Dicit sollicitum* exhibent.

1. meus dolor] *seclusimus* ut a gloss.
ortum additamentum.

quidquam] *quicquam* M²; *huic quam*
M¹W.

habeant] M; *habebant* W.

dolerem] M²; *dolorem* M¹W.

2. minui] *minus* M¹W.

victoriae] *victoria* W.

cogitatum est] si MW; sensi marg.; fort. recte; vel fort. legendum esse sensi.

aliquo] fort. alio quo.

in omnes partes] in omnis partis M; in omnibus partibus W.

recipio . . . domum] nos; recipio tempore me domo M; recipiam (sc. lictores) tempore idoneo Boot.

mitte . . . considerarent] nos vestigiis fere Orelli et Bootii insistentes; te nunc ad oppidum: quoniam his placeret modo propius accedere, ut de hac re considerarent M; totum locum sic constituit Hofm. reliquo tempore me domi tenui ad oppidum, eo quoniam displiceret modo propius accedere, ut hac de re considerarent; et sic Kays. Recipio tempore. Sed oro te nunc ut ad Oppium et Cornelium; utinam his placeret modo me propius accedere.

3. credo] cedo M.

confirmant quae] confirmantque M.

esse et si] M¹; esse ut si M².

quo magis] quod magis M.

quidquid] qui quid M.

4. in numero] in inseruimus auctore Btr. qui confert, Att. x. 18, 2.

7. Alexandria] Boot; Alexandreas M; Alexandrinas RI.

euntem] an euntem codd.; sed nullo modo defendi potest an; om. Ern.

EP. CCCCXIX. (FAM. XIV. 9).

dolor et de Dolabellae] H Pal E Btr.; dolor et Dolabellae M; dolor ex Dolabellae Wes.

nec quid] M Pal; ne quid HE.

vale] valete H.

EP. CCCCXX. (ATT. XI. 7).

1. arbitratus est ea factum] M; arbitratus es; facetum est igitur Boot; fac tu igitur Bos.; factum est igitur Graev.; factum est igitur, ut scribis, S. C. Or.; faciam igitur ut scribis istis placere <etsi rationem eorum non probo; significas enim placere> iisdem lictoribus me uti Madv.; fort. facteon igitur ut scribis (coll. Att. i. 16, 13).

3. iudicium] iudicium M.

ut aliqui sint] Lamb.; ut om. M; aliqui si sint Btr.

4. Sulpicii] supplici M.

meo] me M.

glor. est] glor. si M: sit RI.

tamen et periculo] In his verbis rursus incipit W et desinit in acerbe dixerat Att. xi. 12, 1.

in loco] in om. W. et mox in ante Italium om. WM.

perge ut] W; per ut M; prout RI.

5. quae erunt] quaerunt W.

multos] multo M¹W.

ita esse persp.] W; esse persp. M.

in eo est totum] Madv.; sed totum M.

6. T. efflagitare] Boot; et flagitare M¹; efflagitare M²; te flagitare CW; te flagitari Lamb.; Tulliam efflagitare Mal.

tempore isti] Koch.; temporis te M¹W; temporis tui M².

7. vidi qui Sami] ut diquisami M.

viderint] Corrad.; viderunt M; vider. me W.

adiutum] W.; ad tutum M¹; actutum M².

EP. CCCCXXI. (FAM. XIV. 17).

sint] Lamb.; sunt libri.

adfectus] H; adfectus M; adflictus cod. Peck.

Trebatio] M Pal; trepatio HE.

EP. CCCCXXII. (ATT. XI. 8).

1. conficiar] CW; afficiar M.

per litt.] per om. M¹W.

est acc.] W; est om. M.

2. Fufius] Man.; furnius MW.

illic] illuc MW.

inim. Quintus misit] Vict.; inimicissimusque misit M¹W; inimicissimus qui misit M².

incredibile] incredibili W, et mox tama acerbum.

in me id] id me id MW.

cura ut] cur aut W.

vi.] Mal; xvi. MW.

EP. CCCCXXIII. (ATT. XI. 9).

1. sedulitate] sed utilitate W.

tua liceret] ualiceret M¹; qua liceret W.

ab eo] habeo M.

in dies] Kl; die MW; cotidie Btr.

casus] Man.; causa (ut videtur) M; causas WZ.

culpa] om. W.

statueram] Madv.; sit verum M¹W; sciveram (litt. sc. expunctis) M²; quieveram Man.

2. cessi meis] Bos.; cessimus M; cessim his W.

favisce] M²; fuisse M¹W.

etiam tantam] Ψ; et tam tantam W; et tantam M.

percrebuisset] M; *percrepuiisset* W.
 quae si] *quasi* M¹W.
 navigationis] *navigationi* W.
 3. patrimonio] M²; *partrim trimonio*
 M¹; *parte matrimonio* W; *patre patri-*
monio Graev.
 relinquam] *reliquam* W.

EP. CCCCXXIV. (FAM. XIV. 16).

quod aut] *edd*; *quid aut libri*.
 Volumnia] M; *volumina* HE; *volumna*
 Pal.
 ut ii] *uti ei libri*; *ut iei* Lachmann (ad
 Lucret. ii. 312), quae forma in antiquis
 inscriptionibus nonnunquam invenitur,
 cf. Neue II³, p. 383.
 voluerunt] *voluerint* H.
 mea] M; *sua* H Pal E.
 Cura ut] H Pal E; *curant* M.
 valeas] M Pal; *valeas vale* HE.

EP. CCCCXXV. (ATT. XI. 10).

1. Ad] A W.
 aegritudines] *aegritudo* M¹W.
 accedit] M¹W; *accidit* M².
 de QQ] M¹; *deque* Q W; *de* Q M².
 magistro] *magno* MW.
 Quintum filium] Q. F. M¹; *Q. fratrem*
 M².
 percontaretur] CW; *contaretur* M.
 Patris simili] *patris eius simili* MW.
 scelere] *scelera* W.
 certo] W; *certe* M.
 2. Italia] CWZ; *alia* M.
 quo putares] *quod putares* M.
 ut ne] W; *ut* M¹; *ne* M².
 potes] *potest* M¹W.
 esse sentiant] *esse* om. W.

EP. CCCCXXVI. (ATT. XI. 11).

1. cruciatu] *cruciatum* W.
 possim] Bos.; *possem* MW.
 nunc] *ins.* Wes.
 ita iam] M; *ita etiam* W.
 cui des] *quo id es (= quoi des)* W; *quo*
des M.
 longo] *longe* W.
 immutata] *mutata* W.
 debeant] *debent vel debebant* Wes.;
debilia erant Boot.
 pendere] *pendere reip.* W.
 2. scirem] *scire* W.
 quo] *quod* W.

EP. CCCCXXVII. (ATT. XI. 12).

1. lectis] *del.* Boot; *sed defuisse*
etiam in W non liquet.
 ea re] W; *eo* M²; *om.* M¹.
 tum cum] *om. cum* W.
 ratione] *oratione* W.
 me] W; *om.* M.
 cum] M²; *quom* M¹; *quem* W.
 cum mihi] Man.; *quam mihi* MW.
 etsi multa] *et simulata* M.
 et fecerat] Vict.; *effecerat* M.
 tamen . . . verbis] Graev.; *tamen l.*
lomeus verbis M¹; *tamen l. meo iis verbis*
 M²; *tamen de eo his verbis* Man.
 scripsi] M¹; *rescripsi* M².
 3. confirmari] *conformari* Or.
 erectiorem] *Standum esse hac* codd.
scriptura docet Lehmannus (Quaest. Tull.
p. 83).
 4. accessisse] Man.; *accepisse* M.
 generi] *genere* M.
 puto enim cretionem] C; *duto enim*
crucionem M.

EP. CCCCXXVIII. (ATT. XI. 13).

1. item Quintum] *itemque* (frequenti
errore) M.
 certe scio] M; *certo scio* multi edd.
 2. scripserit] Bos.; *scripsit* M.
 sed parcissime] C. F. Hermannus;
spurcissime M.
 3. putarem] *putaret* M.
 4. neque . . . videbantur] Bos.; *vi-*
debatur (fort. recte) Gron.; *neque tamen*
mihi desperaturi ita videbantur M; *neque*
tam mihi desperaturi videbamur Kays.;
neque tum mihi desperaturi ita videbamur
 Wes.
 is . . . tu] Vict.; *is quemadmodum*
flatu M.
 quoad poteris] *quod poteris* M¹.
 vilico] M¹; *villico* M².
 queritur] Madv.; *quereretur* M vulg.
 nolim] *velim* M; *velim neminem* cod.
 Ball.; *velim ne* Wes.

EP. CCCCXXIX. (ATT. XI. 14).

1. meliore in causa] *meliozem casu*
 M¹; *meliore in casu* M².
 2. non quo ab] Btr.; *non ab* M¹; *non*
quod ab M².
 quid aliud] *quid aliquid* M.
 3. Tarentum] Gron.; *parentem* M.
 num quid] *nam quid* M.

sed . . . exspecto] auctore Wes. nos;
et *advideo tamen exspecto* M; Or. putabat
sub *advideo* latere *aveo*.

quem videre] *quam* M.

potest] Graev.; *post* M.

poscit] ins. Graev.; *postulat* malit
Wes.; *est* cum Bosio Boot.

ibi . . . existimare] M; *sit hic gravius*
C; *difficile est quid id et quale sit hic*
gravius existimare Gron.; *ibi facile est*
quid quare sit gravius existimare Ern.; *tibi*
facile est * * * *quod quale sit hic gravius*
est existimare 'ut exciderit subiectum
verborum *tibi facile est*, infinitivus aliqui
cum obiecto aliquo neutrius generis ad
quod relatum fuerit *quod* Wes.; lacuna
verbis *iudicium facere* expleri potest; fort.
ibi facilius quid quare sit hic gravius exis-
timare.

EP. CCCCXXX. (ATT. XI. 15).

1. quod te] *quid te* M; *cur te* cum
Urs. Boot.

enim ita] marg.; *cum ita* M.

Achaici] Mal. et M² in ep. seq.;
achei M; fort. 'Αχαιοί.

2. quocunque modo] Lamb.; *quocunque*
sunt modo M; *quicunque sunt, modo* K.

quidem] *equidem* (ut saepe) M, et fort.
recte; vid. Comm. ad Ep. lvi.

3. queas tu] marg.; *quem tuam* M.

malle] Crat.; om. M.

EP. CCCCXXXI. (ATT. XI. 16).

1. fit] *fuit* M.

ulla de adventu] Lamb.; *valde adventu*
M; *valde de adv.* Vict.; *valida de adv.*
coni. Btr.

2. ab illo] Asc.; *ab ullo* M.

Achaici] M²; *achai* M¹.

adferunt] *afferunt* M; *auferunt* Man.;
differunt Gron.

3. superioribus] *tui prioribus* M.

ubi] *ibi* M.

sin iactor] *sin iactor aut reicior* cum
Crat. et Lamb. Wes. qui inde colligit
haec verba esse in C et Z.

4. ad Quintum] *atque* M.

etsi quidam scripsit] *quidam scripsit*
etsi M.

Patris] *patis* M.

ab ipso] M¹; *ab illo* M².

5. debet] Asc.; *debeat* M.

quid sentias] Wes.; *quid scribas* M.

egeo] *ego* M.

excogites] Wes.; *excogitas* M.

EP. CCCCXXXII. (ATT. XI. 17).

1. nostros] CM¹; *meos* M².

pridie] *P. R.* (pro *pr.* ut saepe) M.

matri eam] Bos.; *ematiam* M; in
Emathiam RI.

eram rem.] *eam rem.* M.

quam . . . consolantis] Bos.; *que ad-*
modum consolandis M.

putato ea me] Mal.; *P. tanta eo me*
M; *pudet tanta eo me* C; *scripsisti πρὰ δ-*
τατα, *putato ea me* Boot.

intelleges] Wes.; *intelligis* M.

3. valde molestum est] *valde si moles-*
tum est M; *valde scilicet* K; fort. *valde,*
scito, mol. est.

ab] secl. Btr. coll. h. l. 18. 1, 25. 2.

illim] A; *illic* M.

intellegis illud] *illud intelligis illud*
M.

emissus] C; *me missus* M.

xvii.] Wes. coll. ad Fam. xiv. 11;
XVIII. vulg.

EP. CCCCXXXIII. (FAM. XIV. 11).

factum esse] *esse factum* Pal.

Sallustium] M; *salustium* H Pal E.

EP. CCCCXXXIV. (ATT. XI. 18).

1. futurum est sine] *futurum et sine*
M¹; *futurum est et sine* M².

2. ira] C. F. Hermann; *via* M.

flectas] *flictas* M.

EP. CCCCXXXV. (FAM. XIV. 15).

nihil] om. E.

nihil erat] M Pal; *nihil erit* HE.

Sicca] *sica* E.

mecum teneo] M Pal; *teneo mecum*
H; *teneo* E.

tudinem
Valetudinem] *validitatem* H.

XII.] M Pal; VII. H.

EP. CCCCXXXVI. (ATT. XI. 25).

1. consistere] ins. Lehmann.

ob rem] marg.; *ob eam* M.

2. discessisse] *is cessisse* M¹; *cessisse*
M².

cuncti] *eunti* M.

nescio] *scio* M.

3. †epistolas adservari] nos;
epistolas velim ut possim adversas M;

εὐπιστον *illas ut possint advertas* Bos. ;
 εὐπιστον *illam ut possit* Kays. ; εὐπισ-
 τόν τινα *velim ut possint adservari* Boot ;
 εὐπιστον *tabulas ut possint adservatas*
vel adservari Wes. Vid. Comm.

miserrimae] Ern. ; *miserum ea* M.
fatuitate] R Ern. ; *facultate* M ; *in-*
felicitate Or. ; *vacuitate* K ; *fecunditate*
 Koch.

simile] *mile* M.
dando] *Pius* ; *date* M.
aliud] *Asc.* ; *alium* CM.
si quid cogi] *si qui cogi* M.
atque satis] *Sch.* ; *teque satis* M ;
neque satis Vict. ; *ex argento vestimentis*
supellectile Koch.

condicio] *condicto* M.
sine] *sine sine* M.
loquitor ut] *nos cum Mal.* ; *loqueretur*
 M ; *loquere tu* Or.
non queo] *marg.* ; *nonque* M.

EP. CCCCXXXVII. (ATT. XI. 23).

1. *scripsit te secum*] R ; *scripsisse*
cum M.

aliter est et] W ; *aliter et* M ; *aliter*
atque Lamb.

ab illo] W ; *a nullo* M.

valeres] W ; *valere* M.

2. *eum diem*] *eum die* W.

audies] *audiens* MW.

celeriter eunti] *Graev.* ; *eo celeriter*
eunti MW ; *meo celeripedi* (coll. Att. ix.
 2, 1) Or.

sit] M ; *sic* W.

ne cogitatione] *negotiatione* MW.

3. *omnia timuimus. Melius*] M ; *omnia*
tibi melius W.

viri] *Pantagathus* ; *vivi* MW ; *vel vini*
 Wes.

nomine] M ; *nominis* W.

vel Metellae] M ; *vel in Metellae*
 WZ.

malorum] WZ ; *maiorum* M.

de statuari elodi] M ; *de statu reip.* *Odi*
cum Man. Kl ; *de statu reip. dira* Boot ;
fort. de statore Rhodio ; *vel potius de*
statua Clodi ; *de qua coni.* vid. Comm.

ut hoc . . . novas] M ; *tam esse per-*
ditum ul cogitet vel tabulas novas Wes. ;
velle t. n. Boot. ; *uti hoc ut t. n.* Sch. ;
audimus enim de Agusio eodem generum
nostrum potissimum in hoc velle t. n.
 Schmidt.

et item] Or. ; *est idem* M.

tumne cum ab ipso] Man. ; *tum ne*
vim abuso M.

mea] Ern. ; *me* M.

EP. CCCCXXXVIII. (FAM. XIV. 10).

Quid] *quod* E.

Pomponium] *pompinium* M.

scribi] M Pal ; *scripsi* HE.

quoniam] MH ; *quam* Pal E.

re] om. H.

EP. CCCCXXXIX. (FAM. XIV. 13).

de nuntio] M ; *de nuncia* E ; *demintia*
 H.

si] M Pal ; *sed* HE.

quiesce ; *sed tamen*] *nos* ; *quiesces*
tamen M Pal Btr. Kl Wes. ; *quiesce tamen*
 H ; *quiesce tantum* E ; *quiesces : res tamen*
 Or. ; *quiesces : quies tamen alii* ; *quies tamen*
 Lamb. Vid. Comm.

minime miserum] M ; *miserum minime*
 H Pal E.

VI.] VII. E.

EP. CCCCXL. (ATT. XI. 19).

1. *possem*] *possim* M.

quidquid erit] Kl ; *quid erit* M ; *quod*
erit Man. ; *si quid erit* Wes.

cogis] *coges* M.

EP. CCCCXLI. (ATT. XI. 24).

1. *Quae dudum*] *quedam* M.

quae etiam ad me vis ad] *nos* ; *quae*
etiam ad me visat M ; *quae etiam ante bis*
ad Vict. ; *quae etiam bis ad Tulliam de me*
 Wes. *Sed bis illud ficto cod.* Bosiano
nititur. Nos vix a Mediceo discedentes
sensum idoneum adepti sumus.

miserior etsi] *miseriore si* M.

licet] Ern. ; *liceat* M.

2. *redii : erunt enim*] Kl ; *reddiderint*
enim M ; *redeo : erunt enim* Wes. ; *redibo :*
erunt enim Boot.

agenda] R ; *acceda* M.

haerere] *Pius* ; *querere* M.

te . . . rogavit] Gron. ; *et commoti*
neque eum rogari M.

sermonem] *Asc.* ; *sermone* M.

alicui] *aliquoi* M¹ ; *aliqua* M².

fortuna sit. *Equidem*] Man. ; *fortunas*
te quidem M.

me] *mi* M.

3. *nobis*] Hoc voc. a Klotzio seclusum
esse pernecessarium in Comm. docuimus.

Tulliae] Lamb. ; *terentie* M.

esse? De] *esse si de* M.

permutaret] M ; *permutarem* Corrad.
 vulg.

4. sed ne] *sed se* M.
aut per] *ut per* M.
se eum] *secum* M.
nuntiant quae quidem] *nuntiantque*
quidem M.
aut adeo me in malis] *Madv.*; *ut eo*
me magis M; *et eo me magis* Wes.
ut etiam si] *ut eram si* M; *aut etiam*
si Wes.
5. ad tempus] C; *attem* M; *ad rem*
R.
accommodanda] *accommodandam* M.
vellem] *Ern.*; *velim* M.

EP. CCCCLIII. (FAM. XIV. 23).

opinionem] M Pal; om. HE.
D. pr. id. sext] M Pal; D. PR. SEP
H; om. E.

EP. CCCCLIV. (ATT. XI. 20).

1. Pieria] *Peria* M.
de Quinto] *deque* M.
ab aliis Quintisque et] *Lehmann*; *ab*
aliisque et M.
2. Sallustio ignovit] M² (sed in rasura);
Salustius novit M¹.
eo protinus] C; *et protinus* M.

EP. CCCCLV. (ATT. XI. 21).

1. epistola] *epistula* W (et ita semper,
non *epistola*).
cepi] M²; *accepi* M¹; *caepi* W.
etsi] M; *ut* W.
ad ea] *adia* W.
ut ego] *ut et ego* W; *tu ego* M.
2. legio] *legeo* M¹W.
primum] MW; *primam* Gron.
Sulla] W; *sylla* (ut semper) M²; *si*
illa M¹.
egisse] *eiessisse* Or.; *abegisse* Kays.;
exegisse aut *e castris egisse* Wes.
commoturam] *commoraturam* W.
arbitrabantur] M; *arbitrantur* W.
illum] Or.; *illum* MW.
cum reliquis] *cum reliquos* MW.
huic miserrimae] WZ; *huic miserrime*
M; *his miserrime* Lamb.
3. ea quae agam ad] Kl; *ea quae ad*
MW; *ea quae loquar ad* Wes.; *me meaque*
ad Koch.; *ea quae ad tempus <accommo-*
danda sint> accommodem Lehm. qui con-
fert *cavebo quae sunt cavenda* Att. i. 17, 10;
expectari quae . . . expectanda sunt Fam.
ii. 3, 2; *quaecunque . . . erunt impetranda*
impetrare Fam. ix. 9, 3; *petere quod mihi*

petendum esset Fam. xiii. 8, 1. Fort.
tamen legendum est *ut eam qua* (sc. via)
me ad tempus accommodem.

genere] *genera* W.
multoque] *mitto que* MW.
quorum] non probamus coniecturam
Madvigii quam legentis ante *quorum*.
utilitati meam] Kl; *utilitatem meam*
M; *utilitatem eam* W; *utilitate meam*
Wes.
adiunxi] *Boot*; *iunxi* MW. vulg.
tamen] om. W.
velim] *vellem* MW.
per me Quinto fore] *per meque fore*
MW.
antea] *ad ea* MW.

EP. CCCCLVI. (ATT. XI. 22).

1. Balbi] *balbi balbi* W.
quod] MW; *quas* Kays. Wes.
ne Caesar] W; *nec cesar* M.
quasi] del. Ern.
improbite] *improbitem* MW.
ne rogari] *Vict.*; *negari* MW.
2. negant usquam] *negat usquam* M²;
negatus quam M¹W.
veniet quod] *venit et quod* W.
in oppidum] MW Btr.; *in oppidis*
Lamb.; *in uno oppido* Peerlk.; *in oppi-*
dorum legationibus Wes.
quoquo modo] M; *quod quomodo* W.
quia mihi] Kl; *qui mihi* MW; *quae*
vel quod mihi Corrad.
in dolore] *in dolorem* W.

EP. CCCCLVII. (FAM. XIV. 22).

Nos totam diem] nos; *nostodie* M; *nos*
tota die H Pal E; *nos cotidie* M (in
Indice) Kl Btr. Wes.
te statim] M Pal; *testamenti* HE.
Kalendis Septemb.] om. E.

EP. CCCCLVIII. (FAM. XV. 15).

1. belli pertinacia] HM (corr. *ex belli*
necessaria pertinacia); *belli necessari per-*
tinacia Bengel.; *belli non necessarii perti-*
nacia Madv.
eius] M Pal; om. HE.
at] M Pal; aut HE.
definiri] M Pal; *diffiniri* HE.
praeter eos] edd.; *praetereo* MH Pa
E.
imminutam] *immunitam* MHE (cf.
comminuta Fam. xv. 4, 6 (233) pro *com-*
munita in M); *immutatam* Pal.

ex reliquiis] edd.; *ex reliquis* MH Pal E.
 2. quam nos . . . potuisse] om. Pal.
 nec, homines cum essemus] H; *nec homines cum homines essemus* M.
 Equidem] *et quidem* H.
 quasi] *quase* MH Pal E, fort. recte cf. Lachmann (ad Lucr. ii. 291) et Neue ii³. p. 968, necnon Quintilianum i. 7, 24.
 et . . . vellent] om. HE; *et omnium saluti consulere vellent et vite sue* in marg. M².
 consuli] *consule* M; *consulere* cod. Bas.
 positum] Crat. (marg.); *propositum* libri.
 arbitrabar] H Pal E Kayser; *arbitrari* M; *arbitrarer* Hofm.
 te] Pal; *et* MHE.
 legato] libri; *allegato* Gronov.
 putaret] MH Pal; *putaris* E.
 3. partem] *rem* E.
 interesses et quod] *interesse sed quod* M.
 ut] *qui* H.
 arbitrabamur] edd.; *arbitramur* MH Pal E.
 afui] MH Pal; *aufugi* E.
 auctor] *actor* M; *autor* H.
 4. scribas] M Pal H (m. 2); *scribis* EH (m. 1).
 ulla] *nulla* H.
 retinuissem] M Pal; *retinuissemus* HE.

EP. CCCCLIX. (FAM. XIV. 20).

commorabimur] ^m*comorabitur* H.
 si] M Pal; *sit* HE.
 balneo] M Pal; *balneo* HE.
 non est ut sit] *lineam subduxit* H man. sec.; om. E.
 item cetera] M Pal; *item sint cetera* HE (sed *sint* sup. *lineam* in H).
 de Venusino] *devensino* M Pal; *vensina* H; *de v* E.

CCCCL. (FAM. XV. 21).

1. lubentissime] H; *libentissimi* M.
 incendisses] M; *accendisses* EH (n supra *lineam* in H).
 relinquo] Pal; *relinquar* MHE.
 utriusque] *utrius* H.
 de] om. H.
 spondere] *respondere* E.
 2. mea atque in publica] M Pal; *me atque publica* HE.

tuus] *tuis* H.
 cum ad te] *quam ad te* H Pal E.
 mei] om. HE.
 perferrentur] M; *perferentur* HE.
 tanti] M; *tanta* H Pal E.
 quantam habet] Pal; *quantum habet* M; *quantum* (om. *habet*) HE.
 aliis] Crat.; *alii* libri.
 secus] Corrad. Lamb. Wes.; *sic* libri.
 3. iis] M; *his* H Pal; *bis* E..
 fuit] *fui* M.
 de uno] H Crat.; *de uno de uno* M.
 cogitavisses] *cogitasses* H.
 cogitare non potueris] M Pal; *cogitaris* HE.
 ego] om. H.
 ceteris] H Pal E; *certis* M quod defendit Lehmann p. 41, ut nos 'definite actions.'
 4. ego] M Pal; om. HE.
 mittimus] HE; *amittimus* M.
 maioribus] Ern. Kl Wes.; *melioribus* libri, Btr.; *amplioribus* coni. Or.
 probarat] Nipperdeius; *probaret* libri.
 eam] M Pal; *eum* HE.
 laudes] *laudas* Pal.
 cohortere] M; *cohortare* HE; *cohortaro* Pal.
 5. ut] Lamb.; om. libri, cp. Fam. ix. 9, 3 (409).
 amore] *amare* M.
 prosequar] *persequar* H.
 tua in me] *in me tua* H.
 recordere] *recordare* H Pal E.

EP. CCCCLI. (FAM. XIII. 10).

2. in illum] om. H Pal.
 augerent] *augerunt* H.
 etiam nunc] *etiam nunc* M, contulit Mendelss. xii. 15, 3; xiii. 15, 2; *etiam* H.
 publicorum] MH Kl; *publicanorum* Pal; vid. Comm.
 causa] H Pal; om. M.
 honestissimum] ^m*honestium* H.
 3. et in conficiendo] M; om. in H.
 Videor] M; *sed videor* H.
 et usui. Nam] H Pal; *eius vinam* M.
 pudentem] edd.; *prudentem* libri, Btr. Mendelss., quae verba saepe sunt confusa, vid. ad Att. ii. 22, 7 (49).
 summaeque industriae] om. -que H.
 4. ego haec] M; *haec ego* H Pal.
 Quod ego] M²H; *quid ego* M¹.
 hoc addito] *addito hoc* H.
 nec ego] *ne ego* M.
 dubitarim] M; *dubitaverim* H Pal.

EP. CCCCLII. (FAM. XIII. 11).

1. Arpinates] libri; om. Bake, Cobet, Btr. fort. recte.

possint] edd.; *possit* libri.

Q. Fufidium] *-que Fufidium* M ut saepe.

Faucium] *lucium* H Pal.

Mamercium] libri; *Mamercum* edd. perperam, ut demonstrat Mendelss. coll. C. I. L. x. 69, 1137, 1138: adde ix. 668, 1159.

2. ut quam] H; *ut qua* M.

3. vero etiam] M; *vero etiam eo* Pal; *vero eo etiam* H, lectiones haudquaquam spernendae.

studio diligentia] MH; *studio diligentiaque* Wes., ut solet; sed asyndeton binorum vocabulorum Ciceroni magno opere cordi erat, vid. Lehmann. p. 25, nosque ad Fam. iv. 7, 6 (486).

EP. CCCCLIII. (FAM. XIII. 12).

1. communiter] supra lineam in H.

deminuam] MH; *comminuam* Pal.

ut hanc addam] H; *ut ad hanc addam* M Pal; *ut ad illam hanc addam* Btr.

2. ut in ea] M; om. *ut* H Pal.

suum commodum] M; *commodum suum* H Pal.

EP. CCCCLIV. (FAM. XIII. 13).

Lucensis] ^c*lucensis* H.

tum] H Pal; *tam* M.

est] M Pal; *est quam* H.

prorsus] H; *prosus* M, quae forma apud Plautum et Frontonem haud raro invenitur, cp. Neue³ ii. 746-7.

commodaveris] H Pal; *commendaveris* M.

Vale] M Pal; *valde* H.

EP. CCCCLV. (FAM. XIII. 14).

1. Titio] Pal M (Index); *Ticio* H (et Index); *titione* M.

equite Romano in] *equite R. in* H; *equiter in* M.

P. Cornelius] *pupillus Cornelius* libri.

Volcatio] *uulcacio* M; *uulcatio* H Pal.

2. quo] M; *quod* H Pal.

aequum] H Pal; *aecum* M.

libertus] M; *liberius* H Pal.

rei causa] *causa rei* H.

EP. CCCCLVI. (FAM. IX. 1).

1. a te] H; *ad te* M; *ad se* Pal.

ut nullam adlevationem] H (sed *adlev.*)

edd. vett.; *nullam adlevationem* M; *nullam ut adlevationem* Crat.; *nullam utlevationem* Or. Btr. Kl.

2. suppudebat] M; *subpigeat* H.

Videbar enim] *videbam enim* M; *videbant enim* H Pal.

mihi cum] om. H.

infidelissimis] H; *infidelissimas* M.

demissem] edd.; *demissum* MH.

Totum locum refingit Usenerus in hunc modum: *Videbam enim invitum me in res turbulentissimas infidelissimis sociis demissum praeceptis illorum non satis paruisse, quod minime displicet si modo invitum omiseris, cui omissioni patrocinator Mendelssohn, qui etiam nimirum pro enim dat.*

in ea] Lamb.; *in eo* MH Kl.

ea quae . . . ea quae] H Pal; *aequae* . . . *aequae* M.

facile transiturum] M², Med (49, 7); *facile turum* M¹; *facile sciturum* H; *facile laturum* Pal Btr.

ad te] M; *stare tibi* H; *adire* Pal.

diudicetur] H; *diuidetur* M; *diuidiatur* Pal; *iudicetur* Benedictus Ern. Kl; *videatur* Crat. Or.

EP. CCCCLVII. (FAM. XIII. 29).

1. habent] Crat.; *habeant* MH Lamb. Or.

tenentur] MH; *teneantur* Lamb. Or.

in te amor] M; *amor in te* Pal; *amor* H.

quisque tibi] MH; *tibi quisque* Pal.

coli] H Pal; *cogi* M.

est per se] MH; *per se est* Pal.

tum eorum] edd.; *tum meorum* libri.

ipsae] M; *ipsas* H Pal.

2. Capitone] *captione* H et infra, § 3. et honorum] om. *et* H.

3. sorte] *forte* H.

quam ad] *quam ut* libri.

cum] om. libri.

attigit] M; *attingit* H.

4. non possum dicere eum profuisse] M; *non* (om. H) *possum dicere eum non praefuisse* H Pal.

an] *aut* H Pal, fort. recte.

a castris] Pal; *a gastris* M et infra; *castris* (om. *a*) H.

enim] om. H.

ille] om. Pal.

abdedit] M; *addidit* H.

se ad hominem necessarium] H; *se ad hominem se necessarium* M.

ad HS] *enim HS* H.

5. nullam rem possim] Wes.; om. *rem* libri; *non possim* Lamb. coll. Fam. xii. 24, 3; *nulla in re possim* Starker.

summa tua gratia] M; om. *tua* H.

voluissem] Kl; *potuissem* M; *potuisse* H; *petissem* edd. Btr. Mendelss.; *petivissem* Vict.

6. quantum ipsum] M; *quantum ipse* H Pal.

7. intellexerim] Pal; *intellexi* codd. aliquot, Madv. Boot. qui putant librarium *intellexi* ad praecedens *fecerim* et sequens *fuero* accommodasse.

id fecisse] Pal, ed. 1584 marg.; *id feci* MH; *id fecisse me* Wes.

quod] *quo* libri.

EP. CCCCLVIII. (FAM. V. 21).

1. te] HP; *et* M.

adfectum esse] om. H.

esse ita] *ita esse* H.

mihi omnia] Vict. Wes.; *mihi communia omnia* MPH (sed H om. *mihi*); *mihi commoda omnia* Kl; *mihi omnino omnia* Or.; *mihi communia <et propria commoda> omnia* Lehmann.

Tum enim] Kl; *utenim* M; *tu enim* H; *ut tu enim* P; *etenim* Lamb.

esset] *esses* H.

cum alii] om. *cum* P.

ipsa uti] *uti ipsa* H.

2. existimare] *explicare* H.

tu] om. H.

timueram] *timuram* M.

quam illum effeceram] om. P.

quavis tuta] *quavis tota* MH; *quamvis tota* P.

et multa] om. *et* H.

3. adducta] *abducta* H.

inter eorum] *in eorum* H.

animus] *animus meus* Wes.

quam] *quod* H.

iuvitque] *luitque* MPH: cp. Corssen Vokalismus i², p. 316.

fere qui] *fereque* MH; *fere quique* P.

vitam ingenuam] Or. Wes.; *vita ingenua* libri.

libera] Ern.; *in libera* libri; *in libera rep* Wes.

4. sic] P (m. 2); *si* HP (m. 1); *si* (una littera erasa) M.

beati] om. H.

contemnere] *contenere* M.

debeamus] Man; *debeamus* libri.

propterea . . . debeamus] om. H.

5. fruire] *fuere* M.

ac peccatum] uncis incluserunt Kl et Btr. coll. Fam. vi. 1, 4 (538): 4, 2 (540).

sit inhonorabile] HP; *sit honorabile* M; *sit horribile* codd. dett., fort. recte, cf. cum Mendelss. Cic. Sull. 59.

aut] *ac* H.

posse] om. HP.

videndi] *videndus* HP.

EP. CCCCLIX. (ATT. XII. 2).

“Hanc et omnes sequentes huius libri epistolas uno tenore cum prima coniungit M” Btr.

1. rumores tamen] M; *rumor est* Or. vulg.

L. naves delatas] *L. navis delata* in M; *L. navem delatam* (ut fuerit L. non quinquaginta sed nominis proprii compendium) Boot; *relatas* Wes.

reflatu] *reflatur* M.

2. αὐτῷ μέλει] C; ΑΥΤΩΝ ΜΕΛΕΙ M.

homini non recta] C; *hominem recta* M.

†fructum] M; πεπραχθαι nos; *fractum, confectum, peractum, transactum* alii. Simili errore M exhibet clypo pro ἀτύπω cccclxviii. 2; *ni id modo* pro κινδυνώδη cccclxxv. 2; *festivo* pro σοφιστεύω cccclxiv. 1.

EP. CCCCLX. (FAM. IX. 3).

1. quid] MH Btr. Kl.; *quod* Ern.; *novi quod* Wes. dubitanter.

Caninio] H Pal; *animo* M, cp. Fam. ix. 6, 6 (470).

cito] M²H; *cita* M¹.

nos] *non* libri.

tanto incendio] MH Wes.; *tanto in incendio* Kayser.

Quid refert] MH edd.; fort. *Sed quid refert?* De tota loci ratione vid. Comm.

2. persequar] H Pal Wes. (i. q. persequar te), vid. Comm.; *persequare* M; *persequar te* Benedictus Or. Btr.

nostrae] H Pal; *nostras* M.

in re alia] H Pal; *increalia* M.

medicinae] MH; *medicina* Lamb. Btr. Vid. Comm.

γλαῦκ' εἰς] γλαυκεῖς MH.

rescriberes] *res scriberes* M; *rescribere* H Pal.

EP. CCCCLXI. (FAM. IX. 2).

1. tuus idem et idem noster] Ern. Kl Btr.; *idem et idem noster* M; *idem eidem*

noster M (Index); *frater noster* H; *idem frater noster* H (Index); *tuus et idem noster* Man. Schütz. Wes. Optime Mendelssohn, 'malim *tuus eidem noster*—scilicet in arch-

idem
etypo videtur fuisse *tuus eidem noster* (nr, quae nota in parte codicum abiit in *fr* = *frater*) adscriptumque *idem* expulisse postea non *eidem* sed *tuus*. Masc. sing. *eidem* saepe in libris invenitur Fam. xiii. 1, 3; Att. i. 11, 1; i. 14, 1, 5: cp. Lachmann, Lucret. i. 120.

pervesperi] forma incerta: *nuper vesperi* edd. nonnulli.

postridie] *postera die* H Pal.

ad te iturum esse] H; *ad te iterum isse* M.

daturum aliquid] M; *daturum litterarum aliquid* H.

Ac tamen] H; *attamen* M Pal.

At tibi] *a tibi* M; *ac tibi* H; *ac ibi* Pal.

exspectarem] *exispectarem* M.

ut cum] Graevius; *et cum* libri.

tui] *erasum* in M; *tum* H Pal.

2. *autem*] H Pal; *ante me* M.

linguas] H; *linguis* M.

possimus] MH Btr.: *possumus* cod. Neap., Wes.

nostros] M Pal; *nos* H.

cur cum] H Pal; *circum* M.

sint] H; *sunt* M.

est enim tam] H; *est tam* M Pal.

3. *possent*] Crat.; *possunt* libri.

λεληθότως] *αεαηοοτως* H, ut exemplum detur contortae Graecorum scripturae.

diuturna callum iam] edd.; *diurna calumniam* MH.

4. *mei consilii*] M; *consilii mei* H Pal.

effervescit] MH; *defervescat* Lamb.; *defervescit* alii.

intererit] H Pal; *interit* M.

5. *hinc*] H; *hic* M.

quam] H, sed supra lineam man. alt.; om. M Pal.

haec] MH; *hoc* Wes. Vid. Comm.

modo nobis stet illud una] M; *nobis istec modo illud una* Pal; *nobis istec una illud modo* H (verbis foeda confusione intermixtis).

potius] H Pal; *patius* M; *protinus* O. Hirschfeld.

πολιτείας] *politias* libri.

gubernare] Vict.; *gravare* MH; *navare* Bill.; *gnavare* Mendelss., quam formam defendunt libri Verr. iii. 53, Leg. Manil. 18, condemnat Cicero ipse, Orat. 158.

erit] M; *est* H Pal.

EP. CCCCLXII. (FAM. IX. 7).

1. *Seium*] M Pal; *Sevium* H.

ante] *antea a te* MH; del. *a te* Man. Graev. Btr. Mendelss. recte.

esse te si] Man.; *esse si* H Pal; *esset si* M; *esses si* Lamb.; *esse si alii*; *esse ut si* C. F. Hermann.

ἐρχομένω] *ερχωλλενω* M; *ερχωμενω* H.

equis] *aequis* H.

Quid hic] Pal; *qui hic* MH.

2. *sit nihil*] M; *nihil sit* H Pal.

scimus] *sosmus* MH.

de Baiis] *debais* libri.

Veliam: sed iam *sciemus*] Wes. (Em. p. 96); om. *sed iam* libri; *Veliam iam sciemus* Btr. Kl.

πολλοι] Graeca in H foede corrupta; nec postea nisi raro contortiones Graecas istius libri exhibebimus. In M superscripta sunt versiculo Graeco verba Latina *multi discipuli meliores magistris*.

quid] *quod* libri.

tuas litteras] M; *litteras tuas* H Pal

EP. CCCCLXIII. (FAM. IX. 5).

1. *sequar*] *sequatur* libri.

2. *ne si*] *nisi* libri.

secuti] *locuti* libri.

fuius] HM²; *fumus* M¹.

quam severitatem otiosorum] *quam si veritatem otio soluo* (solum M) libri.

habet] *haberet* libri.

illos] H Pal; *illo* M.

occiderunt quam] H Pal; *occider ut-quam* M.

EP. CCCCLXIV. (FAM. VII. 3).

1. *quin*] om. HP.

IIII. *Id.*] Wes.; III. *Id.* libri.

vesperi venissem] *venissem vesperi* H.

te] om. HP.

deessem] *dessem* M.

factu] om. HP.

2. *loquor*] *locorum* HP.

reliqui] *reliquos* Wes.

horrerem: *maximum*] *horrentem*. *Maximum* H.

Pompeius . . . sententia] om. H in textu, add. in ima pagina.

in ea] *mea* H.

suis militibus confidere] *confidere suis militibus* H.

nullus imperator] MH; *nullius imperii* P.

tirone] *tipone* H; *tirones* P.

exercitu] *cum exercitu* HP.
 cum] om. H.
 3. ad Iubam] *adibam* H.
 tanquam] del. Mendelss., utpote illa-
 tum ex § 4.
 exsilio] *eximilio* H; *in exilio* P.
 consciscenda] H; *conscidenda* M.
 iis] om. HP.
 incommodis] om. H.
 est] om. P.
 dixi] om. H.
 4. sin nulla] P, vid. Comm.; *si nul-*
lam M; *si non ulla* H.
 est enim] *enim est* H.
 esse] MH; *est* P.
 magnum est] *fuit magnum* H.
 habeam] om. H.
 5. ad te] *a te* H.
 mei] *mea* H.
 meum consilium] *consilium meum* H.
 tantum] om. P.
 unus] *unius* HP.
 ut obsisti ei non posset] Wes.; om. *ei*
 libri.
 uno] *una* H.
 me voluisse] *melius se* H.
 potuerim] *potuerunt* H.
 incommodiore] *in mediocri* H.
 Rhodum me] om. *me* libri.
 Mytilenas] M; *militenas* H; *mitilenas*
me P.
 6. haberes] *haberem* H.
 quid diceres] *quod diceres* Lamb.
 certo] *certe* P.
 honeste] H; *non este* M.
 fortasse . . . longiorem] om. HP.
 remiseras] *ne mireris* H.
 tempore] om. H.

EP. CCCCLXV. (FAM. VI. 22).

nec quid] *ne quid* (et mox idem error
 bis) H.
 consilium] om. P.
 deesset] HP; *desse* M.
 sunt nunc atque etiam] Lamb. Wes.;
sunt nunc etiam atque etiam MH; comma
 post *sunt* posuit Or.; post prius *etiam*
 Seyffert, Mendelss.
 nullas] *nullis* HP.
 2. conatum] *conatus* H.
 reipublicae causa] *causas* (om. *reip.*)
 H.
 potuisses] *potuisse* HP.
 vivendi] *vinciendi* P.
 quaeque] edd.; *quique* MH; *quaque*
 P; *cuicuiusmodi* coni. Mendelss. dubitanter.
 hortarer] *hortaretur* H.
 eum tibi] *eundem tibi* H.
 pari te] *parte* HP.

qui ex te pendent] edd.; *qui e pendent*
 M; *qui expendent* H; *qui de te pendent* P
 Streicher vid. Comm.
 coniunctos] *compunctos* H; *cum iunctos*
 P.
 amisisti] M²; *misisti* M¹HP.
 at] M; *ac* H; *aut* P.
 3. tibi] om. H.
 tuam] om. H.
 arbitror] *arbitror* HP.
 summo studio] *studio summo* H.

EP. CCCCLXVI. (FAM. IX. 4).

κρίνειν] *κρῖνειν* M; *κρῖνεινε* H.
 esse te venire] H; *esset evenire* M;
est evenire Pal.
 es ἀδύνατον] Pal Wes. optime, vid.
 Comm.; *est αδυνατων* MH; *es των αδυνα-*
των vulg.
 est te venire] M Pal; *esse evenire* H.
 Chrysippi an haec] Man. Btr.; *Chry-*
sippias haec libri; *Χρυσίππειαν* an haec
 vulg.
 concoquebat] *coquebat* H Pal.
 loquemur] *loquemus* H.
 Χρύσιππον] *χρυσίπποδ* H.
 δυνατόν] *αδυνατον* M Pal; *δυντον* H.
 Coctio] libri; *Cocceio* Corr.
 ad nos, nos accurremus] Vict. edd.;
ad nos accurremus MH.
 bibliotheca] H; *bybliothea* M.

EP. CCCCLXVII. (ATT. XII. 5, § 4).

misi Tironem] *mutironem* M.
 ei in] Or.; *et in* M.
 Nicasionumque] C; *me assionumque*
 M; *exactionumque* Schmidt.
 longae] *longas* M.

EP. CCCCLXVIII. (ATT. XII. 3).

Alterum huius ep. exemplum in Att.
 xvi. 5 post verbum *revertar* § 3 exhibet
 codex Mediceus; hoc nos, ut Btr., littera
 m designabimus.
 quam me] M²m; om. M¹.
 et si] M; *aut si* m.
 ne vivam] MC; *veniam* m.
 ceteroqui] *cetero qui* m; del. M.
 νῆσοι] NHCCOI M.
 tot dies] m; *totos dies* M.
 auctione] M; *auctore* m.
 Venn. me hist.] M; *vennone historiam*
 m.
 2. illud quod a Caesare] Cm; *aliud*
quid cesare M.

ab hasta] m; *ab hastam* M.
 a] m; om. M.
 annua die] M; *annuad te* m.
 iste] m; *ipse* M.
 Metonis] M; *mentionis* m.
 condicione semissem] R; *conditiones*
emissem M; *conditionis emisse* m; *con-*
dicionem semisse Lamb.
 sed ludis] Man.; *sedulis* m; *et sedulo*
iis M.
 atypo] nos; *clypo* MZ; *olympo* m;
Olympo Wes.; lectio *κτύπῳ* ut fictis
 codicibus Bosianis innixa furca expellenda
 est; *ἀτύπῳ* cum Popma Boot.
 tu . . . plurimam] m (sed *plurimum*);
 om. M.

EP. CCCCLXIX. (ATT. XII. 4).

1. Tiro] *ciro* M.
ἐνερ.] CM¹; *ἐμβριθέστερον* (superscr.
gravius) M².
 2. sententiis] cave ne cogites de *seriis*
 quod codd. Bos. innititur.
ψιλῶς que] *ψειλῶς* que M¹Zl; *ψευδῶς*
que (superscr. *mendax*) M².
 istis] Bos.; *est* M¹; *est iis* M².

EP. CCCCLXX. (FAM. IX. 6).

1. oportere. Est] *oportere et est* H,
 et similiter infra *interesset et sed: tui et*
hoc. Neque raro agitatur H insania nescio
 quae et inserendi.
 Caesaris scilicet] *uncis incluserunt*
Vict. Lamb.
 faceret] *facere* M¹.
 ei molestos] M; *molestos ei* H Pal.
 Ostiae] H Pal; *optiae* M.
 2. ut utrobique] quae sola est vera
 vocabuli forma: *utar ubique* M; *utrobique*
 H et hic et Fam. x. 31, 2 ubi M veram
 formam dat.
 sit] M; *est* H Pal.
 ostentavi] M; *ostentatur* H; *ostentare*
volui Bake.
 equidem iam nescio] Lamb. Kl Btr.
 Wes.; *quidem iam nescio* Pal; *quidem iam*
scio MH. Fort. *quid enim mihi iam*
conscio? Vid. Comm.
 esse] M; *est* H.
 3. videremus] H; *viderimus* M.
 cum illud] Lamb. edd.; *quam illud*
libri.
 interitum] Kl Btr. Wes.; *interitu*
libri.
 otiosissimi] H Pal Btr.; *otiosis si* M;
otiosissimis Krauss.

quam vel emori vel cum spe si] *quam*
velle mori vel cum spes si libri.

at] *aut* H Pal.

4. duxerim quod] libri; *duxi tum*
quod vel duxi tum nunc maximum quod
Wes.

anteponenda; equidem] *anteponendae*
quidem M; *anteponendo* (-*dus* Pal) *equi-*
dem H Pal.

5. praeponendam] M; *proponenda* H.
quandam] Gebhard; *eandem* libri.

6. Caninius] H Pal; *animus* M, cp.
 Fam. ix. 3, 1 (460).

†iure] libri; *is* Pal (man. sec.) edd.
 vett.: *ille* Kl; *pure* Madv. (A. C. iii.
 162): *scriberem* Krauss, quod, ut in des-
 peratis, amplectibus Mendels. Totum
 locum ita dat Boot (Obs. Crit. 19) *is enim*
si quid ego scirem quod tu nescires ut
scriberem rogarat, quod fortasse non
 prorsus displicebit si modo *ut scriberem*
 post *scirem* pones.

scirem] H Pal; *scire* M.

quod] H; *quid* M.

sint] libri; *sunt* Wes.

quae e re tua audiero] nos; *quae tua*
audiero MH; *quaeque tua interesse videro*
Schütz; *quae vera audiero* Kl; *quae te*
scire interesse tua videro Wes. Kays.
 (sed om. *te*); *quae tua audire interest,*
simul ipse audiero Lehmann; *quaecum-*
que audiero Madv.; *quacunque via audiero*
Krauss.; *quantum audiero* O. Hirschfeld.

EP. CCCCLXXI. (ATT. XII. 5, §§ 1, 2).

1. 'Quintus frater quartum'] verba
 ex Ennio sumpta notavimus.
 et Statio] *et Stathio* C; *testario* M.
 dedecore] *decere* M.
 os, in] Lamb.; *osin* MZ.
Πειρήνην] Vict.; *ΗΕΡΙΝΗΝ* M.
ἄμπνευμα] *ΑΝΑΠΝΕΜΑ* (= *ἀνάπνευμα*)
 M.
 in te κρήνη] Lehmann.; *ΙΝΤΕΡΗΝΗΝ*
 M; *νετρηνην* Z; *in te κρήνην* Bos.;
 [κρήνην] edd. plerique.

EP. CCCCLXXII. (FAM. IX. 16).

1. amavi] libri, recte ut demonstrat
 Lehmann, p. 86 coll. Fam. xiii. 62 (234),
 Att. ii. 10 (38); *animadverti* Kleyn Btr.;
agnovi Boot, Becher.
 antea] M; *ante* H Pal.
 bis] M; *his* H Pal.
 quo modo] libri; *quoquo modo* Btr.
 Kl Wes.

2. fieri potuerit] Crat.; *fieri poterit* libri.

elaborari] M; ⁱ*excogitare* H.
conciliandam et conligendam] H; *con-*
ciliandum et conligendum M.

a] om. M Pal.

ut] om. H Pal.

Nam etsi] MH; *tametsi* Crat. Madv. Wes.

incidat] M²; *incidit* M¹H.

aliquo . . . argumento] om. H.

3. a iure] M; om. a H Pal.

in civitate] M; *incitata* H.

opinionem] H Pal; om. M; *famam* Vict.; *offensionem* codd. nonnulli.

mihi est abicienda] M; *abicienda est* mihi H; *est mihi abicienda* Pal.

est] libri; *sit* Bake, Btr.

possem] *possim* H.

4. Plauti non] M; *Plautinus* H.

ἀποφθεγμάτων] *ἀποφθεγματῶρον* MH.

multa quae] *multaque* MH; *multa* quod Pal.

praeterea de me] *praetereadem* M.

Oenomao] *denomao* M Pal; *de Oenomao* H.

Accianos] libri; *Attianos* alii.

5. posse] Wes.; *esse* libri, fort. recte.
et quod cum] Crat.; *et qui cum* libri;
et quia cum alii.

aut] H Pal; *ut* M.

6. non iam] edd.; *non modo iam* libri.

7. olim] *enim* H.

Atellanam] *atellatum* MH; *atellum* Pal.

pompilum] *Rutilius*; *popillium* MH;
popilium Pal; *polypum* Corr.

denarium] libri; *thynnarium* Ruti-
lius; *thynnum* Schütz; *cantharus* Men-
delss. coll. Ovid. Hal. 103 *cantharus*
ingrato succo: naritam (= *νηρέτην*)
Schoell.

patinam] *patina* M.

apud me declamitare me apud illos] H
Pal; om. M.

habebas] MH; *augebas* Lamb.

quaesticulus] Or.; *quaesticulis* M;
questiunculis H Pal.

faciebat] M Pal (m. 1); *faciebam* Pal
(m. 2).

non est quod non eo sis consilio] Leh-
mann; *non eo sis consilio* libri; *non eo*
possis consilio uti Madv.; *non est quod eo*
sis consilio Wes.; *non eo sis censeo animo*
Müller.

etiam haec] M; *et tamen haec* Or.
Wes.

8. te mihi] M; *mihi te* H Pal.

revocare] M²H; *revore* M¹.

miniati] Lamb.; *miniani* libri, quam

formam Mendelss. retinet; '*Minianus*'
inquit vir doctus, '*Jupiter* vulgaris potuit
esse locutio, formata ea ad *Levanae Prae-*
stanae Tutani Vorani exempla.'

eam] M; *eam tu* H Pal.

debilitari] H; *delibitari* M Pal.

9. calfacias] M; *calefatias* Pal; *facias*
H.

10. Seliciana] *seciliana* H.

saniorum] nos; *sannonum* M; *sannio-*
rum H; *sanorum* Hofm.; *sannionum* Pal
Kl Wes. Mendelss.

EP. CCCCLXXIII. (FAM. IX. 18).

Hanc epistolam omisit H, quamquam
eius rationem habet Index.

1. propterea] H; *praeterea* M Pal.

quibus] Pal; *qui* M.

2. consilium me] *consilio me* M Pal;
consilia me alii.

At] M; *et* Pal.

3. delectas] Pal Or.; *delectat* M; *de-*
lectato alii.

ego me] *ego mihi* M Pal.

disce a me] Bengel; *disceam* M; *discea*
Pal; *disce iam* alii.

προλεγόμενας] *προηγμένα* coni. Men-
delss.

4. Sed quomodo videro. Si] Bengel;
sed quomodo video si M; om. *si* Pal. Hinc
educit Mendelss. *si, quomodo video, aesti-*
mationes utpote s; (= sed) confusum esset
cum si, ingeniose quidem et fort. recte.

remigrandum] *remigandum* M; *reme-*
andum Pal.

item istic] Or. Wes.; *idem istuc* M.

Actum] *factum* M Pal.

EP. CCCCLXXIV. (FAM. VII. 33).

1. damni] *dampni* H.

Hirtio] *hyrcio* H.

causa] om. HP.

invideres] *invideret* H.

mi suavissime] *mihi suavisime* M;
mihi suasum mi H; *mihi sua sum est* P.

ingemescamus] M; *ingemiscamus* HP
(ex corr.).

Accium] M; *acium* H.

abiecta gloria] *abiecta a gloria* libri.

2. venies] Junta; *venis* libri.

concursum] corr. ex *controversum* H.

quas si] *quasi* libri.

exceperimus] libri; *expedierimus* Madv.
(A. C. iii. 159).

vel potius] *tibi potius* H.

studiis iisdem] *studii siidem* H.

huc] libri; *hic* edd.; *adhuc* Madv.

in eis] Lamb.; meis MH; tuis Wes.; del. Ern. Or.

per librarios] Or.; pluribus libri; per-
invitus Vatic. cod., Vict.; difficilior K. F.
Hermann; durius vel importunius Scheibe;
plane invitus Kleyn; putidius Seyffert;
parum libenter Kl; invitius (coll. De
Orat. ii. 364) Kayser, cp. Att. viii. 3, 4
(333), quam coniecturarum nubem Baitero
debemus; adde sis pigrius Madv. Grae-
cum vocabulum latere putat Mendels.

EP. CCCCLXXV. (FAM. IX. 20).

1. velitem] ut item H.
oneratum] honeratum H.
vitulinum] edd.; vitilinum M; vitel-
linum H Pal.

quae] edd.; quam libri.
abierunt. Nunc] Or.; habierunt non
M; abierunt (om. non) sed littera ante
abierunt erasa H. Pro nunc Kl nos dat;
Pal, edd. vett., Btr. nam.

castra] cassatra M.
coniecimus] H Pal; coiecimus M.
2. et edaci] M; om. et H; enim et
Pal.

sportellae] M Pal (m. 2); sportulae H
Pal (m. 1).

artolagani] edd.; artolagyni libri.
exquisite artis] Wes. coll. Fam. x.
29, ubi M ben pro benevolentia exhibet,
sed in fine versus; ex artis MH; etiam
artis codd. dett. Forte ex artis praeceptis
coll. Hor. Sat. ii. 4, 2; vid. Comm.: ex
areis Vict. quod quid significet nescimus:
'genus quoddam,' inquit Vict. ipse, 'pos-
sessionum est ex quo certi quaestus
capiebantur' (qu. 'threshing-floors').
Gronovius eandem lectionem, ut videtur
exponit his verbis 'ex hortis in areolas
distributis tantum delicatiorum obusculo-
rum colligo ut Verrium et Camillum
saepius invitem'; ex artibus Or.; ex arte
ista Krauss.; exercitationis Busch; Grae-
cum quoddam latere suspicantur et
Mendels. et Boeckel ὁψαπτυσίας vel potius
ὁψαπτυτικῆς; ἐξοχῆς 'leading position,'
coll. Att. iv. 15, 7 (143), nos olim, neque
nunc quidem illius coniecturae nos paeni-
tet: om. ex Ern.; pro ex dat etiam Kl.

qua] H; quam M.
elegantia] eligantia H et hic et ad F.
ix. 19, 2 (478).

saepius] saepimus H.
etiam] om. H Pal.
nihil potuit] MH; nihil non potuit
edd. post Orellium.

3. nunc vita nostra] M; vita nostra
nunc H.

perofficose] M; perfitiose H.

audiunt] libri; audiant alii.

comedim] M; cp. Nonium s. v. Co-
medim 83, 30 'Cicero ad Varronem
epistola Paeti (= ad Paetum scripta) sed
cura . . . parcere'; comedam H.

EP. CCCCLXXVI. (FAM. VII. 27).

T. FADIO GALLO] Pighius; GALLO MH.

1. enim] om. H.

te] om. HP.

restituat] MH; restituast P.

tu] ut HP.

Tribunatum] tribunum libri.

quaereres] querres H.

sentiam] sententiam H.

2. vis te] iuste H.

tibi me] me tibi H.

fuerunt] sunt H.

testis quid mihi] H; om. quid M.

EP. CCCCLXXVII. (FAM. VII. 28).

1. nobiscum] nobis H.

fuit] Wes.; om. libri.

Patrae] patre MH; patrem P.

in Graeciam] integre etiam H.

qui] quod HP.

quis qui] quisquis H.

2. tu] om. H.

Pelopidarum] pelopedarum P; pelopi
clarum H.

salutationi nos] nos salutationi HP.

albam] H; aluam M.

enim] om. H.

discere] Madv.; dicere libri; om.
Graevius.

meis] miis M.

libris] libis H.

3. tum] tunc H.

suis erga] om. M; suis erg- om. H;

a suis (om. erga me) P.

meis] a meis libri.

vita mea] Wes.; vita Kleyn coll. F.

x. 12, 5, xi. 5, 3; om. libri.

carior] karior H.

quamquam] om. H.

consolatur] non solatur H.

valere] valeret M.

quae stultis] HP; qua est vitis M.

doleo] bis in H.

nunc] om. H.

in cuius] ut cuius H.

id] ad HP.

etiam nostra] etiam in nostra libri.

de] H; om. M.

prima] MP; primam H.

redeo] om. HP.

EP. CCCCLXXVIII. (FAM. IX. 19).

1. a] MH (Index); om. MH.
discedis? Tenuiculo] *discedis tenuiculo*
M; *discedisti nuculo* H; *discedis* (-es in
marg.) *tonuculo* Pal.
significas] *sigificas* M.
venit] Schütz Mendelss.; *venisse* MH.
ad suam] libri; *ad suum* (i.e. Caesa-
rem) Benedict Btr.; *ut suam* Mendelss.
Vid. Comm.
tribus primis] M; *primis tribus* H
Pal.
adiurans] *atiurans* M.
umquam] *eum quam* M.
2. disertos] *dissertos* M.
me expediero] M; *expediero me* H Pal.

EP. CCCCLXXIX. (FAM. IX. 26).

1. harum] MH, cp. Fam. xi. 14, 3;
harum litterarum Kl Btr.
excruciem me] M¹ Pal H; *excruciemne*
me M².
in] om. H.
possem] libri; *posse* Starker, Mendelss.
viverem] H; *vivere* M.
unum *ἑτηνα* Dioni] M (sed *zetema*);
unum. Zetē. adioni H.
2. Cytheris] M; *citeris* H.
aspectabant] *aspectabam* MH Pal
(marg.); *expectabam* Pal.
Graii ora] *grailora* libri.
sua] om. H; *supra scriptum* Pal.
tamen ne] H Pal Crat.; om. *ne* M.
[a Laide] uncis inclusit Lamb. etsi
omnes libri haec verba exhibeant. For-
sitan Cicero scripsisset *habeo Laida non*
habeor ab illa. Vid. Comm.
interpretabere] M²H; *interpretavere*
M¹.
gemitum in risus] edd.; *gemitum et in*
risus libri.
3. qui cum ille] Wes.; om. *qui* MH;
cumque ille Lehmann.
quid] H; *quidquid* M Pal. Vid.
Comm.
baro] M; *paro* H.
Quid id] Btr. Wes.; *Quid hoc* Schütz;
om. *id* libri, fort. recte.
At hercule] *Ad hercule* M; om. *at* H
Pal.
num quid ad te] H; *non quid ad te*
M; Wes. putat vocabula *quid ad te* repe-
tita veram lectionem vel *non est negligenda*
vel *non est parvi* vel simile aliquid expu-
lisse: *At hercule cena nimium quantum ad*
te, ibi praesertim Schütz; *At hercule*
γύναιον προσκοπή (vel simile Graecum

quoddam) *tibi praesertim* Mendelss. Vid.
Comm.

- ibi] *tibi* M; om. H.
4. aliquid legitur] MH; *aliquid aut*
legitur Bake coll. Fam. ix. 20, 3 (475).
accipies, multi] libri, asyndeto haud
raro; *accipies sed multi* Lamb.
ioci] Pal; *loci* MH.

EP. CCCCLXXX. (FAM. IX. 17).

1. Non] libri; *Ne* Gronov., sed *libros*
bene defendit Watsonus.
scire ego quoque] Btr. Wes.; om. *ego*
MH.
igitur] M²; *igi* M¹.
si qui] MH; *si quis* Pal.
2. Veientem] M; *velentem* H Pal.
idemque] *idem quod* libri.
3. postulatura sint] M; *postulatura*
sunt H.
ascribam quod est verissimum] M;
quod est verissimum adscribam H; *ad te*
scribam quod est verissimum Pal.
tua sapientia] M; *sapientia tua* H;
tua prudentia Pal.
ferre] M; *fere* H.

EP. CCCCLXXXI. (FAM. IX. 15).

1. tuis epistolis] *epistolis tuis* H.
quadriduo] M¹; *quatrduo* M²; *triduo*
H.
acceperam] *coeperam* H.
Zetho] *letho* H; *retho* Pal.
Phileros] *Pileros* libri.
pergratam . . . perspectum] Lamb.,
nimirum ex codd.; *pergratam tibi esse*
(om. *esse* H) *curam meam valetudinis tuae*
quam tibi perspectam Pal H, et Corrad.
ex quattuor codd. suis; *pergratam tibi*
perspectum M; *pergratam tibi esse senten-*
tiam meam et animum meum perspectum
circa curam valetudinis tuae quam tibi esse
gaudeo Edd. duae vetustiores Italicae
(teste Graevio).
est reapse] *est re ipsa* H (m. 1); *est*
res ipsa H (m. 2); *reabse* M.
et iampridem] *etiam pridem* libri.
2. quod lubet] *quod libet* H; *quid*
lubet M; *quidlibet* Pal.
facetiis] Pal; *fac et his* M; *facetis*
H.
Latio] libri; *Lati* Madv.; *luto* Hirsch-
feld.
etiam] om. H; *etiam in* Madv.
Laelios] libri; *Aelios* Or.
Ad hos] *At hos* M.
3. moderationis] libri; *commorationis*

Man. (aut Lamb.); *demorationis* Gulielmii.

urbane] Madv. (Fin.³ pp. 806-7); *urbanae* libri. Vid. Comm.

est] om. H.

4. consulta] *consultu* H.

sum et urgeo forum] *sumet geoforum* H.

senatus consulta] M; s. c. H idemque infra.

ponor] M¹H; *conor* M².

ad scribendum] libri; *adfuisse scribendo* Man. *perperam*.

me iocari] *iocari me* H.

mihi scito] *mihi cito* H.

5. noster hic] *noster* H.

parebo] Pal corr. ex *probo*; *probo* MH.

cum] edd.; *quam* libri.

ad fungos me tuos] *ad me fungos tuos* H.

in denos] *inde nos* H.

Sullanam] *Sillanam* H.

perspicias] *perficias* H.

EP. CCCCLXXXII. (FAM. XIII. 68).

1. reliquum] *relicuum* M.

etiam] om. H.

2. de republica] libri; *de reipublicae* Crat. Btr.

Quid agatur autem scribam saepius] M; *quid autem agatur sepius scribam* H.

debet esse] M; om. *esse* H.

3. arbitrabor summo studio] M; *arbitror studio summo* H.

patrem tuum] M; *tuum patrem* H Pal.

debeo] MH; *debeo*. Vale Pal.

EP. CCCCLXXXIII. (FAM. IV. 13).

1. nulla] *ulla* P.

ne quid tale] *ne quid tibi tale* HP.

debebat] *debeat* HP.

Quod pollicerer] *quid pollicerer* libri.

enim] om. P.

abiectus] edd.; *adiectus* M; *adfectus* HP; *adflictus* alii; *addictus* Gebhard.

viverem] *vivere* H.

2. nulla] *nullam* H.

nihilominus] Kl (ed. 1); *nihil* libri; *non nihil* Btr.; *multeis* Kl (ed. 2).

ut ipsum] libri; *ut id ipsum* Or. Btr.

familiarissimis] M²HP; *familiarissimus* M¹.

nec] om. HP.

id ipsum] HP; *deipsum* M; *id ipse* Or.; om. Crat.

nos olim] HP; *non solim* M.

quidem omnibus] HP; *qui demonibus* M.

summam] HP; *summa* M.

quam vis et] P; *quamvis est* MH.

3. iis rebus] om. P.

tum] *tunc* M.

ad agendum] om. *ad* H.

nullam] om. P.

P. Nigidio] M; *pernigimo* H; *pernigidi* P.

possum] H; *possim* MP.

4. Reliquum] HP; *relicum* M.

ut consoler] libri; *ut te consoler* Lamb.

At] *dat* H.

ullo] *illo* HP.

quae ab] corr. ex *qui ab* M.

dignum] corr. ex *dignitatum* H.

id tibi] *Itaque tibi* H.

es hoc] *etiam nos es hoc* P.

5. Videor] edd.; *video* libri.

loquuntur] HP; *locuntur* M.

Etiam] *et non* P.

postea multum] nos; om. libri; *plus iam* Wes.; *rursus con.* Mendelss. 'si quid mutandum sit.'

necesse est] HP; *necesset* M.

a quibus] Lamb.; om. *a* libri.

6. pollicear] *polliceat* M.

insinuabo] *insidiabo* H. A nonnullis *me ante insinuabo* insertum est sine iusta causa. Vid. Comm.

pervenire] libri; *perveniri* Lamb. Btr.; *pervenire me* alii.

Ceteraque] M¹; *cetera* M²H.

certo] *certe* HP.

Hac] *ac* M; *ea* HP.

7. orem] HP Vict.; *ortem* M; *horter* alii.

animo ut maximo] *animo maximo ut* H.

sis] HP; *si* M.

colliges] edd.; *colleges* M; *colligas* HP.

et quae accident . . . optime] om. P.

optime] libri; *optima* Madv.

EP. CCCCLXXXIV. (FAM. IV. 15).

Inscriptionem om. libri et Indices.

1. perbreves] *brevis* P.

tuas litteras] *litteras tuas* HP.

autem] om. P.

id] om. H.

quam] HP; *quem* M.

scieram] M; *scissem* H; *sciebam* Lamb.

si scissem] H; *siiscissem* M; *si scissem* P.

2. antea] *ante* H.

oportere] H; corr. ex *oporteret* M.
 hoc te tempore] Wes.; om. *te* libri;
 vid. Comm.
 ne quo in periculo] Lamb.; om. *in*
 libri; *neque periculo* P.
 et] *aut* libri.

EP. CCCCLXXXV. (FAM. IV. 8).

1. unumque] *virumque* HP.
 sin te] *si me* H.
 ita abundo] *tam habundo* H.
 Reliquum] P; *reliquum* H; *relicuum*
 M.
 re eum] M²; *reum* M¹; *re* HP.
 et] *ut* libri.
 tui] *tua* HP.
 omnia] MH; *iam* P.
 quae possim in tua causa] add. Leh-
 mann; om. libri; *quae possim* Martyni-
 Laguna; *quae praestare possim* Streicher.
 sed etiam quae] Wes.; *sed causa quo-*
que etiam quem (que M) HP; *sed ea quoque*
quae Kayser.
 non possim putem] MP; *non potest* H.
 Totum locum ita refingit Mendelss. *ut me*
non solum omnia cupere tua causa sed
ausurum quoque etiam quae non possim
putent, coll. Cic. pro Quint. 69, *et quod*
poterant id audebant.
 2. Illud . . . censuisse] *Illud tamen*
multum me monuisse vel consuluisse H.
 vel tu] Crat.; *uultu* M; *multum* HP.
 reque principem] M; *reique p. prin-*
cipem H; *reip.* P.
 ergo] om. P; *ego* MH.

EP. CCCCLXXXVI. (FAM. IV. 7).

1. adhuc consilio] *consilio adhuc* P.
 non] *ne* HP.
 iudicem] libri; *iudico* Kleyn, Btr.
 et saluti] H; *ut saluti* M.
 2. eum te] *te eum* HP.
 malorum] *maiorum* libri.
 videris] *auderes* H.
 praeclare] *praedare* H.
 illa] *illam* H.
 id semper egi] *semper id egi* H.
 3. victori sese] Vict.; *victos se esse*
 HP; *victores esse* M.
 iudicatum. Sed habet ista] MH; *du-*
ceres illud pertinacis P, *repetitum ab*
superioribus; vide Thurotum, p. 24.
 deesse] HP; *dese* M.
 sentiam] HPM²; *sententiam* M¹.
 4. ut abesse] HP; *ut esse* M.
 Qui si] *quasi* libri.

esset te] corr. ex *essente* M; *esses te*
 HP.

tibi tamen] *tamen tibi* H.
 esset] *esse* P.
 cuiusmodi] Lamb.; *cuiusmodi* MH;
huiusmodi P.

Mytilenis] Saepe in nummis hanc
 formam inveniri demonstrat Mendelss. ex
 Headii Historia Nummorum, p. 487;
mitulenis H; *mitylenis* M; *mitilenis* P.

aut Rhodi] M; *authrodi* H; *et aut*
rhodi P.

vivere] *videre* libri coll. F. iv. 11, 2.

nonne] MP; *non te* H.

mavis sine] *maius sine* HP.

externis] *extremis* H.

5. dissipari] *dissupari* M; *dissipare*
 HP.

is] HP; *his* M.

6. quantum] HP; *quamtum* M, fort.
 recte ut putat Mendelss. coll. Gram. Lat.
 vii. 152, 3 (Keil), 'Tamtus et quam-
 tus in medio *m* habere debent: quam
 enim et tam est unde quamtitas
 quamtus tamtus.'

consilio studio] libri; alii addunt *ac*
vel et, sed vid. Comm.

EP. CCCCLXXXVII. (FAM. IV. 9).

1. dederam Q.] *dederamq.* MH; om.
 q P.

Mucio] *mutio* MP; *multo* H.

libertus tuus] *tuus libertus* P.

eum . . . litteris] om. P.

Iisdem igitur] *Hisdem ergo* H; *hisdem*
igitur M.

de rebus] libri; *te rebus alii*; *te de*
rebus Lamb.; *te verbis* Lehmann; *te*
rationibus Or.

nolis] P; *nobis* MH.

2. id vitii] M; *inducii* H; *inditii* P.

sumus] HP; *simus* M.

coniunctum] MH; *coniuncti* P.

esset] H Crat.; *esse* M.

et certorum] In M superscriptum m. 2
cerneret (teste Baitero).

magis . . . censem] *censem com-*
munem magis P.

incertis in rebus] *in ceteris rebus* H.

nunc] *nec* H; *hunc* Martyni-Laguna.

3. quae] *quoniam* H.

meliores venit] *maiores venit maiores*
 H.

impotentioresque] *impacientioresque*
 HP.

reddit] *reddidit* HP.

etiam . . . necessitate] om. P.

arbitrio per quos vicit] M; *per quos*
arbitrio vicit H; *per quos vicit arbitrio* P.

An tu] P; ante HM.
tunc quoque] MH; tunc quidem quoque P.

ne quae] neque libri.
videres] videre HP.
minimis] M²; minimas M¹; minimo HP.

Nunc . . . patria] Nunc vero locus tibi esse debet patria H; nunc vero nec locus tibi nullus dulcior esse debet quam patria P.

diligere minus] minus diligere P.
misereri] miserari P.
eam] eam diligere P.

4. esse supplicem] M; esse suplicem HP; isse supplicatum coni. Or.

superbi sit aspernari] superbis ista spernari P (m. 1).

si sapientis] sapientis MH; sapiens P.
stultum est nolle] libri; stultum sit nolle coni. Wes.; stultum nolle Heusinger Btr.; stulti sit Martyni-Lag.

Caput] capud MH.
videatur] videtur HP.
ne . . . sit] om. P.
non] om. H.
gladiatorum] gladiatorum H.
fratri] fratre H.
certe] cer M (in fine versus).
proximus] H; proximis M.
temporibus] om. H.
tuis] tuis. Vale H.

EP. CCCCLXXXVIII. (FAM. VI. 6).

1. meritorum] in meritorum H.
parium] Vict.; partum libri; et partium alii.

tibi] om. HP.
saepe misissem] se demisissem HT; se (si H) di misissem HP.

Nunc . . . gratulabimur] nunc ut gratulabimur brevi spero H.

id] in libri.

2. tuum] om. H.

audio] audeo H.

memini] minime H, idemque infra.

putabant] Wes.; putarunt libri; putarent Mart.-L.; poterant Lamb. Btr.

te] om. H.

celeri] ceteri M.

3. quaedam Tuscae] H; quaedam iratuscae M; quaedam mira Tuscae P Btr.

quam cum] nam cum libri.

monumentis] nonumentis M; monitis Kayser Wes. Lehmann.

4. ni vererer] om. P.

Caesare] Caesarem H.

ne seiungeret] edd.; ne se iungeret libri; ne se diiungeret Kleyn Wes.

civile bellum excitari] excitari bellum civile H.

fidele] fidei H.

tum] tum etiam HP.

5. praeterea] propterea H.

quod] H; quid M.

haberi absentis] absentis haberi H.

Causa orta belli est] Causa belli orta est H.

iniquissimam] nequissimam H.

6. a Pompeio] om. H.

Amphiaras] ammaras H.

7. augures] augeres H.

involutu] in violatu H.

tripudiis] trepidis H.

soniviis] M; soniis (= somniis) H; sonitu is P.

habent] om. H.

8. autem] om. P.

alteram duco e] alterum duco e M; alteram duce H; alteram dico e P.

alteram e] HP; altera me M¹; alterum me M².

libro] post tuarum P.

Etruria] etruri H.

9. Eodem e fonte se] Btr.; eodem fonte se MP; eodem se fonte H; ex eodem fonte se Lamb.; eodem de fonte se Kl.

intellegit] intellegest M; intellexi H; intellexisti P.

e quo] quo H; ex equo P.

cuius] cuiusvis H; cus P.

prohiberi] H; prohibere M.

iam suum] suum . iam P.

10. tam inimicus] inimicus tam H.

melius] potius HP.

At in] aut in H.

multa] multum H.

At] HP; ad M.

suscensebat] M; successebat H; censebat T.

11. mutata ratio] edd.; muta ratio HP; ^{ra}mutatio H.

notati non] notari P.

12. virum] virrum H.

exitus] corr. ex hospites H.

debere] libri; decere Kayser.

posse] HP; deposite M.

etiam] add. H in marg.

viros] om. H.

humanae] humana H.

13. officium operam] operam officium H.

valebo] M; conciliabo HP. Vid. Comm.

EP. CCCCLXXXIX. (FAM. VI. 13).

1. me] om. P.

feceram] fecerim libri.

2. et virtute et pietate] glossemata esse putat Mendelss.

et amor . . . singularis] MH; om. et P; et amore in te singulari Or. Btr. Wes. fort. recte.

et perpetua] om. H.

proficit] libri; proficitur Wes.

3. fit] M; sit H; si P.

velle] vellem libri.

putat] putant M.

ferre] fore H.

istis] P; his H; istiis M.

4. velim] vellem libri.

oratione: si] Mart.-L. Kayser Wes.; oratione. Et si libri.

incommodis] commodis libri.

valebunt] velabunt H.

gratia] secluserunt Kays. Wes. Vid. Comm.

5. fortem animum] animum fortem H.

habuisti] habui H.

de] om. libri.

atque sensisti] om. P.

nunc] Lamb.; non H; cum MP.

EP. CCCXC. (FAM. VI. 12).

AMPIO] M; Appio P (corr. ex ampio); apio H.

1. vincebatur] vincebantur HP.

promissa] permissa P.

2. satis opportune] om. H.

Hirtius . . . Matius] hyrcius albus (item P) Oppius Marcius H.

Quod . . . per me] P; quid mihi si per me H; quid si mihi per me M.

cum his omnibus] om. H.

studiosissimum] studiosum H.

Tillius] illius libri.

satis fecit] satisfacit H.

quam] libri; quas Crat., sed vid. Comm.

Cimber] cirben H.

3. Diploma] deploma H.

quam] quem H Crat.

gaudeant] doleant H.

occultius] inculcius H.

ullo modo divulgandum] ullo divulgandum modo H.

quidem mihi] mihi quidem H.

verum] sed HP.

ablaturum] ablecturum HP.

declarabant] P; declarabunt MH.

cum a te abessent] Med. (49, 7); cum ad te adessent HP; ad te propter maculam non possunt legi in M.

Quare] quam libri.

putavi] libri; e re putavi Gulielmius.

perscribi] perscripsi HP. Totum locum in hunc modum refinxit Streicherus

(p. 177), minus enim te firmum sermo Eppuleiae tuae lacrimaeque Ampiae declarabant quam significant litterae tuae atque illae arbitrabantur, cum ad te adessent. Ipse multo in graviore te cura futurum quia (ex coni. Graev.) putavi [magni] angoris et doloris tui levandi causa pro certis ad te ea quae essent certa, perscripsi, quae quamvis ingeniose defendat tamen argumento nimis audaci utitur qui oportere, postea in opere corruptum, cui inde magno additum esset, cum scriptor structuram ex putandi verbo defendere arbitraretur, ultro inculcari putet.

4. atque sapientem] om. P.

ostenderem . . . salutis] om. H in textu, add. in ima pagina.

eam] ea H.

restringitur] restrictus H.

mihi semper] semper mihi H; om. mihi P.

aetatis] om. H.

beatus] beatos H.

5. consumas in] cum summa in P; cum summa H.

factis memoriae prodendis] fatis memoriae propendis P; memoriae factis propendis H.

te non] te H.

EP. CCCXCI. (FAM. VI. 10, §§ 4-6).

Patet hinc novam epistolam incipere; quamquam libri textum uno tenore cum § 3 coniungunt.

4. polliceri] polliceor H.

quamque] M Taur. (= Palimpsestus Taurinensis de quo disputavit P. Krüger, *Hermes* v. 147-9); quam quae H; quam quod P.

semper scio] scio semper P.

idque . . . hortor] om. Taur.

5. peritissimo rerum] peritissimorum H.

et omnis] del. et Lehmann.

sed in] sed et in Taur.

et in] del. et Or. Wes.

usu] usus P.

diuturnam] Taur. Ern.; diuturne libri; diuturniorem (Ambros. cod. 13).

mihi] libri; magis mihi Taur.

ea est] M Taur.; est ea H; est P.

iam] om. Taur.

quae . . . potest] quae iacere diu non potest Taur.

revivescat] M; reviviscat Taur. HP.

atque recreetur] libri; et aliquando recreetur Taur.

fit lenius] Taur.; levius fit H; fit levius MP.

timebamus] *timemus* Taur.
 observabimus] *observavimus* M.
 iuvandi] Taur. HP; *inandi* M.
 6. cotidie] *cottidie* Taur.
 ut etiam] *ut aliquid etiam* Taur.
 polliceri] om. H. Hic desinit Taur.
 Tu] *tui* H.
 quam qui . . . intellegere] om. HP.
 me concedere] *concedere me* H.

EP. CCCCXCII. (FAM. VI. 10, §§ 1-3).

TREBIANO] M; *Treboniano* H; *Trebonio* Taur. Sed vid. Comm.

1. te] om. P.
 quantique] P Taur.; *quanti* HM.
 me . . . fieri] om. P.
 casus potius] *potius casus* HP.
 commorandi] M¹ Taur. HP; *commorando* M².
 aequum] *aecum* Taur.; *aequum* M;
equum HP.
 reciperas] *recuperas* HP.
 et Postumuleno . . . putent] om. Taur.

patefeci] *partefeci* M.
 liberis . . . scribas] om. H.
 certe] om. H.
 2. in ea] *mea* H.
 debebam] Wes.; *deberem* libri, Taur.
 is] *eis* MH forma antiqua, interdum in inscriptionibus et in libris inventa, cp. Neue ii³. 375, sed huic loco parum convenit; om. Taur.

dignissimus] *dignus* Taur.
 nostrum uterque] *uterque nostrum* H.
 tibi et illa polliceor . . . eo pertinet ut § 3] om. Taur.
 ex reliquiis] P; om. H; *reliquis* M.
 casu] fort. cum Heumanno omittendum: retinet Mendels.

aditus] *additus* H; *auditus* P.
 id est de] *i. de* H.
 incolumitate] *colomitate* M.
 eorum sermonibus] *sermonibus eorum* P.

3. studium] *sumum* H (marg.).
 magni] om. P.
 nihil existiment . . . futurum] libri;
nihil erit saltem quod non pro te mihi susceptum maximum semper ac (folio verso)
iucundum futurum sit Taur.; *nihil . . . susceptum iucundum semper ac gratum sit futurum* Wes.

existiment] *existimem* P.
 esse] om. H.

EP. CCCCXCIII. (FAM. XII. 17).

CORNIFICIO] *Carnificio* H ut saepe.

1. tibi sunt] *sunt tibi* H Pal.
 aliquod et honestum] H Pal; *aliquod exhonestum* M.

Caesari] H Pal; *caesa* M.
 2. me scito] *me cito* M; *merito* H Pal.
 a iudicio] M; om. a H Pal.
 non] om. H.
 suffragere] *suffragare* H Pal.
 sit] libri; *est* Wes.

3. amor] Pal; *amore* H; *mori* M.
 intellegam] libri; *intellego* Dresd. 3, Wes. fort. recte.

tribuam] libri; *tribuere* Lamb. Btr., et fieri potest ut *tribuere* propter proximum *intellegam* in *tribuam* mutatum sit.

EP. CCCCXCIV. (FAM. IV. 3).

SERVIO] *Servilio* MH.
 SULPICIO] corr. ex *suspicio* M².
 delectari] *delectare* M.
 malis] *mali* H.
 laborare. Me quidem] M²; *laborarem equidem* M¹; *laborare equidem* HP.

iam] *me iam* HP.
 consolantur] *consolatur* H.
 prospexi] MH; *perspexi* P, sed HP ante *tamquam* ponunt.
 tempestatem] corr. ex *-tum* H.
 denuntiante te] *denuntiati te* (te alio atramento) H.

Etsi . . . partam] in summa pagina alio atramento H.
 consulatus] *consul* (in fine versus) *tus* M.

esset] *essent* H; *esses* P.
 praedicendo] *praedicando* H.
 primis] *primus* H.
 sed] *et* M; *ipse* P; *ipsi* H.
 multa] om. H.
 2. sint] *sunt* H.

me ista] *mesta* M; *me sta* Mendelssohn, qui putat vulgarem formam retineri posse, cp. Neue ii³. 402-3, qui adducit Fam. xv. 19, 4, multosque alios locos.

parietinis] HP Vict.; *partetinis* M.
 sic] HP; *si* M.
 ad te] HPM²; *a te* M¹.
 meliore] *melior* libri.

3. fieres iis de] P; *flere de his rebus* H; *flere si his de* M.

et ut quidem] P Crat.; *aut quidem* MH.

omniaque quae] H; *omnia quaeque* MP.

sapientissimis] libri, quos optime defendit Mendelssohn, coll. N. D. ii. 60; *sapientissimis viris* Mart.-L. Wes. (E. 65).

esse] om. H.
 in quo . . . Nihil] om. P.
 te tali] om. te H.
 4. viderim] *viderem* libri.
 abducerent] *adducerent* H.
 ingenuis] P; *ingeniis* MH.
 excellat] H; *expellat* M; *excelleat* P.
 uni] om. H.
 mihi] *mihi quae* H.
 cum me] libri; *quam* Bake Btr.; *quod*
 Wes. Vid. Comm.
 gratissimum] *gratissimum*. Vale H.

EP. CCCCXCV. (FAM. IV. 4).

SERVIO] *Servilio* M; titulo carent HP.
 1. qua usus es] del. Cobet.
 nec nosco] om. P.
 sic enim accipio] bis repetitum in H.
 habere dicis] *dicis habere* H.
 admodum] *adeo* HP.
 εἰρωνεύεσθαι] *εἰρωνεύεσθαι* M; *εἰρᾶν* TN
 H.
 2. hoc] om. P.
 commemoras] *eum memoras* H.
 prudentia dignissimae] HP (sed -e);
prudentia et dignissime M; *prudentia et*
dignitate dignissimae Lehmann.
 sis] *sit* H; *esses* Wes.
 modo adsentior] *assentior modo* H.
 percussa] optime confert Marc. 23
 Mendelssohn 'quae iacere sentis belli
 ipsius impetu percussa atque pros-
 trata'; *perclusa* libri.
 prostrata] *postrata* M.
 et sibi quisque] Lünemann; *ut sibi*
quisquis MH; om. P.
 prae] *pro* H.
 ipso] om. P.
 quo] *quod* M.
 quae . . . insolens] del. Kleyn.
 3. vicimus] libri; *vincimus* Ern.
 de Marcelli . . . tui] *de Marcello tuo*
colle H.
 etiam mehercule quod quemadmodum]
quod
etiam quemadmodum H; *etiamercle quod*
quemadmodum M.
 postquam] *potest quam* M.
 armis disceptari] M; *armis civilibus*
disceptari HP. Vid. Comm.
 de Marcello] *de m. marcello* P.
 a L. Pisone] *alpisone* H.
 et C. Marcellus] edd.; *et cum Mar-*
cellus libri.
 4. loco esset] *loco esse* M.
 Caesari] om. P.
 Sed tamen . . . serviam] *laudata a*
 Gellio xii. 13, 22.
 offensionem] *occasionem* Gell.

faciam] *faciant* H.
 serviam] *serviebam* H.
 a prima] *primaeva* H.
 temporum] *temporibus* H.
 5. tum] *tunc* libri.
 decessione] *dicessione* P. Vid. Comm.
 eius modi] *huiusmodi* HP.
 te] Lamb. H; om. MT.
 possit] M²; *possis* M¹HP.
 Caesare] P; *Cesare et* H; *ceteri et*
 M.
 eius modi] M; *sunt huiusmodi* H;
sunt eiusmodi P.
 alterum utrum] *alterutrum* H.
 ea] HP; *a* M¹.
 sed consulimus] *sed magis consulimus*
 H.

EP. CCCCXCVI. (FAM. IV. 11).

1. Plurimum] H (Index) HPM²;
plurimam M¹ (et Index).
 tuam] *tutuam* H.
 re] om. H.
 tum] M²HP; *tunc* M¹.
 C] *consul* libri.
 effectum] bis repetitum in M.
 uterer] *uteretur* H.
 potissimum] *potissimo* H.
 quemadmodum . . . gratulatio] om.
 HP.
 cupidum esse] *vel cupidissimum esse*
 Wes., nam voc. *praestitisse* cogit ut *esse*
addatur: cupidissimum libri.
 singularemque] *singularem quem* P.
 2. virorum] *vivorum* P.
 vivere] HPM²; *videre* M¹.
 ut] om. P.

EP. CCCCXCVII. (FAM. IX. 21).

1. Ain . . . videris] M; *In tantum*
insanire videris tibi H; *Ntantum tibi in-*
sanire videris Pal.
 potius ἀπότευγμα] *potius (potiu* M)
ναποτευγμα MH; ἀπόφθεγμα conl. Canter.
 tenuis] M¹H; *tenuius* M².
 capitis] M²H; *captis* M¹.
 2. censor . . . consul] Man. edd.;
consul . . . censor libri. Similis trans-
 positio adnotatur Att. vi. 1, 17 (252).
 Sempronio] M; *Simpronio* H.
 sederunt in] Wes. optime: vid. Comm.;
fuere libri.
 Papisius] *papius* libri.
 vocari . . . dictator] *vocatus desitus*
is dictator Pal; *vocatus . de situs* . dic-
 tator H quae adducimus ut monstremus

divisionem verborum in H minimi esse momenti.

imagines habeas] *habeas imagines* H.

3. Carbones] H Pal; *acarbones* M.

insecuntur] H; *insequenter* M.

plebei] *plebei* MH idemque infra.

C. Cn. M.] Pal; *gaius CN marcus* MH.

est condemnatus] Kl; om. *est* MH; *accusatus* H.

fuit] Wes.; om. libri.

EP. CCCCXCVIII. (FAM. VI. 14).

1. meum] om. H.

te semper maxime] *semper maxime te* H.

litteris] om. H.

ex] om. HP.

malo] *volo* H.

adversos] corr. ex *adversus* H.

secundos] *secundas* H.

est] *sit* HP; *st* M.

eo . . . confiteor] *eo carere me confiteor* H.

2. idem tamen] *tamen idem* H; *quidem tamen* P.

omnem] P; *adomnem* MH.

conveniendi] *conveni* H.

cum fratres et propinqui] H; *cum fratre sed propinqui* M.

essem] *sum* H.

hac opinione] *hanc opinionem* libri.

3. sic] *si* H.

EP. CCCCXCIX. (ATT. XII. 6).

1. ne quae] *neque* M.

sit] *si* M.

detrimenti] C; *detrimento* M.

tu] *cum* M¹; *cui* M².

2. fuit] C; *fui* M.

φιλειδήμονα] Popmae libri; *ΦΙΛΕΔΗΜΟΝ* M; *φιλόδημον* C; fort. *παντοφιλειδήμονα*.

acuta et gravi] *acuta ἐγγραφή* Lipsius.

refertur] *referitur* M; *referetur* Wes.

quo tu] *quod tu* M.

3. tantumne] *tantum ne* M.

est oti] *esto tu* M¹; *est otii* M².

4. et urbanum. Ita] marg.; *e turba minuta* M.

Atticam] *atticiam* M; fort. *Atticulam*.

EP. D. (ATT. XII. 7).

1. attulisti] *abstulisti* M.

ex ipso . . . tibi] Vict.; *ex ipso modo velim si tibi* M.

ad me] marg. Lamb.; *ex me* M.

detulisse] *detulisses* M.

et . . . requireret] CM (nisi quod M *requirit* habet); *ecquid* vulg. male.

Publius] Bos.; *Publius* M.

satis esse] Man.; *satis est* M.

augeretur] *ageretur* M.

vellem magis] Boot; *vel imma* M¹; *vel nimia* M²; *velim magis* Wes.; *vellet magis* Or.

nimis] *minus* M.

res est, simplex] Or.; *res et simplex* M.

2. simul ac redierit] *simula credi erit* M.

EP. DI. (ATT. XII. 8).

Foenicularium] cum K Wes.; *fenicularium* M vulg.

et Piliae] *cepilie* M.

EP. DII. (ATT. XII. 11).

Sulpicii] *sulpici* M; *supplicem* C.

Atticae hilaritatem] *athice hilaritate* M.

συμπάσχω] *CTNPACXΩ* M.

EP. DIII. (FAM. VII. 4).

XIII.] Schiche; VIII. libri.

statim] *statum* H.

te] om. HP.

tum] om. H.

Vides . . . simus] om. H.

simus] Vict.; *sumus* MP.

Cura igitur ut valeas] del. Cobet.

ut valeas] om. HP.

exspecta] *specta* HP.

EP. DIV. (FAM. IX. 23).

Heri] H Pal; *here* M.

Etsi] *ut sis* H Pal.

arthriticum] *archtriticum* H.

EP. DV. (ATT. XII. 1).

1. in Anagnino] *in agnino* M.

Atticae] *athice* (ut saepe) M.

sin rusticatur] Vict.; *sin rusticetur*

C; *in rusticatu* M.

aut scribes] M²; *ut scribis* M¹; *scribes*

C.

aut nuntiabis] M¹; aut nuncia C;
renunciabis M².

2. γεροντικὸν] hoc voc. ante γεροντι-
κώτερον excidit; ins. Lamb.

quo die] quotidie M.

V. Kal.] M; quam lect. defendunt
Mongault., Schichius, Boot. Plerique
edd., Man. secuti V. in II. mutantem,
II. Kal. dant aut pridie Kal.

habebis] habes Kays.

quidquid] Kl; quicquid M²; quid
M¹; quod C.

collocutione] cum locutione M¹.

EP. DVI. (FAM. XIII. 66).

1. maxime] om. Pal.

familiae vestrae] vestrae familiae H.

debebat. A te tamen] nos; debebat.

A te M; debeat. A te H; debebat. Nunc
a te Wes.; debebat. Itaque a te Kayser;
reiecit omnia additamenta Lehmann (p.
65).

maiore cura] maiori cura H.

possim] possum H Pal.

sine cuiusquam commendatione] del.
Kleyn.

talem tamque calamitosum] Lehmann;
om. tamque M Mendelss.; talem et calami-
tosum deleverunt et Ursinus et Kleyn;
tam tuum et talem calamitosum Madv. (A.
C. iii. 164).

2. tutissimum] H; tutissimam M.

te] om. H.

reliquiis] reliquis libri.

iuves] H Pal; iues M.

EP. DVII. (FAM. XIII. 67).

1. Ciliciensi] ciliensi H.

accommodatum] H; accomodatam M.

decessi] discessi H Pal.

2. receperis] M; corr. ex reciparis H.

eum] H Pal; dum M.

adiuveris] H Pal; adiveris M.

EP. DVIII. (FAM. XIII. 69).

1. C.] Pal; gaius M; Cagius H.

ut scis] om. H.

illum ipsum patronum] patronum
ipsum H; ipsum patronum Pal.

experirer] M; expererer Pal; expertus
sum H sed lectionem et magis arduam et
certiorem praebet M; est coniunctivus,
ut dicitur, generis.

cuiquam] Pal; cupiam M; quippiam
H.

volgari more] Kl; vulgare libri; vul-
gariter edd. quod verbum vix ante Plin-
ium invenitur; volgari commendatione
vel vulgarem in modum Wes.; palpare
coni. Or.

2. ei] H; et M.

nulla in re erit] ulla erit in re H.

mea] ea H.

ut] H Pal; vi M.

bene] om. H.

adeptum] H Pal; ademptum M.

arbitrabitur] arbitratur H.

arbitrabor] arbitror H.

curabo] MH; curabo. Vale Pal.

EP. DIX. (FAM. XIII. 70).

fit] Wes.; sic fit libri. Vid. Comm.
id tribuo] Wes.; om. id libri; pluri-
mum tribuo Kayser.

ut hoc] Crat.; in hoc libri.

T. Ampium] tam pium H Pal (m. 1).

vehementer] H Pal; vementer M.

EP. DX. (FAM. XIII. 71).

mihi causa] causa mihi H.

T. Agusius] L. Augustus H.

magno usu] usu magno H Pal.

usu] H; usu corr. in usui M sed cf.
Neue i. 357. Vid. Comm.

EP. DXI. (FAM. XIII. 72).

1. te facturum] M Pal; te esse factu-
rum H.

te id spero] id te spero H Pal.

2. habere te] te habere H.

hoc] Pal; hac MH.

senatus consulto] s. c. H.

C.] om. H.

commodandi] commendandi libri.

Id] idem H.

benigne feceris] M; benefeceris H
Pal. Vid. Comm.

facturum] facturum. Vale Pal.

EP. DXII. (FAM. XIII. 17).

1. M'.] M. libri.

Patris negotiatur] negotiatur Patris H.

venit] H Pal; veni M.

mihi vinculum] vinculum mihi H.

2. cognosti] M; cognovisti H Pal.

humanitate et observantia] observantia
et humanitate H.

ipsum per se] per se ipsum H.

meas] om. H.
 potest mea] Man.; *postea* libri.
 3. aut quae] M; *aut qua* Pal; *atque*
 H.
 cur] *cui* H.
 eos esse] *esse eos* H Pal.
 M'.] *M.* libri.
 tum etiam humanitatem] *bis* exhibet
 M.

EP. DXIII. (FAM. XIII. 18).

SERVIO] HM (Index); *servo* M.
 1. gratum nobis fecisses] addit Leh-
 mann, sensum quidem loci praebens.
 Post non est addit Btr. *nobis satis fecisses.*
 eique] M Pal; *atque quae* H.
 quoque] *quaeque* H.
 2. ego] om. H Pal.
 esse gratum] *gratum esse* H.

EP. DXIV. (FAM. XIII. 19).

1. Lysone] *lisone* H (Index); *lysone*
 corr. ex *lynose* H.
 Patrensi] H Pal M (Index); *patrem*
 si M.
 sed ea causa etiam] libri Wes.; *sed ea*
causa est etiam Lamb. Btr.
 commendationeque] om. -que H.
 absentis tuerere] *apsentis uerere* M;
praesentis tuerere H Pal.
 est et] M; *est* Pal; *et* H.
 reliquorumque] *reliquorum* H Pal.
 2. fortuna . . . agebamus] *fortunatim*
id iuste cum agebamus M; *fortuna tum id*
iuste cum agebas (agebamus Pal) H Pal.
 omnia . . . peto] H Pal, cp. F. iv. 3, 3
 (494); *omnia a te studia summo cura peto*
 M; *omnia a te studio summo cura peto*
 (Harl. 2591); *omnia a te summo studio*
curaque peto (Graev. sec.).
 Maenius] M; *Menius* H Pal; *Mem-*
nius vulg. perperam, vid. Comm.
 cliens] *diens* H.
 esset] *esse* H.
 3. est ut] *est et* libri.
 feceris] M Pal; *legeris* H Pal (marg.).
 videbere fecisse] *viderere fecisse* H;
viderer efficisse Pal.
 putet] *pute* M.

EP. DXV. (FAM. XIII. 20).

usui magno sibi] libri; *usui sibi*
magno coni. Wes.

EP. DXVI. (FAM. XIII. 21).

SERVIO] *Octavio* libri M (Index); *Oc-*
taviano H (Index).
 1. Avianius] Kl; *Avianus* M; *Avi-*
nianus H Pal. Cp. Fam. xiii. 27, 2
 (522).
 diligendus] libri; *diligens* Man. Btr.;
diligentissimus Lamb. Ern. Or.
 arbitrarer] *arbitrer* H.
 Sicyone] *Sycione* H, idemque infra
 § 2.
 eum] om. H Pal.
 Cibyrae] *Cybire* H.
 esset] *esse* H.
 plura] *plurima* H.
 2. Avanium] *Avinianum* H.
 Hammonium] *hamonium* H Pal.
 etiam] om. H.
 propterea] *praeterea* H.
 molestissimis] *molestissimisis* (sed -is
 alia manu) H.
 Hammonium] *iā-monium* (sed i erasa)
 H; secluserunt edd.
 quem tibi commendo] secluserunt
 Ern. Btr.
 et ipsum] *ut ipsum* H.
 pudentem] *prudentem* H Pal.
 cognosces] corr. ex *cognoscet* H.
 Vale] om. H.

EP. DXVII. (FAM. XIII. 22).

1. diligentissimeque] om. -que H.
 Varro] corr. ex *narro* H.
 magno opere] M; *magnopere* H ut
 fere semper.
 commendarat] edd. recentiores; *com-*
mendabat libri.
 quam] om. H.
 2. cui] HM², Med. 49, 7; om. M¹.
 iuveris] H Pal; *iueris* M.
 te] om. H.

EP. DXVIII. (FAM. XIII. 23).

1. tuo] libri; *meo* cod. Basil., Lamb.
 Vid. Comm.
 necessariis] M Pal (marg.); *neces-*
sarius H Pal.
 2. quo et est] libri; *quo is est* Kl;
quo est Benedictus Btr.
 tuam] om. H.
 ei] om. H Pal.
 iuveris] *iueris* M.
 et mihi] om. *et* H Pal.

EP. DXIX. (FAM. XIII. 24).

1. memineram] *meminerim* libri.
sum me] *sum me me* H.
2. gratias] M; *grates* H.
audire . . . libentius] om. H in textu,
add. in marg.
3. ita] om. H Pal.
unisque] Pal; *unusque* H; *visque* M.
officiis liberalitate] libri; *officiis et*
liberalitate Ascensius, male.
esse notum] *esse notum esse* M.

EP. DXX. (FAM. XIII. 25).

Hegesaretus] Ern. cp. Caes. B. C. iii. 35; *Hagesaretus* MH; *Hegesaratus* Ur-
sinus; *Hagesistratus* Pluygers.
et hospitem et familiarem meum]
Lamb. coll. Fam. xiii. 24, 1 (519); *et*
hospitem meum et familiarem meum M; *et*
hospitem meum et familiarem H Pal.

EP. DXXI. (FAM. XIII. 26).

1. ea mecum necessitudine] M Pal;
ea causa et necessitudine mecum H; *eo*
mecum necessitudine, quod Boot (Obs.
Crit. p. 24) respuit quia *eo . . . quod* pro
ideo . . . quod, etsi saepe in Caesare et
Livio inveniatur, non sit Tullianum; addit
ipse *re ante mecum*.
accepi, semper gravem] H Pal; *acce-*
pissem pergravem M.
te] Lamb.; *et* libri.
magnum] libri; *magni* coni. Mendelss.
coll. xiii. 72, 2 (511), xv. 15, 4 (448),
correctione et facili et fortasse recta.
pondus habituras] codd. dett.; om.
libri.
ita] om. H.
2. Eli] libri, cp. N. D. iii. 59: *Elis*
Pal (m. 2); *Elide* Lamb. Wes., cp. Neue
i. 227-8.
posset] *poss*; H.
3. possis] libri; *posses* Ern. Vid.
Comm.
quae te] *quae tibi* H.
id] om. H Pal.
arbitramur] libri; *arbitrabamur* Lamb.
Wes. parum recte. Vid. Comm.

EP. DXXII. (FAM. XIII. 27).

1. aliis] *alios* H Pal (ex corr.).
ut vos soletis] edd.; *ut voletis* M Pal;
ut videtis H Pal (marg.).
2. C. Avianius] *Cavinius* H Pal.

egit] om. H.

Aemilii Avianii] Wes. (Em. p. 60),
cp. Fam. xiii. 21, 1 (516), ubi vid.
Comm.; *Aemili Avianiani* M; *emiliani*
H Pal; al. *Emuli Aviani* Pal (marg.
m. 2).

atque intimis] *ac intumis* H Pal.

3. esse homines] *homines esse* Pal;
om. *esse* H.

4. iucundissime et coniunctissime] H
Pal Crat.; om. *et* M; *iucundissimo con-*
iunctissime Vict. edd.

capiro] *capiro*. Vale Pal.

EP. DXXIII. (FAM. XIII. 28 a).

1. cuipiam] H Pal; *cupiam* M.
grata sunt] om. *sunt* libri; *grata sunt*
sed Wes.
enim est] *est enim* H Pal.
multo] *multa* H.
etiam mihi] In H rasura pro *etiam*
tribus circiter litteris erasis.
2. cum virtus et probitas] *virtus et*
cum probitas H Pal.
reliquum] H; *relicuum* M ut fere
semper.
te] *et* M.
sunt] Wes.; *sed* libri. Fort. *sed sunt*
cp. § 1.
quae] *quidem* codd. dett.; om. *quae*
Lamb.
adiuves] H; *adiues* M.
putarit] *putaverit* H.
3. tibi confirmo] H Pal, Lamb. (cum
codd. nonnullis); om. M.
ea quae] H Pal; *eaque* M.

EP. DXXIV. (FAM. XIII. 28 b).

Cum superiore epistola coniungunt
libri: novae initium fecerunt edd. post
Manutium.

1. me ei] H; *mei* M.
2. iudicasse] Wes. docte, vid. Comm.;
iudicare libri.

grece
Graeciae] *gre* H.

cum ea] edd.; *quam* ea M; om. *cum*
H.

facies] *facias* H (corr. ex *facies*) quae
correctio (ut videtur) facta est postquam
cum erat omisum.

postulabit iis] Wes.; *postulat ut his*
libri.

EP. DXXV. (FAM. XIII. 78).

1. Sicyonius] *sycionius* H.

est] om. H.
 contigit] *contingit* E.
 liberalitas] M Pal; *libertas* HE.
 2. ego] M Pal; *ergo* HE.
 aditum] *aditu* H Pal E.
 patefacio] *patefacto* libri.
 tua] om. H.
 eum] om. H Pal E.
 polliceare] MH (m. 2); *polliceri* H (m. 1).
 peto ut] *peto etiam ut* H Pal E.
 complectare] M Pal; *amplectare* HE.

EP. DXXVI. (FAM. XIII. 79).

Avianium] *avinium* libri.
 audieram] HE; *audiveram* M Pal.
 tractatus] corr. ex *tracturus* H.
 patre] H Pal E; *patri* M.
 Avianius] *avinius* Pal.

EP. DXXVII. (FAM. VI. 8).

1. rata esse] add. in marg. H.
 quoad] HP; *quod* M.
 consuessent] *consuescente* H; *cum consuessent* Streicher (p. 187).
 aut] *ut* H.
 eorum animos] *etiam negare* P, quae verba male repetita veram lectionem eiecerunt; vid. Thurotum, p. 24.
 rogationi] M; *rationi* HP.
 potius] libri; *vel efflagitationi potius* Wes., sed additamentum reiecerunt et Streicherus et Mendelss. Vide Comm.
 ut . . . velles] *et in singula quoad*
vellet H; *ut esse singuli aquo advelles* M;
te esse in Sicilia quo advelles P.
 quid] add. in marg. H.
 cognosti] *cognovisti* HP.
 placeat] om. H.
 2. mihi] om. P.
 a] del. P (m. 1).
 sim tibi] *tibi sim* H.
 ut] Wes.; om. libri. Vid. Comm.
 subsidias] *subsideas* HP.
 Asiaticae] *asclatice* H.
 sit] *tibi sit* H.
 commorandum] HP; *commemorandum* M.
 adiuvat] HP; *adiuat* M; *adiuvabit* Ern. Wes., fort. recte.
 re] *rei* H.
 impetrata] *impetranda* H.
 quod] HP; *aut quod* M.
 3. Furfanio] *furfano* MP; *fursano* H.
 diligentissime] *dignissime* H.

studia
 studia] *sponte faciam* H.
 morem iis] *mores his* H.

EP. DXXVIII. (FAM. VI. 9).

FURFANIO] Vict.; *furfano* MPH (Index); *fursano* H.

1. patre] *pater* P; *pat* H.
 sum usus] Bücheler; *sumus* M; *usi sumus* HP quod nunc quidem nobis magis placet.
 hunc] Hic incipit folium palimpsesti Taurinensis (Taur.) cp. ad Fam. vi. 10 (492).
 probitatis] *probatatis* M; *bonitatis* T (= Turonensis); *provitatis* H.
 officiis amicitiae] libri; *amicitiae officiis* Taur.
 sic] om. Taur.
 ut non ullo] P; *nullo ut* Taur.; *ut non nullo* MH.
 2. Nihil attinet . . . tueri] om. Taur.
 sit] Lamb.; *est* libri.
 possim] *possum* P.
 vides] Taur.; *ut des* libri.
 est] *esse* Taur.
 cognorim] *cognoverim* HP; *cognovim* Taur.
 pluribus rebus] om. Taur.
 sentias] Taur.; *sentires* libri Wes.
 ut] om. P.
 es] Taur.; *esses* libri.
 commendatione] *commendatio* P.
 hoc . . . Vale] om. Taur.

EP. DXXIX. (FAM. V. 16).

1. accommodatus] H; *accommodantus* M; *accommodandus* P.
 maerore] *dolore* P.
 adhibere] HP (m. 2); *hibere* MP (m. 1).
 2. ut omnibus] *ut in omnibus* P.
 proposita sit] *proposi* M.
 vivamus] *vitamus* M.
 eos casus] *eo casu* M.
 3. perturbatio] *perbatio* M; *probatio* HP; *prolatio* Graev.
 4. si tuarum] *si duarum* ; *assiduorum* HP.
 occiderunt] repetitum post *miserias* M¹; del. M².
 ex qua si] Bengel; *et quasi* libri; *in qua si* alii.
 ducenda] *dicenda* P.
 probitati] *itati* M² in rasura; *probat* T.
 rectis studiis] HP; *recti si studiis* M.

mehercule] HP; *mercule* M.
 a dis] M; *ab diis* P; *a diis* H (m. 1).
 his] M; *iis* P; *is* H.
 5. tibi unum hoc] *tibi hoc unum* H;
 in rasura man. sec. P; om. T.
 ne quid iis] *neque his* H.
 putes] *putas* H.
 deminutum] *diminutum* H; *deminu-*
tutum M.
 referetur] *referretur* MH.
 luctus vetustate] *vetustate luctus* H.
 6. Etenim . . . debemus] om. P (m. 1).
 amissis tam imbecillo] *rasura octo*
litterarum, tum bello P.
 modum fecerit] om. P.
 anteferre] libri; *ante vertere* Cobet;
ante afferre Streicher; *anteire* vel *anteeire*,
 coll. C. I. L. i. pp. 605-6, Mendelssohn.
 temporis] *temporibus* H.
 adsecutum] *accusatum* H.
 functum viri] Or. Wes.; *functurum*
 MPH (m. 2); *functum* H (m. 1).
 atque amicissimi] om. P.

EP. DXXX. (FAM. XV. 18).

1. tempore] om. E.
 iretur] *iteretur* H.
 habuissem] Lamb. Schütz Wes.; *ha-*
buisset libri.
 possumus] *possimus* E.
 Ridere] *reddere* HE.
 mehercule] *mecule* H.
 in palaestra est] Man. Wes.; *molesta*
est H Pal E; *molestast* M. Nescimus an
 error sit in verbis praecedentibus *in culina*,
 pro quibus fortasse scribendum est *iucunda*
ut totus locus in hunc modum refingatur
tua quidem iucunda, mea molesta est. Sed
 de hoc loco nondum emendato quot homi-
 nes tot coniecturae, *in oleo est* Btr. coll.
 De Orat. i. 81; *in orchestra est* amicus
 Lambini; *in luto est* Mendelss.; *in molis*
est vel *ad molas est* Schoell. Vid. Comm.
 2. tua] om. H Pal E.
 tabellarius] *tabellarios* H.

EP. DXXXI. (FAM. XV. 16).

1. quem] Gronov. Wes.; *cum* libri.
 oppressit] HE; *operis sit* M; *oppres-*
serit Pal; *cum haec tertia iam epistola*
ante te oppresserit ed. Mediolani Btr.
 scidam] *scedam* HE; *cedulam* Pal.
 exspectabo] *spectabo* libri, (Nonius
 p. 291).
 haberem] *habere* M.
 qui] Ern.; *quid* libri.

κατ' εἰδώλων] *κατειδων* libri.
 spectris] M Pal; *specteris* HE.
 ne] *nec* H.
 Insuper] *insuper* libri.
 Epicureus] *Epicureius* libri; 'Επικού-
 ρειος Mendelss.
 Gargettius] *gargetius* Pal; *gargetius*
 HE.
 nominat] *nominatus* H Pal E.
 2. possent] MHE; *possint* Pal Ern.;
possunt Wes.
 quod quae velis] *nos; quod velis* libri;
quod vel iis Vict.; *quod vel ipsa* Ern.; *quod*
cum velis Man. Wes.; *quod velis nolis*
 Koch; *quod velis* (ex *vela*, -orum) *currunt*
 cp. *remis velisque fugere* Tusc. iii. 25,
 Scriptor quidam in Athenaeo Londi-
 nensi.
 incurrunt] H Pal E; *currunt* M;
occurrunt Vict.; *accurrunt* Ern. Wes.
 Koch.
 potestate sit] *potestate ut sit* libri.
 occurrat] libri; *accurrat* Lamb. Wes.
 sed si] M Pal; *sed in* HE.
 Britanniam] Pal; *brittanium* MHE.
 coepero] *cepero* HE; *coero* M.
 advolabit] H; *advolabat* H.
 3. stomachabere] *stomachare* H; *sto-*
machavere M.
 αἰρέσει] Or.; *heresi* libri.
 vi] M Pal; *in* HE.
 aut triennium] om. Nonius qui (p.
 278) hunc locum laudat.
 postea] *possessa* libri.
 quam] M Pal; om. HE.
 putaram] Wes.; *putarim* libri, Men-
 delss.
 si modo . . . probas] *modo etiam tu*
modo probas H.
 Qui id] Schütz; *quid* libri.
 habebam] *habeam* H; *habeo amplius*
 E.

EP. DXXXII. (FAM. VI. 7).

1. inepte] libri, Btr. Kl Mendelss.;
impense vel [*inepte*] Wes.; *inopi* vel *in-*
opinato Streicher; *intempestive* Lehmann.
 Nos quoque olim si *inepta* coniecimus,
 sed nunc a Mendelssohnio docti nil esse
 mutandum videmus.
 Qua quidem in re] om. P.
 fato] *facto* P.
 cum mendum] P; *commendum* M;
commentum H.
 litura] *litera* P; *littera* MH.
 stultitia . . . multetur] *stulticiam*
fama multet (mulcet H) HP.
 2. est] om. H.
 quin—quin] *qui non—qui non* HP.
 optaret] HP; *obtaret* M; *optarit* edd.

cogitat] *cogat* H.
 si scit . . . irascitur] MP; *si scit et persuaderi qui irascitur* H.
 qui] om. H.
 ignorit] *ignorat* H.
 sunt] H Benedict. Wes.; *sint* MP.
 3. refugiens] *fugiens* HP.
 sed incitatum] *sed mutatum* HP.
 vero] MH; *modo* P.
 infirmitati] *firmitati* H.
 ac] *at* P; *an* H.
 beneficium] libri, Wes.; del. Lamb.
 pares] MH; *paras* P.
 vinctum] *unctum* H; *victum* P.
 4. corpore] om. H.
 animum] *animo* HP.
 loquitur] M¹HP; *loquetur* M².
 at] *aut* H.
 non] H; *num* MP.
 porro] MP; *potero* H.
 reprendo aliquem] Wes., feliciter audax; *offendam* libri; sed forsitan *offendam* ex proximo *offendo* ortum sit, et procul dubio verbum supplendum est quod sensum culpandi habet.
 facit] libri; *ubi tu hoc omnium patronus facis* Lamb.
 calumnia] *calupnia* H; *calupniator* P.
 minus] M²P; *minis* M¹H; *tu minus* Wes.
 te ad] *ad te* H.
 et auferret] *et offerret* HP; *et aut auferret* coni. Btr.
 5. summa] libri; *summa me* Lamb. Btr.
 vides] *videas* HP.
 Adulescens] *adolescentis* H.
 capiat] om. H.
 et per te . . . perducantur] om. P, sed add. in marg. man. sec.
 exitum] *effectum* P.
 ad eius] libri, optime defensi a Mendelssohn, coll. Liv. vi. 34, 5, cp. Kühnast, p. 359; *apud eius* edd.
 omnes] *familiaris omnis* Kayser.
 6. non] om. P.
 hoc] om. H.
 id magnum] *id id magni* P.
 tuum] om. H.
 esse] *est* HP.
 in miseria] *in miseriis* H; *miseriam* P.
 in amicitia] *inimicitia* libri.
 impudenter] MP; *imprudenter* H.
 consuesti] M; *censueris* H; *consueris* P.
 sic] om. H.
 noceat] *noceat*. Vale H.

EP. DXXXIII. (FAM. VI. 5).

A] Antonio H.

VOL. IV.

1. video] M²; *vidi* M¹HP.
 certo] *certe* H.
 2. prospiciam] *proficiam* H.
 persuaserim] *persuasuerim* H.
 puto] *putes* HP.
 3. Qua re . . . tribuit] libri. Quae Madv. (Opusc. Ac. 321, ed. 2) et Boot (Obs. Crit. 11) de hoc loco excogitaverunt, ea vide in Comm.
 accedunt] *accidunt* P.
 virtutem] libri male ex proximo *virtutem* iterantes; *eloquentiam* Schütz Wes. coll. Fam. vi. 9, 1 (528); *doctrinam* Lamb.; *eruditionem* Gronov.; *litteraturam* Or.; *venustatem* Kl.; *dicendi virtutem* Koch.
 cotidie significaturque] *cottidieque significatur* H.
 vivunt] corr. ex *vivit* H; *vivum* M.
 tibi] om. P.
 4. id faciendum sit] *faciendum sit id* H.
 esse] om. H.
 in meos] *inimicos* H (linea sub *inimicos* ducta).

EP. DXXXIV. (FAM. VI. 18).

1. Simul atque accepi] H et HM (Indices); *simul accepi* MP.
 vetari esse in decurionibus] *vitari esse in curionibus* H.
 fecissent] *facerent* H.
 senatum] Lamb.; *senatu* libri.
 2. nos] HP; *vos* M; *suos* Bücheler, bene.
 Paciaeci] *pacificar* H (sed *-ficar* m. 2); *paciaeti* P.
 Salasso] *Salustius* H.
 eius] om. HP.
 iussu . . . interfectum] *interfectum iussu Pompeii inspectante exercitu* H.
 deducere] *adducere* H.
 3. De] om. HP.
 pro] om. P.
 4. meum] om. H.
 opere] om. H.
 mei] M²P; *me* M¹H.
 tamen personare] Vict.; *iam impersonare* libri.
 5. cum ea] *cum mea* H.
 sum] om. H.
 delectant] P; *delectabant* MH quod si accipis adde sis *nunc ante domus*.
 desertissima] *disertissima* H.
 et cetera] libri; fortasse archetypi scriptor labore fessus transcribendi litteras Graecas sibi prorsus ignotas, reliquis verbis versus Hesiodici *θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ἔθηκ'αν* omissis, et cetera substituit.

2 K

EP. DXXXV. (FAM. IV. 14).

1. a] *ad* H.
 Corcyrae] *corcyre* M; *corcire* H; *concrete* T; *Corcyrae* Btr.; *Corcyra* Mart. Lag.

gratulabare] P; ^{ba}*gratulabare* H; *gratulabere* M.

meam] *meamque* H.

possis] M¹H; *posse* M².

reliquum] *relicum* M; *relictum* HP.

impendent] *impendunt* H.

ostentat] H; corr. eadem manu ex *ostentet* M; *ostendat* P.

2. me tum] *mecum* H; *meum* P.

futura . . . esset] om. H.

victoria] post hoc verbum M¹ addidit *sin autem victi essent quantus interitus esset futurus a victoria*, sed eiecit M².

me haec] *haec me* H; om. *haec* P.

saluti suae] M²P; *suae salutis* H; *salutis suae* M¹.

3. egerim] *egeram* P.

gratularis] corr. ex *gratulari* M.

certo] *certe* H.

sed] *quod* P.

tam] *tamen* HP.

meo] *meo nisi* H.

nihilo] *nihil* HP.

4. eo sis] M fort. ex *eo esses*.

tibi iam] *iam tibi* H.

videam] libri; *video* Wes.

qui sim] M¹; *quis sim* HM².

rei famae] *rei familiaris* H.

^u
 acturum] *actorum* H.

certiorem. Vale] om. *Vale* M¹.

EP. DXXXVI. (FAM. IV. 10).

1. erat] HPM (Index); om. M.
 enim] om. P.

^{de}
 decessio] *discessio* H.

2. sensum] corr. ex *sensus* M¹.

nisi] om. HP.

idque] Vict.; *atque* libri; *atque id*

Or.

valeret] *valere et* HP.

re] om. P (m. 1).

quid] *quod* libri.

facias] *facias. Vale* H.

EP. DXXXVII. (FAM. IX. 10).

1. Nihil enim Romae . . . τοῦ] Haec verba laudata sunt a Suetonio De Gramm. c. 14 = p. 263 ep. Roth.

Vidium] *vidi cum* H; *iudicum* Pal; (*nidium marg.*).

Aristarchus] *aristarcus* H Pal.

2. te] Aldus; om. libri.

Oblitusne] *oblitosne* M.

ingentium ^fcularum] MH; *ingenti vincularum* Pal; *ingentium cochlearum vel gallinarum* alii; *ingentium fercularum* nos; *ingentium-squillarum* Gronov.

cum σοφία Septimae] libri (sed *sophia*); *cum sepia Septimiae* Pantagathus, Gronov.; nobis olim in mentem venit *cum σοφία πεπτικῇ*.

quidem] om. M.

condemnaro] *condempnavero* H.

ne] libri; *ut* Wes. Sed vid. Comm.

3. bello in aliqua] *bello ut (aut)* Pal; *in aliqua* H Pal.

versere] MH (m. 2); *versee* H (m. 1); *versetur* Pal.

de P. Sullae] *dep Sylle* H.

ceteroqui] M¹; *cetera qui* M²H Pal.

^h
 ne hasta] *ne asta* H, cp. ad Fam. xv. 17, 2 (541).

EP. DXXXVIII. (FAM. VI. 1).

Index Epistularum exstat in MH, deest in P.

1. nemoque] *nemo qui* MH.

ubivis quam] *ubi unquam* P; *ubi usquam* H.

sit] Wes.; *est* libri.

malit . . . non est] om. P (m. 1).

quin . . . esse] om. P.

quisquis] libri, recte, vid. Comm.; *quisque* Lamb.

cogunt] HP; *coguntur* M.

tu, cum] MH; *tum cum* P.

2. agitare] *agitari* H.

cogitationum] *cogitationem* M¹.

suae] *tuae* P.

ab altera . . . interitu] om. HP.

quidem seiunctum] edd.; *quidem* (in fine versus) *iunctum* M.

certo] *certe* HP.

3. id] om. H.

loco] *lono* M.

multa] *multi* P.

nulla] *ulla* H.

sentire] *sentire voluerimus* H.

ad bene beateque] MP (*at M*); *atque beate* H.

videbamus sequi] *videbatur. Sed qui* libri.

tam] *tamen* libri.

4. ita cadere animis] *ea cadere nimis* P.

putarimus] *putaverimus* P; *putaremus* H.

mente . . . praescribit] om. P (m. 1).

Sed] *sed et* H.

spes aliqua de rebus] Wes.; *spes aliqua e rebus* M; *spes aliqua rebus* HP.

5. veniebat] *veniebant* libri.

improbabam] *improbaturum* H.

quae] HP; *quem* M.

auctoritatibus] HP; *auctoritatibus nostris* M, vid. Comm.

iure] *viro* H.

ea] om. H.

divinabam] om. P.

alterum utrum] *alterutrorum* H.

6. quod mihi] HP; *quid mihi* M.

Philargyrus] *philargius* H.

solere] om. H.

non debes nec dubitare] *non dubitare debes* H.

reparata aliqua] nos; *aliqua* M; *reparata* HP (quod Mendelss. glossema esse affirmat); *recreata aliquando* Streicher.

sis is] Kl.; *si sis libri*; *sis edd.*

afflictione] *afflictione* H.

ferre] *fere* H.

et in] MH; *in* P.

quod et in urbe ea . . . ratio] M; *ea* om. P; *quod* (spatio parvo relicto) *urbe subitata et alte stracio* H.

armati . . . quam] om. P (m. 1).

7. ego] om. HP.

debebam] M; *debeam* HP.

quantum tu intellegis] del. Streicher, iniuria; vid. Comm.

quin] Vict.; *qui libri*.

navare] *navigare* H.

aliquid] om. H.

EP. DXXXIX. (FAM. VI. 3).

A] *Antonio* H.

1. fui] *fuit* H.

ea] om. H.

ut] HP; *aut* M.

confirmarem] *confirmare* H.

2. item] *idem* H.

praesertim] om. H.

eadem . . . exitus] *eadem idem esset exitus* H.

video] *videro* H.

certo sciam] Lamb., recte, vid. Comm.; *certo scio libri*, Wes.

divinare] *divinari* HP.

nemo] *non* HP.

vel haec] *haec* HP.

3. si id vel ante acciderit] libri; om. *vel Kayser* Wes.; *vel simul vel ante Hofm.* tum] *non* P.

dixit] libri; *duxit* Crat.

Sed] *si* H.

4. aliorum] om. P.

quam] *quem* P.

aut eorum] *auctorum* P.

discesserunt] Benedict.; *discesserint* libri.

aut eorum qui remanserunt] Codex quidam Alani et nostratis et nostri (sed om. *eorum*); om. libri; del. Mendelssohn, qui scripsit *quam quemvis eorum qui dissenserint vel dissenserunt* (sc. a consilio tuo post pugnam Pharsalicam in exsilium proficiscendi): ingeniose confert Fam. iv. 7, 3 (486), sed vid. Comm.

te uti] *te ut* M; *ut te* H; *vite* P.

dum ero] *duro* HP.

EP. DXL. (FAM. VI. 4).

A] *Antonio* H.

1. quod] P; *quid* MH.

bellum] libri; *futurum bellum* Btr.; *bellum fore* Lamb.

videtur] P Vict.; *videmur* MH.

haec] *hoc* H.

non quo ego certo scirem sed quod] Cod. Ursini (teste Graevio) et Cod. quidam Alani (sed *sciam*), Ern.; *non quo sed quod* (in marg. lacunae signo posito) M (sine ullo signo) HP; *non quomodo sed quid* coni. Wes.; *sed quid* Frey, fort. recte cum fieri possit ut *non quo* varia quaedam sit lectio; *non quo secundum (scd) quos*, coll. Tac. H. iii. 7, Mendelss. Vid. Comm.

magnae] *maxime* H.

ut uterunque vicerit] *ut cum uterque vicerit* H.

Illa] *ille* H.

quam] Vict.; *cum libri*.

2. debebam] Lamb. Wes.; *debeam* libri, Btr.

malorum] *maiorum* M.

maioris] *maiori* H.

putaramus] Lamb.; *putaremus* libri.

exspectare] *exispectare* M.

3. ad te] *a te* H.

huius modi] *eiusmodi* P.

velit] HP; *velim* M.

miserrimos] HP; *-mo* M¹; *-mum* M².

non solum] om. H.

si] *etsi* libri.

studui] *studii* HP (m. 1).

4. Quanto fuerim dolore] libri (sed *dodore* M); *quanto fuerim in dolore* Lamb.

plus] *prius* libri.

tamen in hac] libri; *tamen hac* Crat. Btr.

non] *ne* H.

Adiuvat] *adiuat* M¹.
 etiam] *iam* libri.
 acta iam] M; *ea* HP.
 suo] om. HP.
 delectat] Wes.; *delectatur* libri; *delectator* H¹.
 tum vetat in eo] *tum in ea* (om. *vetat*) HP.
 impudentia] libri; *impudentis* Lamb.
 desino] libri; add. *timere* Lehmann, *etueret* Wes. inutiliter.
 nullus] *ullus* H.
 potius] om. H.
 5. cotidianus] *cottidianis* H.
 Ego quae] *Egoq*; H.
 quaeque] M²P; *quae qui* M; *quae* H.

EP. DXLI. (FAM. XV. 17).

1. flagitant] *flagitunt* H.
 ad] *a* H.
 petasati] *petunt statim ut* H Pal E.
 ignosces] corr. ex *ignoscas* H.
 alteras] *alteras iam* H Pal E.
 breves sed] *brevis ed* M.
 veniant] *veniunt* H.
 revertantur] *revertatur* H.
 2. ut tamen] H Pal E; om. *ut* M.
 P] Aldus; *d* libri; del. Bengel.
 cruditate] M Pal; *crudelitate* HE.
 hasta] *asta* M, cp. Varro L. L. v. 115.
 refrixisset] *refrexisset* H.
 macellarius] Weiske, Madv. ingeniose; *Marcellus* libri. Vid. Comm.
^a
 et Attius] *et tuus* (sed *a* alia manu) H; *eatuus* E; *et atinis* Pal.
 gaudebant] E Pal; *gaudebunt* H; *gaudebat* M.
 3. Hispania novi] M Pal; *hispanio* H (m. 1); *hispaniano* H (m. 2) E.
 Ian.] del. Wes.; aut *ita* aut *Ian. ita* Mendelss.
 posset] *possit* H.
 eum] M Pal; om. HE.
 4. Tu] om. H Pal E.
 es] *est* H.
 amamus] M Pal; *animus* HE.
 patiar. Vale] *patior valde*. *Vale* H.

EP. DXLII. (FAM. XV. 19).

M] Pal MH (Indices); om. MHE.
 1. Non mehercule] *Nonne hercule* H.
 facio] *fcio* H.
 venit] *veniet* H.
 Catiana] *catina* libri.

proxima] *pro maxima* H.
 esse] om. E.
 2. ex urbe] H Pal E; *exur* M.
 mehercule] *mercule* M ut saepe.
 nostrorum] *nostrum* H Pal E.
 omnibus] *hominibus* libri.
 ea] M Pal; om. HE.
 enim] MH Pal; *vero* E.
 Epicurus] *ipicurus* M.
 3. et Pansa] M; om. *et* H Pal E.
 qui] *qui et* E.
 φιλόκαλοι et] om. H.
 quaesiit] *quaesivit* HE.
 esset sed] Lamb.; *esset et* libri; *esset* (om. *et*) edd. vett. Wes.
 sectorem] M; *sertorem* Pal; *sectatorem* HE; fort. *sectatorem nec sectorem desiderabit*.
 viderit] *videret* H.
 4. quid] M Pal; om. HE.
 rescribe] *rescribere* HE.
 Gnaeus] *c. n.* vel *cn* libri.
 fatuus] M Pal; *facius* H; *facilius* E.
 scis . . . putet] om. HE.
 derisum] *irrisum* Pal.
 Hui] M; *ut* H Pal E.
 ista] H Pal E; *sta* M, confert Mendelss. Fam. iv. 3, 2 (494).

EP. DXLIII. (FAM. IX. 13).

1. C. Subernius] M; *C. S. ubernius* H; *ubernius* Pal.
 putarat] edd.; *putaret* H Pal; *putare* M.
 2. Calenus] *ut (uti* Pal) *Calenus* H Pal.
 maiore] M; *maiori* H Pal.
 3. incolumes] om. H.
 cum (ante *municipio*)] M Pal (marg.); *eum* H; *tum* edd.; *coi* Pal.
 Caleno] om. H.
 4. dicere] om. H Pal.
 possit] om. H.
 contendasque] M; *contendas quod* Pal; om. H.
 ut perficias] om. *ut* H.
 vehementer te] om. *te* H.

EP. DXLIV. (FAM. XIII. 16).

1. et ex eo] libri, etsi malleus vel cum Lambino *de* vel *ab*; plerumque enim spero aliquid *ab* homine, *e* re. Vid. Comm.
 perbene] Schütz; *per me* libri; *optime* Lamb.; *praeclare* Kl.; *nuper optime* Krauss.

eximiis] Kl. Wes.; *ex his* libri.
 feceras] Madv.; *feceram* libri.
 libertum] H Pal; *liberum* M.
 cum] *dum* H.
 2. mihi etiam] *etiam mihi* H.
 quod eos] H Pal; *quos eos* M; *quo eos*
 Med. (49, 7).
 Itaque et] om. *et* H.
 3. speraret te] *te speraret* H.
 sum] *solum* H.

arbitrarer] *arbitrer* H Pal.
 de tuis unus] *supra lineam* in H;
unus de tuis Pal.
 mei] Lamb.; *meum* libri.
 quod et ipse] om. *et* H.
 ei] *et* H.
 4. iam pridem] *iam diu pridem* H.
 opinionis] *opiniones* M.
 id mihi maiorem] H Pal; *id maiorem*
 M.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

USED IN *ADNOTATIO CRITICA*.

[*The Editors mentioned very rarely are referred to in the Adn. Crit. by their full names.*]

corr.	= <i>correxit</i> ; corr. Vict. means Victorius suggested the emended reading which appears in the text.
fort.	= <i>fortasse</i> (i. e. perhaps the right reading is 'so and so'); <i>qu.</i> indicates less degree of probability.
om	= <i>omisit</i> .
coni.	= <i>coniecit</i> or <i>coniectura</i> (in all its cases).
lect.	= <i>lectio</i> (in all its cases).
Comm.	= <i>Commentarium</i> (in all its cases), that is, the English foot-notes.
Adn. Crit.	= <i>Adnotatio Critica</i> (in all its cases).
del.	= <i>delevit</i> .
ins.	= <i>inseruit</i> .
libri	= the consensus of the best mss.
edd.	= the reading of the best editors.
M	= codex Mediceus.
M ¹	= codex M <i>a prima manu</i> .
M ²	= codex M <i>a secunda manu</i> .
marg.	= <i>secundum correctionem marginalem</i> .
H	= codices Harleiani (described in Introd. to vol. I ² , pp. 74 ff., and in Pref. to vol. I ² , and in Introd. to vol. II).
P	= codex Parisinus 17812 (see Introd. to vol. II., p. lx.; vol. IV., p. c).
T	= codex Turonensis (described in Introd. to vol. I ² , pp. 78 ff.).
Pal	= codex Palatinus 598, called by Gruter Palatinus Sextus (see Introd. to vol. II., p. lxxxiii).
E	= codex Erfurtensis, now Berolinensis 252 (see Introd. to vol. II., p. lxxxiv).
C	= codex Cratandrinus.
c	= editio Cratandrina (1528).
Crat.	= Cratander.
Z	= codex Tornaesianus.
Zl	= codex Tornaesianus teste Lambino.
Zb	= codex Tornaesianus teste Bosio.
X, Y	= pseudo-codices Bosiani (commonly called, respectively, codex Crusellinus and Decurtatus).
A	= codex Antonianus.

- F = codex Faërninus.
 R = editio princeps Romana (Rome, 1470).
 I = editio Iensoniana (Venice, 1470).
 N = ed. Neapolitana (Naples, 1474).
 Vict. = Victorius (Venice, 1536-1571).
 Corrad. = Corradus (*Epp. ad Att.* Venice, 1544).
 Mur. = Muretus (*Variae lectiones*, Venice and Paris, 1559-86).
 Mal. = Malaspina (Venice, 1564).
 Lamb. = Lambinus (Paris, 1566); 2nd, 1584, with notes of Orsini).
 Ursin. = Orsini.
 Man. = Ed. of Manutius (Ald. 1575; Ven. 1579).
 Bos. = Simeo Bosius (*Epp. ad Att.* Limoges, 1580).
 Grut. = Gruter (Hamburg, 1618).
 Graev. = Graevius (Amsterdam, 1677).
 Gron. = Gronovius (Lyons, 1692).
 Ern. = Ernesti (Leipsic, 1737).
 Facc. = Facciolati (Padua, 1738).
 Sch. = Schütz (Halle, 1809).
 Or. = Orelli (Zurich, 1845).
 Matth. = Matthiae (Leipsic, 1849).
 k = Klotz (1st ed. Teubner, Leipsic, 1858).
 Kl = Klotz (2nd ed. Teubner, Leipsic, 1869, 1870).
 Hofm. = Hofmann, *Ausgewählte Briefe* (Berlin, ed. 1, 1860; ed. 2, besorgt von K. Lehmann, 1892).
 Boot. = I. C. G. Boot. (*Epp. ad Att.* Amsterdam, ed. 1, 1865; ed. 2, 1886).
 Boot, Obs. } = Boot's *Observationes Criticae ad Cic. Epp.* (Amsterdam, 1880).
 Crit. }
 Müll. = C. F. W. Müller (Progr. Landsberg, 1865).
 Btr. = Baiter & Keyser's ed. (Leipsic, 1867).
 Kays. = Kayser.
 Koch. = Koch (Einladungs-Programm, May, 1868).
 Büch. = Bücheler (*Q. Cic. Reliquiae*, Teubner, Leipsic, 1868, and *Mus. Rhen.* xi.).
 Madv. = Madvig (*Adversaria Critica*, vols. i., ii., Copenhagen, 1871-73; vol. iii., 1884).
 Wes. = Wesenberg (Teubner, Leipsic, 1872, 1873).
 Em. = Wesenberg's *Emendationes* (Hauniae, 1840).
 Em. Alt. = Wesenberg's *Emendationes Alterae*, Teubner (Leipsic, 1873).
 Peerlk. = Peerlkamp.
 Pluyg. = Pluygers.
 Streicher = Oscar Streicher's *De Ciceronis Epistulis ad Familiares emendandis* (in vol. iii. of the *Commentationes Philologicae Ienenses*) (Teubner, Leipsic, 1884).
 Becher = Über den Sprachgebrauch des Caelius, von Oberlehrer Dr. Ferdinand Becher (Ilfeld, 1888).
 Lehmann = Quaestiones Tullianae, Pars Prima, de Ciceronis epistolis, scripsit C. A. Lehmann (Prague and Leipsic, 1886).
 Mendelss. = M. Tullii Ciceronis Epistularum libri sedecim edidit L. Mendelssohn (Leipsic, 1893).
 Schmidt = Der Briefwechsel des M. Tullius Cicero von O. E. Schmidt (Leipsic, 1893).

ORDER OF LETTERS.

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PART VI.

This Edition.	Baiter.	A. U. C.	B. C.	Year of Cicero's Life.
CCCI.	Fam. XVI. 11 . .	705	49	57
CCCII.	„ V. 20 . .	„	„	„
CCCIII.	Att. VII. 10 . .	„	„	„
CCCIV.	„ VII. 11 . .	„	„	„
CCCV.	„ VII. 12 . .	„	„	„
CCCVI.	Fam. XIV. 18 . .	„	„	„
CCCVII.	Att. VII. 13 ^a . .	„	„	„
CCCVIII.	„ VII. 13 ^b . .	„	„	„
CCCIX.	Fam. XIV. 14 . .	„	„	„
CCCX.	Att. VII. 14 . .	„	„	„
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PART VI.—*continued.*

This Edition.	Baiter.	A. U. C.	B. C.	Year of Cicero's Life.
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CCCXXXIII.	„ VIII. 3 . .	„	„	„
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CCCXXXVI.	„ VIII. 5 . .	„	„	„
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CCCCXIII.	Att. XI. 4 . .	„	„	„
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PART VII.

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CCCCXV.	Fam. XIV. 12 . .	706	48	58
CCCCXVI.	Att. XI. 5 . .	"	"	"
CCCCXVII.	Fam. XIV. 19 . .	"	"	"
CCCCXVIII.	Att. XI. 6 . .	"	"	"
CCCCXIX.	Fam. XIV. 9 . .	"	"	"
CCCCXX.	Att. XI. 7 . .	"	"	"
CCCCXXI.	Fam. XIV. 17 . .	"	"	"
CCCCXXII.	Att. XI. 8 . .	"	"	"
CCCCXXIII.	Att. XI. 9 . .	707	47	59
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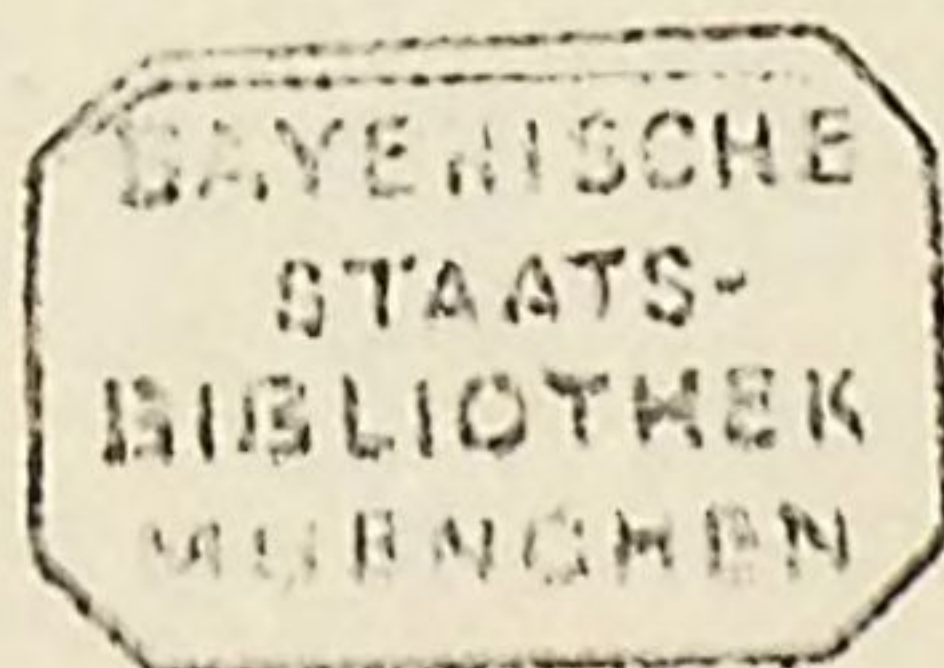
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Cicero, Marcus Tullius

The correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero

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